

# The Religious Elite of the Early Islamic Hijāz

## *Five Prosopographical Case Studies*

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## Abstract

This book studies the careers of the descendants of five important religious élite families of the Hijāz for the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods (40–218 AH). The eponym of each family was among the earliest and most celebrated converts to Islam and each was a viable candidate for the caliphate after the murder of 'Umar I (d. 23 AH). Yet, though two among them did rule as caliphs in a highly volatile milieu, no direct descendant of theirs was ever able to assume the supreme rule of the Muslim polity after them. What happened to these highly prominent families? This book presents the sociopolitical trajectories of these élite families.

The Arabo-Islamic historiographical tradition not only ignores the sociopolitical history of the early Islamic Hijāz, but it also confronts the historian with many insurmountable technical challenges. The problems of the paucity of the desired narrative historiography and the notoriously unwieldy sources can be overcome if provincial history is made to depend on prosopography, i.e. if it is taken to be a history of individuals belonging to identifiable groups. Insofar as they belong to increasingly wider categories—family branch, family, clan, tribe, etc.—that have a diachronic presence, a detailed and reliable sociopolitical history of the Hijāz can be reconstructed. This is what this book aims to do in a preliminary way on the basis of the five families.

The body of the book addresses three subjects: (1) the potential use and abuse of Arabo-Islamic genealogies and prosopographies for writing provincial histories; (2) kinship and marriage in early Islamic Arabia generally and, more specifically, the importance of cognate and marital links for social ascendancy and for the creation of quasi-corporate political blocs that cut across tribal and agnatic lines; and (3) the social and political history of the Hijāz. As for the last point, in summary, this book shows that, with a few exceptions, 'Abd al-Malik (r. 65–86 AH) had been able to reconcile with the Hijāzī élite by the end of the counter-caliphate of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr (r. ca. 63–72 AH), plying them, as Mu'āwiya (r. 40–60 AH) had once done, with gifts and political posts. As his program of centralization became more oppressive in his last years, so too did his relationship with an increasingly disenfranchised Hijāzī élite become more strained. By the end of the reign of al-Walīd (r. 86–96 AH), the Hijāzī élite had mobilized again, this time forming two blocs—one under the leadership of the Ḥasanīd 'Alids and the other under the initial joint leadership of the 'Abbāsīds, Ḥusaynīds, and Ḥanafīyya. It is the movement of these two groups that culminated in the demise of the Umayyads (40–132 AH), after which the élite structures were again reshuffled.

## For Asma and Marjaan

## Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
Historiographical Problems and Method	1
Challenges and Solutions	6
Remarks on Kinship and Marriage	12
Outline of Chapters	15
Pointers and Reminders	20
I. THE DESCENDANTS OF SA'D B. ABĪ WAQQĀṢ	23
I.i.1. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ	23
I.i.2. Sa'd's Identity: An Excursus	28
I.ii. The Descendants of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ	28
I.ii.1. Children of Kinda	30
I.ii.1.A. Children of Māriya bt. Qays	30
I.ii.1.B. Children of Umm Hilāl bt. Rabi'	39
I.ii.2. Children from the Bahrā' of the Quḍā'a	39
I.ii.3. Children from Bakr and Taghlib b. Wa'il	41
I.ii.4. Children of the Taymallāt b. Tha'laba	45
I.ii.5. Children from the al-Hārith b. Zuhra	46
I.ii.6. Other Children	47
I.iii. Concluding Remarks	47
II. THE DESCENDANTS OF 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. 'AWF	50
II.i.1. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf	50
II.i.2. Wealth	50
II.i.3. Politics and Social Links	52
II.ii. The Children of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf	53
II.ii.1. The Southern Children	54
II.ii.1.A. The Children of Sahla bt. 'Āṣim	54
II.ii.1.B. The Children of Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣḥab	59
II.ii.1.C. The Children of Majd bt. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarīyya	61
II.ii.1.D. Children of Umm Ḥurayth al-Bahriyya	64

II.ii.2. Children by non-Southern Women	67
II.ii.2.A. The Children of Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba	67
II.ii.2.B. Children of Ghazāl bt. Kisrā	74
II.ii.3. Miscellaneous	75
II.ii.3.A. Children by Identified Women	75
II.ii.3.A.a. Links with the Umayyads, the Makhzūm and Thaqif	75
II.ii.3.A.b. Further Anṣārī and 'Irāqī Links	76
II.ii.3.B. Children by Unnamed Concubines	77
II.ii.3.C. Children by Unnamed Women	78
II.ii.3.D. More Wives	78
II.iii. Conclusion	79
III. THE DESCENDANTS OF ṬALḤA B. 'UBAYDALLĀH	81
III.i. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh: A Brief Sketch	81
III.ii. The Descendants of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh	84
III.ii.1. The Children of Hanna bt. Jaḥsh	84
III.ii.2. The Children of Su'dā bt. 'Awf	93
III.ii.3. The Children of Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra	96
III.ii.4. The Children of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr	99
III.ii.5. The Children of Umm Abān bt. Shayba b. 'Abd Shams	101
III.ii.6. Miscellaneous	103
III.iii. Concluding Remarks	104
IV. THE DESCENDANTS OF 'UTHMĀN B. 'AFFĀN	106
IV.i. Introduction	106
IV.ii. The Children of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān	108
IV.ii.1. The Descendants of Fāṭima bt. al-Walīd	111
IV.ii.2. The Descendants of Ramla bt. Shayba	113
IV.ii.3. The Descendants of Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab	115
IV.ii.4. The Descendants of Nā'ila bt. al-Furāfiṣa	131
IV.iii. Conclusions	133
V. THE DESCENDANTS OF 'ALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB	135
V.i. Introduction	135
V.ii. The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib	137
V.ii.1. The Descendants of Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad	139
V.ii.1.A. The Ḥasanid Line	140
V.ii.1.A.a. Named Women with No Descendants	142

V.ii.1.A.b. The Descendants of Umm Bashīr al-Anṣārīyya	146
V.ii.1.A.c. The Descendants of Khawla al-Fazāriyya	151
V.ii.1.A.d. The Descendants from Unnamed Women and Concubines	167
V.ii.1.B. The Ḥusaynid Line	168
V.ii.1.B.a. The Descendants of Concubines and Anonymous Mothers I	170
V.ii.1.B.b. The Descendants of Concubines and Anonymous Mothers II	174
V.ii.1.B.c. The Descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan	181
V.ii.2. The Descendants of Khawla al-Ḥanafīyya	186
V.ii.3. The Descendants of Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām	190
V.ii.4. The Descendants of Ṣahbā' bt. Rabī'a	193
V.ii.5. The Descendants of Identified Women	195
V.ii.6. The Descendants of Unidentified Women and Concubines	196
V.iii. Conclusions	197
CONCLUSION	199
APPENDIX: Ancestral Trees	205
BIBLIOGRAPHY	275
INDEX	287



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Finally, I dedicate this book, with unspeakable love, to the two most wonderful women in the world—my own family—Asma and Marjaan.

## Abbreviations

- ABD = Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*  
 AHM = Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*  
 BL = Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*  
 BUK = Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*  
 EI2 = *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.  
 IB = Ibn Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*  
 IH = Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat nasab quraysh*  
 IK = Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*  
 IS = Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*  
 MUS = Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*  
 NQ = al-Zubayrī, *Nasab quraysh*  
 R = al-Rāzī, *al-Shajara*  
 SA = al-Ṣaḥārī, *al-Ansāb*  
 TIR = Tirmidhī, *Sunan*

## Introduction

This book is a prosopographical preliminary to a larger study of the history of the Hijāz for the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods (40–218 AH). It began with full consciousness of the challenges posed by the Arabo-Islamic historiographical tradition and the hypothesis that the social networks implicit in the less problematic prosopographies can reveal patterns in the sociopolitical trajectory of the province for the period under consideration. Such patterns have indeed emerged—the hypothesis has passed the test—and are the groundwork for a more comprehensive penetration of the sources in future work.

The historiographical experiment is based on the families of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, and 'Alī b. Abi Ṭalīb. These men were among the earliest and most celebrated converts to Islam and each was a viable candidate for the caliphate after the murder of 'Umar I. Yet, though two among them did rule as caliphs in a highly volatile political milieu, none of their direct descendants, most of whom remained concentrated in the Hijāz, was able to assume supreme rule over the Muslim polity. What happened to these prominent families?

This book studies the social and political fortunes of these notable families over several generations as a foundation for reconstructing a provincial history for the early Islamic period. The details of this history also shed light on the relation of the periphery to the center and so contribute new insights into the previously neglected aetiology of the climactic events of the period. Nevertheless, the experimental and preliminary nature of the work must be kept in mind. For a comprehensive study requires a greater cross-section of the society, a more uniform and scientific method of analysis, and focused attention to economic and administrative factors than has been possible here.

### *Historiographical Problems and Method*

Early Islamic history is notoriously problematic for several reasons. First, the earliest extant narrative chronographies covering the first century of Islam were compiled several decades after the events they purport to describe. Their raw material comprised oral fragments, i.e. decontextualized stories that were told by semi-professional storytellers (*quṣṣās*) in sermons and religious gatherings.<sup>1</sup> In the absence of an early systematic method of oral transmission these units of Islamic historiography were highly susceptible to the introduction of variants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the *quṣṣās*, see Dürri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 24, and the references cited there.

<sup>2</sup> The existence of some written material is assumed by Goldziher, 'Der *Diwān* des Garwal b. Aus al-Hutaj'a'; by Krenkow, 'The Use of Writing'; very strongly asserted by Sezgin, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 53–84; by Abbott, *Studies*, p. 26. This position has been challenged by Sellheim, 'Muhammeds erstes Offenbarungserlebnis'; by Leder, 'Authorship and Transmission'; by Muranyi, 'Ibn Isḥāq's *Kitāb al-Mağāzī* in der *Riwaya* von Yūnus b. Bukair'. For a middle position, see Schoeler, 'Die Frage der schriftlichen oder mündlichen Überlieferung der Wissenschaften im frühen Islam'; Id., 'Weiteres zur Frage'; Id., 'Mündliche Thora und Hadīṭ'. Schoeler, who concedes the existence of *kitāb* as 'something written' for the first century, does not go so far as to say that such written material fell in the category



Second, the historiographical texts at our disposal were the products of the second dynasty of Islam (the 'Abbāsids), which aimed through historiography to undermine the claims of its predecessors (the Umayyads). Thus, there exists the possibility that the fragments that went into making the chronological tradition were also deliberately tampered with by the historians for the purposes of manufacturing legitimacy. These historians were also transforming historical memory in response to the highly volatile sectarian milieu in which they operated.<sup>3</sup>

Third, as the caliphate center of the Islamic world moved out of the Arabian Peninsula, Muslim historians tended to neglect the heartland of Muslim origins, the Hijāz. Focus on this region was limited to the context of the Prophet's life and the lives of the first three caliphs. Other than that, most histories, even if exclusively telescoping the region, supplied relatively little information about its events for the first century and a half and concentrated instead on creating origin myths and legends and on sanctifying the region.<sup>4</sup>

of the publishable. It was rather close to the *hypomnēma* known from the Hellenic tradition, meant usually for private use. In its next stage of development, it came to be systematically compiled. Günther argues that such compilations, though not publishable, were rather closer to literary compositions. Elad, on the other hand, argues for the existence of such publishable books from the first century. See Elad, 'Beginnings,' 116ff., where a lucid summary of the various positions and bibliographical notes are provided. See also Noth/Conrad, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, p. 41; Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 172ff.; Cook, 'The Opponents of the Writing'; Motzki, *Die Anfänge der islamischen Jurisprudenz*, pp. 87–92.

<sup>3</sup> On tampering with sources under historical pressures, see e.g. Nöldeke, 'Zur Tendenzen der Gestaltung der Urgeschichte'; Friedländer, 'Muhammedanische Geschichtskonstruktionen'; see also Brunschwig, 'Ibn 'Abd al-'akam'; 'Umayyads' (G. R. Hawting), *ELI*, X, 840a, for further comments on historical retrojection; and Donner, 'Uthman and the Rāshidūn' for the strategies of handling reports employed by a later compiler of historical reports with a view to his 'confessional precommitments'. The various positions on the historical and religious sources for early Islamic history and religion are nicely summed up by Donner, *Narratives*, pp. 1–25. He challenges the position of scholars radically skeptical of the value of Arabo-Islamic sources for historical reconstruction at pp. 25–31. Here he also offers extensive bibliography.

<sup>4</sup> Interest in the sociopolitics of early Islamic Hijāz is very limited in the extant Arabo-Islamic sources of provincial history. The following are key texts of local history: Ibn Shabbah's *Tārīkh al-Madīna al-munawwara* (on mosques, tombs, *wadīs*, *sadaqāt*, quarters of tribes, and some hagiography), Ibn al-Diyā'ī's *Tārīkh makka al-musharrafā wa-l-masjid al-haram wa-l-madīna al-sharīfā wa-l-qabr al-sharīf* (focus on prehistory of Ka'ba, additions to Ka'ba, the same of the Prophet's mosque, prehistory, and identification of some locations); Qutb al-Dīn al-Hanafī, *Tārīkh al-Madīna* (pre-history and focus on various mosques); Azraqī's *Akhbār makka* (focus on the history of the Ka'ba, designation of sacred boundaries, Pilgrimage rituals, and the quarters of some families), Fāsī's *Shifā' al-gharām* (interests almost identical to those of Azraqī) and Fākīhī's *Akhbār makka* (same as the two preceding sources, with some additional information of sociopolitical categories). Perhaps the local history that comes closest to our objectives is the fairly late *al-Tuhfa al-luṭfī fi Tārīkh al-madīna al-sharīfī* by the ninth century author al-Sakhāwī. This last work is a useful alphabetically-arranged prosopography.

An introduction to early Hijāzī historiography is provided by al-Jasir, 'Mu'allafāt'. Drawing partly on the work of Sāliḥ Ahmad al-'Alī on this subject that appeared in volume eleven of *Majallat al-majma' al-'ilmi al-'irāqī* (a work to which I did not have access), the author concludes that the major source and perhaps written standard for the early historiography of the Hijāz was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhri, descended from one of the Companions whose family is studied in this book. The citations have little to do with sociopolitical

Finally, early Islamic historiography concerned itself almost exclusively with the climaxes of the past. In other words, it paid undue attention to even the most mundane details of certain events of mythological proportions—wars, succession disputes, revolutions—at the cost of our knowledge of the slow simmer of local histories that were the impetus behind them. As a result, accounts of major events were so separated by impenetrable temporal gaps that modern investigators are frustrated with a sense that they cannot see history between these events.

Thus two main issues that are to be tackled by historians of early Islam have to do with the reliability of the sources and with a latent and generally inaccessible provincial history of certain areas. If we focus on the Hijāz, these two issues may be problematized in the following question: early on, what happened socially and politically in the heartland of Islam after the limelight shifted to the north? The answer to this question will deal with the third and fourth problems of Islamic historiography, i.e. it will shed light on the dark center of Islam during its most impenetrable periods. And it will do so with a critical eye to the problems of the sources, two of which I outlined above.

Over the past few decades, historians of Islam have tried to address the problem of the Arabo-Islamic sources in various ways that range from form criticism as developed in Old Testament and New Testament studies to subjecting the contents of these sources to rigorous internal tests.<sup>5</sup> Though each of these approaches has its merits, given the nature of the sources, each method can fail at various stumbling points; and, more importantly, none can deliver the details of provincial histories that are so important for reconstructing the internal contours of the larger narratives that we now possess.

One way around these problems is to delay one's reliance on the traditional narrative sources and to reconstruct instead a sociopolitical history initially on the basis of Arabo-Islamic prosopographies.<sup>6</sup> Prosopography, defined as the study of individuals insofar

history. The earliest written account, now lost, was that of Ibn Zabāla. From the transmissions on his authority found in Samhūdī and other sources cited by al-Jasir and in the study and compilation of Salama (Akhbār), it appears that he did not concern himself much with sociopolitical history either. Such history, if it was indeed recorded, was probably lost in the great fire of the ninth century that consumed a number of the books in Samhūdī's library and resulted in the loss of the complete version of his own *al-Wafā'*. It is similarly reported by Samhūdī, whose work is the main source preserving earlier accounts, that the version of Ibn Shabbah in his possession was incomplete. It is this allegedly incomplete version that has come down to us. Whatever the history of the historiographical texts on Medina may be, it cannot be denied that what we now have is not suitable for sociopolitical reconstructions. Almost all works on the history of the Hijāz fall in the *fada'il* or related genres.

<sup>5</sup> See, e.g. El-Hibri, *Reinterpreting Islamic Historiography* (literary-critical reading of sources); Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory* (studies decoding tendentious historical writing through attention to various narrative strategies); Noth/Conrad, *Historical Writing* (focus on literary themes and *topoi*); Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs* (historical approach toward the emergence of historiography and the theory of regional schools).

<sup>6</sup> A prosopographical project was already begun in 1915 by Leone Caetani under the title *Onomasticon Arabicum* (see bibliography). The project was recently revived by Christian Müller and Jacqueline Sublet at the CNRS, Paris. The first edition of the computer based *Onomasticon Arabicum* was made available to the public on the CNRS site early in January 2006 (<http://halshs.ccsd.cnrs.fr/view.php?label=IRHT&langue=fr&action=todou-view&id=halshs-00008748&version=1>) (accessed 02/04/2010). The introduction to this database provides a synopsis of its long history dating back to the nineteenth century. A first demo of Michael Lecker's 'The Jerusalem Prosopography Project: Early Islamic Administration' is now available at <http://micro5.mssc.huji.ac.il>:



as they belong to groups,<sup>7</sup> falls back generally on two genres in the Arabo-Islamic tradition: compilations of notices on individuals classed into any number of categories ranging from wise men and philosophers to transmitters of Prophetic Sayings and legal scholars (generally the *Ṭabaqāt* genre);<sup>8</sup> and genealogies that generally had their roots in tribal sociopolitics (*Kutub al-anṣāb*).<sup>9</sup> Arabo-Islamic genealogies are grounded in a tribal pre-Islamic past when they served in tribal boast and lampoon.<sup>10</sup> Their oral transmission was relatively more reliable than the transmission of the historico-religious tradition discussed above; and overall they lay outside the boundaries of the internal religious and political debates that shaped the historiographical tradition. Finally, early Islamic administration relied on these genealogies for purposes of the settlement of troops in garrison towns and, perhaps more importantly, for the distribution of stipends. This is to say that there was the additional external factor of a state apparatus that was interested in controlling genealogical records.<sup>11</sup>

81/PPP/demo (accessed 02/04/2010). For further details on the usefulness of prosopographical methods in the classics, medieval studies, and Islamics, see Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' I, n.6.

<sup>7</sup> See Werner, 'L'apport' (esp. 1–6) for a history of the term, its emergence in the field of history, and a summary of its main aims: it should serve the history of groups, elements of social and political history, isolating a series of personages who have this or that social or political characteristic in common; then it investigates this series with reference to multiple criteria, in order to extract from them all the information, constants and variables. One searches the human and social reality of a group by analyzing the known acts of the individuals that make it up. The problems posed by the multiple criteria are discussed by Carney, 'Prosopography'; Nicolet, 'Prosopographie et histoire sociale'; and Chastagnol, 'La prosopographie, méthode de recherche'. I take up the problems associated with a prosopographical approach in what follows.

<sup>8</sup> See Hafsi, 'Le Genre *Ṭabaqāt*' where the starting point of the discussion is the position that this genre was the product of *isnād* analysis. The view is to be contrasted with that of Heffening, who asserts that *isnād* analysis was only one to which the *Ṭabaqāt* were put and that the genre owed its existence to the interest of the Arabs in genealogical biographies. Henninger's view is cited by Hafsi, p. 229. See also 'Ṭabaqāt' (C. Gilliot), *ELI*.

<sup>9</sup> See Robinson, *Historiography*, 66ff., for a discussion of prosopographies, which he includes among his three historiographical categories. He excludes genealogies because they are not subsumed in a chronographic program. On the relation of these two genres (*Anṣāb* and *Ṭabaqāt*), see Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, pp. 49–61.

<sup>10</sup> Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 18 and references there. Here is also mentioned the part played by poetry in preserving genealogies. On the concern for genealogy among the pre-Islamic Arabs, see Sublet, *Voile*, 16, and the references cited there.

<sup>11</sup> See Caskel's introduction to *Gamharat al-Nasab*, esp. pp. 25–31, where genealogy and administration are discussed and pp. 45–47, where early genealogists are mentioned. Pre-Islamic preoccupation with genealogies is discussed in Caskel, *Gamharat*, pp. 23–24 and in 'Nasab' (F. Rosenthal), *ELI*, VII, 967a. The same points are discussed by Kister and Plessner, 'Notes on Caskel's *Gamharat al-Nasab*'; in Orthmann, *Stamm und Macht*, pp. 24–26, 208–9; in Duri, *Rise*, 21, 43, 50ff; and in Sublet, *Voile*, 21ff. (and the references there). On the use of a genealogist for setting down the *diwān*, see IS, 3: 295. None of this is to say that the part genealogies came to play in politics and administration did not create an incentive for forgery. On this, see Sublet, *Voile*, 22–3 (and the references there). It must be pointed out that due to historical pressures, genealogical reshuffling and invention did take place. However, this phenomenon was generally limited to a mythological past. In other words, due to the patterns of emerging alliances under Islam, tribes came to claim memberships in a northern or southern bloc on the basis of their alleged descent from a common ancestor. The extent of the impact of belonging to larger tribal confederations, such as the Qays and Yemen, on tribal behavior has been studied by Crone, 'Qays and Yemen' and Orthmann, *Stamm*. The former argues against the view that

Arabo-Islamic genealogies can be fairly dry, allowing one to do little more than to construct an initial sociopolitical grid.<sup>12</sup> This is obviously not sufficient for any these confederations were political parties and the latter points out some of the stereotypes, *topoi*, and themes used by the historiographical tradition to exaggerate the impact of these confederations on the behavior of various tribes (see Chapter B). On the genealogical reshuffling of the Qudā'a, see NQ, 5. Fictive genealogies for historical figures are rarer, although they certainly cannot be ruled out for various cases. On genealogical invention with reference to historical personages, see the first chapter below, where the Prophet's Companion Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ is discussed. It stands to reason that the great social, economic, and political benefits that could be derived from belonging to a particular family must have provided a strong incentive for genealogical invention. But, as pointed out above, invention on the historical level seems to have been rare. On the other hand, though the invention of one's immediate ancestors seems to be limited, manipulation of the biographies of one's ancestors, when these fell within the Prophetic period, was perhaps a more common phenomenon. This fact has little impact on the subject matter of this book. See, e.g. the case of Shurābīl b. Sa'd, who was accused of removing certain names from the lists of *mathlūbīn* and adding them to the *mufaddalīn*. Robinson, *Historiography*, 23. Similarly for historical times, reports of the marriage or marriage proposal of 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib to a daughter of Abū Jahl may have been invented by anti-Šī'i blocs to counter the use of a *ḥadīth* that undermined the position of Abū Bakr (see the *man aghdhabani* Tradition discussed below in the last chapter). In a similar fashion, the 'Uthmāniyya may have invented the reports relating to the marriage of 'Uthmān to two of the Prophet's daughters (Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm, both married to sons of Abū Lahab, a *topos* perhaps) or, alternatively, circulated the view that the wives in question were not his foster but his biological daughters. The aim was to raise the status of 'Uthmān by making him one of the *aṣḥāb* of the Prophet. Again, these details concern the main subject matter in a tangential manner. See Murtaḍā, *al-Sahih min al-sira*, 5: 324 (a contemporary polemical tract); Lammens, *Fatima and the Daughters of Muhammad*, 220–21 (perhaps no less polemical in other ways). I discuss genealogical invention in more detail below.

<sup>12</sup> The early genealogies may have been little more than lists and individual works probably concentrated on one descent group. See Duri, *Rise*, 50. Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamhara* and Sadūsī's *Hadith* reflect the listing tendency, though they have already moved on to include all kinds of information in addition to names and social links. It must be pointed out, however, that even in cases where the early genealogies supply additional information, the aim of the author is not to construct a continuous narrative; it is rather to present information in list form. On the kinds of information that can be extracted from early genealogical works, see Duri's 'Kutub al-anṣāb wa-tārīkh al-jazīra al-'arabiyya'. On the gradual overlap of genealogies with history and *Ṭabaqāt*, see Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought*, pp. 49–61. See also 'Nasab' (F. Rosenthal), *ELI*, for the assertion that the earliest genealogies were 'always a repository of tribal lore going far beyond simple filiations'. This is certainly not borne out by Ibn al-Kalbī's work, though it is somewhat evident in Sadūsī. The emphasis on a historiographical/biographical program within the framework of genealogy begins to emerge probably with al-Balādhurī's *Anṣab*. For the latter work, it is curious to note that genealogical material at the beginning of major sections appears without reference to any source. Whether this indicates that the material was too well-known, had been canonized, and was not subject to charges of forgery is unclear. In reporting such information, he otherwise usually falls back on Ibn al-Kalbī. See Athamina, 'Sources', 241. For a brief discussion of the evolution of the genealogical genre (in its shift of emphasis from belonging to a tribe to closeness to the Prophet), see the introduction to Ibn Rasūl, *Tuhfa*, 9ff. It is the changing notion of nobility, from membership in a particular tribe to relationship with the family of the Prophet, that may explain the development of the office of the *naqīb* and the longevity of 'Alid genealogies. The editor of this work, Zettersteen, also gives a brief survey of genealogical works, 16ff., though the information is dated. A more thorough survey is provided by al-Nasāṣ, *Kutub al-anṣāb al-'arabiyya* and Caskel as cited above (again, the material in Caskel is dated). A comprehensive bio-bibliography of the genre is found in Ibn 'Abdallāh, *Ṭabaqāt*. Two other such works, to which I did not have access, were written by 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Ḥasan Kamūna (*Munyat al-rābiḥīn fī ṭabaqāt al-nasābīn*) and Ḥasan b. Maḥmūd (*Ṭabaqāt al-nasābīn*). A manuscript by the title *Ṭabaqāt al-nasābīn* by al-Juwānī al-Misrī is found at the Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya.



historiographical program. However, once a reliable skeletal sociopolitical network is prepared for analysis, it can be filled with the details of relevant critically-assessed information extracted from the *Tabaqāt* and the historical traditions. In this manner, the historian undertakes a minimalist enterprise of starting with a stable infrastructure, enhancing it only with as much critically-assessed detail as is sufficient for reconstructing a basic but detailed sociopolitical past. As can be imagined, the weight of such historiography lies in the quantitative analysis of a mass of details, not in reliance on descriptions extracted from a problematic source base. And it is not only a source critical method that guards the historian against unreliable accounts; the social grid itself also serves as a backdrop against which to test narrative accounts.

### Challenges and Solutions

The prosopography-based historian of the early Islamic Hijāz faces a number of daunting challenges different from the ones that plague the handler of chronographies.<sup>13</sup> Most of these concern the various kinds of limitations of the main source base. Whereas the historian relying on chronographies must learn to be wary of the layers of excessive *topoi*, themes, etc., the genealogist is frustrated by the contrasting sparseness of data in lists. This is obviously both a blessing and a curse.

For example, though a close quantitative analysis of the data preserved in the lists can give a clear picture of social networks, a sequential history reconstructed on the basis of this evidence is difficult because of the dearth of dates. Thus, though the evidence of the contracting and dissolution of marriages is generally useful in the historiographical program, for any number of families one ends up with a network with no temporal reference. In addition, where multiple sequential marriages of women are recorded, often the sources do not specify whether the previous husband died or divorced the wife.<sup>14</sup> Such information is crucial in determining the significance of sequential marriages. Again, in an equal number of cases, when divorces are explicitly mentioned, the sources fail to specify reasons for them.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The earliest extant genealogies seem to have been the canon for the later ones and for related information in other genres. It is perhaps for this reason that they were mostly unchallenged and were subject to the phenomenon of parasitism that I will explain below. Reconstructing the history of the transmission of these early genealogies in the oral period and of their subsequent transposition into the written medium can be accomplished only in a very limited number of cases since the general absence of *asānīd* and variant accounts makes them mostly impervious to internal source criticism. As indicated above, their authors relied on tribal and family accounts (sometimes in what may be considered to be in an anthropological fashion—much as 'Aṣṣam al-Sulamī claims to have constructed his geography through fieldwork) and documentary evidence. Thus one may construct stemmata of source influences for later genealogies, but one cannot do much of this for the earliest ones. I have reserved both these tasks for a forthcoming monograph, tentatively entitled *Empire and Periphery*, and will not delve into them here. Some of the limitations of the sources are also discussed by Yazigi, *Politics*, p. 4ff.

<sup>14</sup> In many cases, one simply finds *thumma khalafa* 'alayhā [fulān]. In other cases, the reasons for the termination of the previous marriage are indicated: *fa-fāraqahā*; *fa-tallaqahā*; *fa-qatila* 'anhā. As an exception, the *Kitāb al-murjifāt* of al-Madā'īni, a treatise devoted to much-married women, is generally very clear about the various reasons that ended a marriage.

<sup>15</sup> As quite a bit of the initial sociopolitical grid is based on marital alliances, it is worth pointing out a problem related to the reports about women. Women are usually listed in the sources under three categories (this is not to say that they never appear on their own—the *murjifāt* are one example): among the daughters, mothers, and wives of individuals under consideration. As wives, they are usually

Due to the very nature of prosopography, there is no hard and fast rule for handling the evidence and each case must be considered separately, with reference to its own set of concomitants and to some methodological assumptions and inductive principles. Thus, as far as marriage dates are concerned, the age of the children is a fair indication of the *termini*. If, for example, the oldest and youngest children of a man by a certain woman were born in 100 AH and 120 AH, the marriage could not have been contracted after 100 AH and lasted for at least two decades. The age gap also indicates that the woman was married at a fairly young age. If the analysis requires a more precise dating, the age of the father can sometimes be of some help. Thus, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who was so young at Karbalā' that some sources can reasonably cite his minority as an explanation for his absence from the battlefield,<sup>16</sup> could not have taken Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan as his bride much before the incident. As the sources also claim that his son al-Bāqir was born around 57 AH, 'Alī must have contracted this marriage not much before that date. Given his young age, this must also have been one of his earliest marriages (if not his first). On the basis of this reasoning, one can also say that the earliest of the marriages of the generation of 'Alī's children was probably not contracted until around the year 70 AH. It follows that the mother of the oldest children, even if the date of their birth is not available, could not have been wed before this time. Likewise, if a child of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn was born around the time of his death in the mid-nineties of the first century AH, then the earliest marriage of this child was probably not contracted until the middle of the late teens of the following century. As can be seen, there is room for informed speculation on dates.

The sociological patterns of this study have led to the general methodological principle that most marriages were contracted to form and sustain alliances and beget children.<sup>17</sup> So when the abovementioned dating methods are of no avail and only the birth year of the oldest child is accessible, the marriage date is taken to be close to the

mentioned only if they bore their husbands any children. Thus, there is the possibility that women who did not bear a man any children were not mentioned in the sources among his wives. And this means that our data is incomplete. The problem can be overcome by searching for women via the other two categories, i.e. by going into the records of families not under direct consideration. I have adopted this method in this study. Under the other categories, it is fairly common to find women listed, followed by *lam tatazawwaj*, or after the mention of a husband, *lam talid lahu*. Even in the problematic category, wives are sometimes listed who did not bear children. After the first few decades of the 'Abbāsī dynasty, as the notion of *sharaf* came to home in on the 'Abbāsī and 'Alid families and, amidst legitimist disputes, increasingly more emphasis came to be placed on patrilineal descent, genealogists came to focus on the productive male lines of the *ashraf*. This is especially true of the 'Alids, who developed a genre of genealogical writing devoted exclusively to the 'Alid lines. The earliest extant work in this genre is called *Kitāb al-mu'aqqibīn min wuld al-imām amir al-mu'minīn* (the author is Yahyā b. al-Ḥasan al-'Aqīqī). This is not to say that non-productive lines were not mentioned. The records of earlier generations of 'Alids in 'Alid genealogies are almost identical to those preserved in other genealogies. The program of listing names of both men and women, productive and non-productive, is also shared by the two kinds of works. However, for later generations, the 'Alid genealogies come to focus almost exclusively on *mu'qibīn* (sic). (Compare, for example, the information contained in *Rāzā's al-Shajara* for earlier and later generations.) In contrast, the records of the other families began to dwindle after the first few decades of the new dynasty.

<sup>16</sup> He was also reportedly discovered by the army of the caliph in a tent with the female members of his house. Other reports cite illness as the explanation.

<sup>17</sup> I will say more about the nature of kinship in the next section.



date of this first child's birth. When all else fails and some vague dating is necessary, a general rule of twenty years to a generation is applied. This is not only supported by the more transparent cases where dates can be assigned, but is also recognized as the period of a generational cycle by the lexicographical tradition.<sup>18</sup>

The silence of the sources on the issue of divorce or the death of the husband is easier to handle. As all the families here belonged to the highest social echelons, most of their marriages were contracted into similar families so that, when the analysis requires, it is fairly easy to check the death dates of husbands. If children from a next marriage were born before the death of the previous husband, the marriage obviously ended in divorce; if they were born around the same time, it is fair to assume that the woman was widowed. The issue is more complicated either when the next marriage produced no children or when their birth dates cannot be tracked. But this poses a problem only in rare cases. For even when such information is lacking, the general sociopolitical trajectory of the woman's kinship group can offer some hints and mutually corroborate evidence for the conclusions. Such evidence can likewise be brought to use in cases where the reasons for a divorce are not mentioned.<sup>19</sup> If the divorce suggests a rift in alliances, other such cases between the two parties or the circumstantial evidence of their alliance with a group hostile to the woman's in-laws often exist. Finally, when no multiple marriages are mentioned, the wife is taken either to have lived through her husband's death or to have died in his custody.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the pattern of the data suggests that if a divorce is not explicitly mentioned, it did not take place. This is a methodological principle predicated on a long-term engagement with the sources.

The reliability of the genealogical sources is apparently problematic on two levels—accidental *tahrif* and deliberate tampering. As far as the former is concerned, it is generally the result of the fact that the families under consideration, especially the 'Alids (where both types of problem are most evident), worked with a limited number of names.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the phenomenon of the repetition of the same name over several generations is quite common. Thus, there are few 'Amrs and 'Umars among the 'Alids and an inordinate number of Hasans and Husayns. The case is the reverse for the 'Uthmānids. This means that one is bound to find confusing strings such as al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan among the former and 'Umar b. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. 'Umar among the latter. This, in turn, means the expected transmission errors in the sources: 'Amrs get confused with 'Umars, Hasans with Husayns and, what is worse, an 'Amr or 'Umar, Hasan or Husayn may drop out of a name so that, when one intends to speak about the son, one ends up speaking about the father. When it comes to such names, sometimes the sources naturally disagree.

Fortunately, the problem this phenomenon poses for this study is, as much else here,

<sup>18</sup> See *Tabaqat* under T-B-Q in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*.

<sup>19</sup> A divorce does not necessarily mean the termination of an alliance. I will discuss this further in the next section.

<sup>20</sup> In a great number of cases, the death of a husband does seem to lead to a next marriage (unless the wife was of an advanced age) and, should she have died in his custody, the expression *māta* 'indahu often occurs.

<sup>21</sup> The same can be said for some *alqāb*, which, in many cases, are nevertheless helpful to the genealogists in an ocean of shared names. 'Umar al-Ashraf b. 'Ali and 'Umar al-Araf b. 'Ali are two representative cases. On the homonymy of personages, see Sublet, *Le voile*, 8.

context-sensitive. If, for example, the families of two brothers, 'Umar and 'Amr, generally share similar sociopolitical trajectories, then the confusion over their names should not be troublesome for the researcher. For the objective here is not to determine whether the families of this or that 'Umar or 'Amr acted in a certain fashion; it is rather to say that one or two lines of the family show certain identifiable and chronologically chartable characteristics. In the case of quantitative analysis names are only denotative tags.

It is of graver concern to the researcher when two lines displaying *opposite* trajectories are subject to regular confusion because of similar names like 'Amr and 'Umar.<sup>22</sup> This would make it difficult to determine how a particular line behaved diachronically—was this behavior haphazard or were there two lines, one confused with the other, that behaved in different ways? The only way to sort out this problem is by reliance on additional information from outside the genealogical tradition and on generational patterns. Let us say, for example, that a certain 'Amr, who is known in the tradition to have been a staunch pro-'Alid, is reported to have married two 'Alid and two 'Uthmānid daughters. His brother 'Umar, an equally fanatic supporter of the 'Uthmāniyya, took the same number of wives in an identical fashion. This scenario is entirely conceivable. Though it is equally conceivable that the four sons of 'Amr, one from each of his wives, were also pro-'Alid and that all married 'Alid women and that, in contrast, the four sons of 'Umar not only supported the 'Uthmāniyya but also married 'Uthmānid women exclusively, this observation would constitute some cause for the researcher to consider the possibility of an error in the sources. In this case, it is fair to suggest that two sets of wives of 'Amr and 'Umar were confused with each other: 'Amr was probably married to 'Umar's 'Alid wives and 'Umar to 'Amr's 'Uthmānid wives. Where such rare cases have emerged, I have alerted the reader to the alternative interpretation.<sup>23</sup>

The sources sometimes also take the father for the son, vice versa, and the grandfather for the father. In the rare cases where this problem is found, it is usually the result of the interpolation or omission of a name in the *nasab* chain. Thus, A ibn B ibn C ibn D might be referred to as B ibn C ibn D (father in place of son) or A ibn C ibn D (grandfather in place of father). In some cases, this is not at all an error, for the rules of Arab nomenclature allow for a wide semantic range for *ab* and *amm*, and it is indeed a well-

<sup>22</sup> Random and rare confusion in the sources is to be expected, but here the consensus of the majority of the reports can serve as a control.

<sup>23</sup> The case of the two sons of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān by these names, though not as drastic as the hypothetical scenario here, is an example. Another example: in chapter four, we meet two sons of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Abdallāh al-Akbar and 'Abdallāh al-Asghar. The sources seem to confuse one with the other. However, this confusion not only fails to affect any larger argument of the chapter, but it can also be resolved. What is important to note is that one son was born to Ruqayya and the other to Fakhita. The older one seems to have died early (most sources agree on this), so he cannot have married. Most sources also agree that Ruqayya was a very early wife of 'Uthmān. So the older 'Abdallāh is likely her son. The woman whom he allegedly married is reported as a sister of a wife of the younger 'Abdallāh. It is thus likely that the latter married one sister after the other (this is an oft-noted phenomenon) and our sources confused him with his older brother. Ultimately, this correction is not important, since the lines of both these men passed away so that there is no further information to process anyway. Since there appears to be no motive for the recasting of information, the error of the sources is probably an honest one. This is one example of the kind of analysis carried out in this book to solve such problems.



known practice to refer to a man sometimes with reference to a more famous ancestor than his father or to neglect a strict *nasab* appellation in favor of a name that has become customary (*mashhūr*).<sup>24</sup> Two famous examples of this are Ibn al-Kalbī (both father and son) and Ibn al-Nadīm, the bio-bibliographer. When the error is unintentional, it is usually fairly easy to correct against the consensus of other genealogical works. In most such cases, however, I have recorded discrepancies in the sources.

We now come to the thorniest issue of all: invention of genealogies, a subject so far dealt with only in passing. As pointed out above, genealogical invention did take place, but it seems that for the majority of cases this occurred with reference to ancestors several generations removed. By the late second and early third centuries genealogies of a particular tribe (Sādūsī, al-Zubayrī, etc.) and of the Arabs as a whole (Ibn al-Kalbī) had become the canon upon which the claims of later individuals and groups came to be grafted. The oral phases and the period of transformation of these genealogies is difficult to reconstruct, though the information they generally carry for the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods should be considered mostly reliable for two reasons in addition to those indicated above: (1) there are few challenges to the skeletal genealogies provided in these works (this is striking in comparison to the alternative historiographical narratives and the plethora of *riwāyats* for a given *ḥadīth*); and (2) some of the individuals with whom we are concerned either lived at the time these genealogies were compiled (the early 'Abbāsīd period) or were but three or four generations removed from their ancestors under consideration.<sup>25</sup> Thus, though people could—and did—claim falsely to belong to this or that tribe or confederation, the claim to a fictive or false father in a tribal context (in which genealogies were a major preoccupation and families were much more closely knit) was risky business. As can be imagined, this was doubly difficult for nobility, the class that concerns us here, as its members lived and acted in the full light of history and enjoyed benefits by dint of their lineage. Where lineages were traced to a fictive or false father, it seems that the genealogists and society at large did notice them. Ziyād b. Abīhi, the adopted brother of Mu'āwīya, is a prime example of this phenomenon.<sup>26</sup>

Genealogical invention is associated with the phenomenon of the parasitic grafting of one's lineage onto an existing backbone.<sup>27</sup> This practice involves finding a common

<sup>24</sup> There were treatises devoted to this phenomenon of supplying in the *nasab* a name other than the father's. See, e.g. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb man nasiba ilā ummihī min al-shu'arā'* and al-Firūzabādī, *Tuhfat al-abih fi man nasiba ilā ghayr abih*. Most examples in the second book also concern those who traced their ancestry to their mothers.

<sup>25</sup> 'Abdallāh al-Ashtar b. Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, for example, fell in the third generation after al-Hasan al-Muthannī, whose generation is generally the *terminus ante quem* of this book.

<sup>26</sup> The Tradition that the place of one who knowingly claims a false father is hell-fire (*man idda'ā aban ghayra abih*) is often related with reference to Ziyād. Ironically, several of the *asānīd* of this Tradition include Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās, whose lineage is itself suspect (see the next chapter). I suspect that *ab* does not necessarily mean father, but rather ancestor, though this assertion will remain speculative until the Tradition is studied in detail. Finally, it is worth noting that 'Alid genealogies do record a much greater number of disagreements among genealogists about the ancestral claims of figures who lived in the period following the one with which this book is concerned.

<sup>27</sup> Genealogical parasitism is described in the following terms by Cordell: 'the grafting of all or parts of one kingly onto that of a nearby state of greater antiquity—a practice aimed at creating an aura of legitimacy.' See Cordell, *Dar al-Kuti*, 46. I have taken this quotation from Szombathy, 'Genealogy', p. 5 n. 1, where this practice is studied with reference to the Arabic tradition.

name in one's own ancestry and identifying that name with an instance of the same name occurring in the desired lineage. The extent to which this method was operative also in the formative period of 'ilm al-nasab is unclear, though it goes without saying that even for this period the paradigm required an existing host genealogy. Parasitism, insofar as it is aimed at expressing legitimism, rarely seems to have occurred with reference to near ancestors, and functions either on a tribal and confederate level (belonging to Quraysh or Qays) or with regard to the earliest Companions. So whereas it would have served whatever social or political intentions of a subgroup of the Kināna of Egypt to trace their lineage back to Quraysh through the shared named Kināna that also occurs in the Qurashī tribe, and of the Waqāsa Berbers to claim descent from Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās by similar means,<sup>28</sup> it makes little sense that someone like Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya should have falsified the identity of his father or grandfather. For all the personal social and political clout of 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī, his own nobility was expressed in terms of his descent from al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib. 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī and his father were perhaps temporally not removed enough to have succeeding in circulating this fiction themselves. Thus, if one must charge a notable figure of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods with genealogical invention, generational distance is a requirement.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps members of the generations of the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods claimed falsely to have descended from this or that notable of the early Islamic period through some form of genealogical parasitism. Fortunately, this is not detrimental to the argument of this study. For in this worst-case scenario neither the historicity of such persons nor their near-contemporary ascendant kinship are vulnerable to skepticism. What is at stake is whether a person such as Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya was in fact descended from the Prophet. For our purposes we can happily forget his claim; it is irrelevant whether he was actually of pure blood. What is important is that around the middle of the second century a man by this name and his near ascendants, 'Abdallāh and al-Hasan, displayed certain social and political inclinations that have been recorded in the sources. In other words, we are not concerned with the historicity or truth of his ideological claims—should the skeptic want, we are willing to grant their falsity—but with the sociopolitical trajectory of a line and its kinsmen regardless of what their ancient lineage may have been.<sup>30</sup>

Finally, at this stage, some general comments about the prosopographical method of this book are in order. Modern researchers often define prosopography as the study of

<sup>28</sup> See Szombathy, 'Genealogies', 6.

<sup>29</sup> That generational distance is a requirement is also borne out by the examples of genealogical parasitism listed by Szombathy (reference above). It is also supported by the fact that most disputes over genealogical claims in the 'Alid genealogies—where such disputes are most numerous (compared to them, genealogical disputes over the descendants of the other families studied here are almost non-existent, perhaps a function of the changing notion of nobility in the early 'Abbāsīd period)—have to do with figures of the third century and beyond, i.e. after the period with which this book is concerned.

<sup>30</sup> Another bit of evidence that may be adduced in support of the reliability of genealogies is records of the names of both men and women who neither left any descendants nor any further historiographical records. Among women, the names of several, along with those of their husbands, have been preserved with the explicit notice that they did not bear any children for these men. In the absence of any ostensible reason for the invention of this information, such records should probably be taken at face value.



the collective lives of individuals. A series is usually picked out in terms of a shared characteristic and the researcher asks a set of questions about this dataset across a number of attributes. Thus, one might pick out all the individuals who transmitted reports from the Companion Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās and try to understand their membership in this category by asking questions about their political leanings, geographical location, extent of learning, etc. The set of answers to such queries would tell us much about the motivations behind the members' behavior as a unit.

Arabo-Islamic prosopographical study has not reached the stage where such questions can be asked for large groups. For one, the dataset is massive and needs to be assembled in a comprehensive digital bank. Then, as noted above, much of the data is also missing or is not uniform across the set. And perhaps the greatest initial hindrance for a proper prosopographical study of early Islam is that the sources provide us with series that are organized according to some theoretical principle or one that serves a scholarly discipline, but not those series that are useful for writing sociopolitical histories. And this is the main challenge that this book tries to overcome. For example, it is certainly true that the principle of kinship recognition in the early Islamic world was patrilineal, but, as this study shows, this mode of organization does not reflect group formation in any real sense. It is a framework that served genealogists and genealogies more than sociopolitical realities.

And so this book does prosopography backwards and in a preliminary fashion. It concentrates on a matrilineal and cross-patrilineal principle of belonging and, in so doing, supplies a socially and politically relevant series; but it does not tell us why the series exist. In other words, this book tells us about the constitution of various sociopolitical factions that cut across patrilineal, but it does not say much about why these factions formed. Membership in a faction is measured by degrees of kinship links and also by reports regarding patronage, political appointments, participation in revolutionary movements, etc. This is the first step and it is my hope that more sophisticated queries can be grafted onto this spadework in the future.<sup>31</sup>

#### Remarks on Kinship and Marriage

Three points will be discussed in this section: the importance of matrilineal kinship for sociopolitics,<sup>32</sup> endogamy and exogamy, and the meaning of multiple sequential marriages of women.

Throughout this study, I have dubbed an individual's matrilineal kinsfolk as his cognates and have called the patrilineal kinsfolk his agnates. Though the Arabo-Islamic tradition recognizes patrilineality as a principle of organization, the importance of

<sup>31</sup> I am currently completing a monograph that uses social network analysis methods on this same society to ask questions about its structural features and about the form and function of the various layers of early canonized genealogies. This forthcoming work concentrates on the families and factions that emerge as central in this prosopographical study, determining both the qualities of the larger networks and the position of factions and individuals within them. Structural studies are one approach to studying why factions evolved as they did. Other approaches may inquire after administrative, economic, and military transformations in society. A comprehensive approach will take all such aspects of society into account.

<sup>32</sup> This point was also observed by Yazigi, *Politics* (see esp. 7ff., where the author also cites additional sources).

cognate links, on the level of practice and theory, is also explicitly and implicitly recognized in the sources. So we find a report in Mas'ūdī stating that on the Day of Resurrection a person will be called forth by his name and the name of his mother.<sup>33</sup> The sources record that Hishām challenged Zayd b. 'Alī's legitimacy because of his descent from a concubine;<sup>34</sup> likewise, one of the main legitimist points advanced by Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is reported to have been his descent from the Fawā'im of the Banī Hāshim; and the sources devote sections to both the *asālah* and *ash'ar* of a man.<sup>35</sup> Numerous examples of this sort are found throughout the body of this book.<sup>36</sup> Beyond ideology and in the practical domain, it is reported that Muḥammad al-Dībāj's daughter may have been forced by al-Manṣūr to divorce Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh at the outbreak of his revolutionary movement;<sup>37</sup> that most of 'Uthmān's major appointments went to his cognates;<sup>38</sup> and that several land grants went to the cognates and marital contacts of a person.<sup>39</sup> Similar examples are also amply documented in the body of this book, wherein the quantitative analysis leads increasingly to the conviction that cognate links were at least as important as agnatic relations for sociopolitics on the ground.<sup>40</sup> The close relations among siblings from a single mother, their cooperation with their cognates, their adoption of their names for their own children, etc. may be explained partly by the fact that children were usually raised by their mothers and considered their homes to be separate from those of their half-siblings. (All these children shared patrilineal ancestry.) This is especially true in cases of the multiple marriages of a man, in which case the wives kept separate residences.<sup>41</sup>

Marital contacts within the line of one's cognates and full siblings (which again suggests focus on descent through one's mother) sustained over generations tended to

<sup>33</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies*, III, 698. The report, allegedly transmitted by al-'Abbās, is meant to be in praise of 'Alī and is an obvious product of the 'Alid propaganda machine against the 'Abbāsids. See Chapter V below.

<sup>34</sup> Tabarī (trans.), XXVI, 12–13.

<sup>35</sup> As far as nobility was concerned, the following statement is instructive: *fa-kīnāt jihātū 3h-araḥi ḥāṣilatan li-l-murtadā... min jihātū 'l-ābā' i wa-l-ummaḥātū*. R. 83.

<sup>36</sup> See the letters allegedly exchanged between Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and al-Manṣūr. See Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, XXVIII, 166ff. (trans.) and references in the last chapter.

<sup>37</sup> Tabarī (trans.), XXVIII, 126.

<sup>38</sup> See the chapter on the descendants of 'Uthmān.

<sup>39</sup> al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, XVI, 99.

<sup>40</sup> Sublet points out that cognates allowed a person inscription into a line in addition to that of the father. For someone inside the clan order, the issue of paternal or maternal cousin seems not to have been a clear distinguishing mark. Cousins simply allowed one to claim double lineage, i.e. to the line of the father and the mother. Sublet, *Voile*, 19.

<sup>41</sup> See the example of the children of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr by Khawla bt. Manṣūr (chapter on Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh below). Though jurā rules and the principles of social organization are agnatic, modern anthropological research reveals that actual bonds to cognates are usually very strong. It is only that such bonds are often expressed in agnatic terms. See Abu Lughod, *Veiled*, 61–2. Chelchod sees a trace of matriarchal organization among the Arabs in the numerous cases of the naming of children in honor of their cognates. This phenomenon was common in his day. See Sublet, *Voile*, 18 and the references there. The importance of cognate links is evident throughout this book. These are also discussed in Dürri, 'Kutub', p. 136; Orthmann, *Stamm*, pp. 217–8, 231–47. On the manipulation of matrilineal ties for the invention of genealogies (an example of grafting onto cognate forefathers), see Casel, *Gamharah* (Einleitung), pp. 53, 68–9. For further comments on matriarchy among the Arabs and a refutation of claims regarding its persistence, see Sublet, *Voile*, 18–9; Smith, *Kinship*, 290 (matriarchy, *muf'a*, and the charge of a child falling to cognates). For more on matrilineal tendencies in early Arabia, see van Gelder, *Close Relationships*, 20; Wilken, *Das Matriarchat*; Chelchod, 'Du nouveau'.



blur patrilineal and matrilineal lines of division. Such endogamous practices often resulted in the formation of solid sociopolitical blocs out of an existing and shared patrilineal descent.<sup>42</sup> The phenomenon of endogamy, the main function of which seems to be related to issues of nobility, preservation of wealth, group solidarity and their concomitant usefulness in the world of politics, is most noticeable among the 'Alids and the 'Uthmānids. In contrast, in their early history, a good number of Sa'dids married into the tribal élite outside of Arabia; their contacts with their own tribe were limited and such links as did exist were facilitated by the marriages of Sa'd's daughters. The 'Awfids made similar choices, though their contacts were more diverse than those of their Zuhri cousins. And the Talhids, less endogamous than the last two groups, were successful in establishing some notable direct links with the 'Alids and with a few 'Abbāsids as social brokers. They realized a fuller potential than the two preceding groups for their horizontally expansive network of cognate ties. All three of these families had good relations with the Umayyads until at least the middle of 'Abd al-Malik's reign. And all three had either direct or indirect ties with the 'Alids for the early Umayyad period. In the case of the Talhids, such ties were intensified sometime around the end of al-Walid's reign at the latest. Endogamous practices were also quite prevalent among the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids.<sup>43</sup>

In several cases, group solidarity seems to have been facilitated by the unlikely means of the multiple sequential marriages of women.<sup>44</sup> Though the larger significance of this practice remains unclear, two points may be noted: in most cases, the sequential husbands come from among those lines into which other members of the family had married; such sequential marriages may help set the dating of other similar marriages

<sup>42</sup> This phenomenon has contributed to the theory of the segmentary model of social organization, formulated by Durkheim and developed by Evans-Pritchard. For a lucid discussion of and objections to the model, see Orthmann, *Stamm*, 203ff. See also Heine, *Ethnologie*, 53ff., Peters, *Bedouin*, 71ff. What is often missed in this discussion is that the principle of agnatic fission often operates via descent through a shared mother and this usually results in cooperation with her agnates in the sociopolitical sphere. This phenomenon is noted throughout this book and is mentioned by Orthmann among her objections (p. 205). See, e.g. Murphy/Kasdan, 'Parallel', 18. The point regarding social consolidation through endogamy is made by Barth with reference to the Kurds. See Barth, 'Father's Brother's Daughter', 171.

<sup>43</sup> This difference between the 'Alids, 'Abbāsids, Umayyads, and 'Uthmānids, on the one hand, and the Sa'dids, 'Awfids, and Talhids, on the other, may be explained with reference to the degree of nobility they claimed. The 'Alids, for example, based their legitimist claims on the purity of their matrilineal and patrilineal descent so that their status could only be affected adversely by exogamy, whereas the Talhids, notables of a lower status than the 'Alids, could generally find benefit in marrying exogamously with them. Endogamy in general has also been explained as a means of keeping property within a branch. This was probably a strong motive for the practice among the 'Alids who controlled large tracts of land in Arabia. The same can be said of the 'Uthmānids. By contrast, exogamous marriage into these families would naturally entail financial benefits and acquisition of wealth. See Murphy, 'Structure', 17. For the consciousness of the Arabs of the detrimental results of inbreeding, see van Gelder, *Close Relationships*, Chapter One. As I am more centrally concerned here with sociopolitical history and not with general theories of kinship relations, I will not say more about endogamy-exogamy. The topic is discussed in van Gelder (reference above), Abu Lughod, *Veiled*, 55ff.; Smith, *Kinship*, 74, 260ff.

<sup>44</sup> I have already mentioned above a whole treatise by Madā'ini devoted to this subject. Ibn Habbāb has sections on much-married women in his *Muḥabbab* and Ibn Hajar, *Isābah*, 8: 182, mentions a woman who had married some forty or so men in her lifetime.

by other members of a woman's group, and they can also give a sense of the continuity and change in sociopolitical commitments. Then at times, the marriages seem to have produced bonds between rival groups through the intermediary of the bride, especially if she had born her former husbands any children. Thus 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb's marriage to the mother of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr brought the latter into his family and provided a link with the Bakrids; the marriage of Umm Ishāq bt. Talha to al-Hasan and al-Husayn promoted cooperation between the two branches (and among them and the Talhids) during the early years of the Umayyad caliphate; and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's mother had brought into his line 'Uqba b. Mu'ayt's descendants for whom the third caliph seems to have had a soft spot. In other words, when these women circulated from one family or tribe to another, they brought with them potentially useful social baggage. This potential was of course much greater when the women had children. For such children would come to have triple loyalties: to their mother's family, to their father's family, and to their half-siblings' family.

If the possibility of enhancing social credit did not lie at the base of the phenomenon of multiple sequential marriages and the practice simply aimed to satisfy alternative social needs (such as the perpetuation of an élite family line), one would expect to observe a greater number of women from a given family marrying a smaller number of men, rather than a small number of such women marrying an inordinate number of them. In other words, it is worth asking why, when a *murdiḥā* has a number of sisters, it is only she that is repeatedly picked out for marriage. For the group that falls among the *murdiḥāt* is quite manageable in numbers and must have had qualities that were appealing besides the basic need of the perpetuation of lineage, a bride's beauty, and other graces. Presumably, some among her sisters, cousins, and other close kinswomen also had such qualities. It seems likely that it was their social baggage that was appealing to their husbands. But of course this is not a hard and fast rule applicable to all cases.

### Outline of Chapters

This book was not easy to write; and it is not easy to read. The overwhelming prosopographical details found in the main body will surely force the readers to lose sight of the global conclusions. So I rehearse them here in the following paragraph and follow them up with summaries of representative sociopolitical trends revealed in each chapter.

In broad brushstrokes, this book repeatedly shows that, in the period after the first civil war, Mu'āwīya had made concerted efforts to win the loyalties of various élite families of the Hijāz by means of grants, political posts, and appeals to kinship. The strategy was only partially successful: some élite fragments did attach themselves to the center, but they did not do so in any unified fashion or as a corporate group. With Yazīd's accession, the various élite strands broke out in an uncoordinated civil war that, due to reasons discussed below, devolved into the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr. But there was something markedly different about this historical stage: during the period of the second civil war, it appears that a number of élite families of the Hijāz had solidified their own internal social structures and, though the Zubayrid counter-caliphate does not seem to have been founded upon them, these structures did contribute to its longevity. When 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne, he renewed Mu'āwīya's appeal to the Hijāzī élite, plying them with gifts and political posts, as the Sufyānīd had once done. Yet, as



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his program of centralization become more oppressive in his last years, so too his relationship with the increasingly disenfranchised Hijāzī elite become more strained. By the end of the reign of al-Walīd, the Hijāzī elite had mobilized again, this time with two sociopolitical blocs—one under the leadership of the Ḥasanid 'Alids and the other under the initial joint leadership of the 'Abbāsids, Ḥusaynids, and the Ḥanafīyya. It is the movement of these two groups that culminated in the demise of the Umayyads, after which the elite structures were again reshuffled. In the early 'Abbāsīd period, the marginalized elite who had once been attracted to the Ḥasanid bloc were again absorbed into government service in the Hijāz. During this time, one also begins to notice the gradually increasing endogamy and internal cooperation of distinct 'Alid lines.

So much for the summary of the larger historical trends. The body of the book has five chapters, one pertaining to each family. Next, I provide brief summaries of the findings of each chapter to front-load this inevitably very dense book.

The first chapter (Ch. I) is a study of the fortunes of the family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, a famous Zuhri Companion of the Prophet and the conqueror of Iraq. The prosopographical details and social analysis of this family reveal a pattern that is noted throughout the book: the descendants of Sa'd tended to cling socially and politically not to their alleged religious elite patrilineal kinsfolk, but to their cognates.

By far, socially and politically, the most significant of his descendants were born to a Kindi woman. Her daughters, through their marriages, allowed the Sa'ds to establish ties with figures in the service of the early Umayyads and early 'Abbāsids. Some of these links also facilitated absorption into pro-'Alid circles and southern tribes of Iraq; these were two groups in which the Sa'ds consistently operated. The two sons born to this Kindi woman had an interesting trajectory. One of these, 'Umar, was a military and political leader who had joined his cognates in paying homage to Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya and, as a consequence, in suppressing the movement of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. He was also granted various political posts and, for a brief period, was poised to gain political ascendancy in Iraq. He remained tied to his cognates and, along with them, was a main target of Mukhtār's vendetta for 'Alid blood. His full brother, Muḥammad, had joined the Medinan notables at al-Ḥarra. Following the defeat at that confrontation, he left for Iraq to join his southern cognates (almost as if to continue in the footsteps of his now deceased brother), who had by this point split from the Umayyads. And very much like his brother 'Umar, he shared their fate. Children from this line also repeatedly married into southern families. Overall, the details suggest that members of this line considered themselves not so much to belong to the religious, but to the tribal elite. One might argue that they were motivated by personal status and gain and not in the least by any sense of duty to a religious or ideological stance.

The significance of Sa'd's marriage to the other Kindi woman and to the woman of the Bahra' of the Qudā'a is difficult to gauge. But in view of the marriages of his children born to these women, it is fair to state that both facilitated links with anti-'Uthmānid groups and also rehabilitated the Sa'ds into pro-'Alid segments of their Zuhri patriline. These marriages also helped the Sa'ds solidify their presence in Iraq. Unfortunately, the sources do not offer us more.

The Sa'did descendants born to the Bakr and Taghlib b. Wā'il also generally remained attached to Iraq. Some exceptions aside, initially they appear to be pro-'Alid

and are then found in the Zubayrid camp. In general terms, the Sa'dids from the lines above were pro-'Alid and (later) pro-Zubayrid, were absorbed into the social and political trajectories of their cognates (even in cases where these cognates brought them back to their Zuhri patriline), and were concentrated in Iraq.

For the period before the accession of 'Abd al-Malik, Sa'd's descendants from the marriage into the Taymallāt also appear to have a pro-'Alid bias; and much like their half-siblings, their political inclinations seem to correspond to those of their cognates. However, in this particular case, the political overlap with the cognates meant absorption into pro-Umayyad circles some time around the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. Finally, though we know very little about the fortunes of Sa'd's descendants born to a Zuhri woman, her closest and most immediate kinsfolk were certainly in the pro-'Alid camp; they were also partly of southern extraction. Thus, even in this case, one might argue for the continuity of a pattern that is by now quite familiar.

Overall, it would be reasonable to state that the Sa'did descendants were absorbed into the social structures and politics of their cognates much more than that of their agnates. The former generally tended to be pro-'Alid in the pre-Marwānid period, had strong links with southern tribes (if they were not themselves of southern extraction), and were members of the tribal—as opposed to the religious—elite. In the Marwānid period, some of these same cognates were attracted to either of the two contentious dynastic families (the Zubayrids or the Marwānids). The absorption into their circles is reflected in the marriage choices of some Sa'did women and also in the social and political trajectories of some Sa'did men. These cognates, however, pursued their social and political programs more as members of the tribal elite than as representatives of the dynasty. As the status of this tribal elite began to wane and its traces disappeared from the sources, so too did the Sa'dids.

The second chapter (Ch. II) studies the family of the Zuhri Companion 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and reveals similar patterns. It shows that, though 'Abd al-Rahmān had contracted a number of early marriages into the Meccan old aristocracy, much like Sa'd, the fortunes of his descendants were tied to their cognates from the Syrian and Iraqi tribes of south Arabian descent. In contrast to the Sa'ds, however, those descendants from the later marriages whose cognates were on good terms with the Umayyads did benefit from official posts both in the early Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. These 'Awfids built on and also carefully diversified the social and political capital their cognate links offered and were considered well-suited to be the provincial intermediaries of the empire both during the early Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods.

Thus, for example, in the pre-Marwānid period, the first generation descendants of Sahla bt. 'Āṣim of the Qudā'a were allied with the Medinans against the Umayyads via their cognates. Later generations of this same line are absent from the sources during much of the Umayyad period and, except for a brief period of reconciliation during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (as in the case of some Sa'ds), they reemerged only after the collapse of the first dynasty. It is at this stage that they were absorbed by the early 'Abbāsīds as provincial administrators. This political shift also seems to have been accompanied by a proclivity for the 'Alids that is noticeable some time soon after the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. These changes, in turn, echo the general social and political trajectory of the cognates of these 'Awfids.



'Abd al-Rahmān's descendants from Tumādīr al-Kalbiyya also contribute to the pattern of cognate pull. However, in this case, as these Kalbis remained closely attached to the Umayyads for much of their reign, their 'Awfid relatives did as well. And it is perhaps for this reason that, though the sources report on the good fortunes of this line during the Umayyad period, it disappears from the records with the coming of the 'Abbāsids.

Similar cases of cognate attraction are noticeable throughout the prosopographical details of the 'Awfids (in fact cognate attraction is noticeable throughout the book). Since the various cognate lines followed their own programs, it is impossible to generalize across matrilineal. However, one might offer the following basic summary statement about the 'Awfids: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf's early marriages were directly or indirectly linked to the Umayyads and his later ones to the powerful southern tribes of the conquered regions. These contacts are reflected in the political trajectories of a number of his descendants: they generally seem to be in the Umayyad orbit during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and thereafter manifest a pro-'Alid tendency. This in turn meant social and political ascendancy in the early Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. It is fairly clear that, as in the case of the Sa'dids, the fortunes of the 'Awfids were shaped largely by their cognates, the tribal elite.

The third chapter (Ch. III) studies the descendants of the Companion Ṭālha b. 'Ubaydallāh and observes that their sociopolitical trajectory was very different from those of the two Zuhris studied in Chapters I and II. First, their cognate relationships with families of the conquered regions seem to have been minimal. Second, although in the period after 'Abd al-Malik the families of the two Zuhris had established amicable relations with the 'Alids and 'Abbāsids via their ties to various south Arabian tribes in Iraq, overall their *direct* kinship links with them were limited. This is not the case for the Ṭalhids, for a large number of their direct contacts had some 'Alid or 'Abbāsīd stamp. And third, the various quasi-corporate aggregates of this family seem to have crystallized by cutting across cognate lines and were therefore horizontally more expansive and tightly knit than the Zuhris. In other words, the cognate pull in the case of the Ṭalhids truly diversified their social and political capital. Structurally, this family appears to have been a social bridge linking the various components of the Hasanid-led Hijāzī bloc (on which see below). By being social brokers for one of the two most powerful sociopolitical aggregates, this family continued to be relevant to the provincial elite and the central authorities through much of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods.

The abovementioned particular differences between the Ṭalhids and the two Zuhri families aside, the general contours of their histories were not very different. As an example, Ṭālha's descendants born to Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh counted the Umayyads and Makhzūm as their closest cognates. And so until the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, they seem to have enjoyed some favor with the dynasts. Two generations later, the best-documented line followed in the footsteps of its own immediate cognates, who had curried favor with the Zubayrids and then with the 'Alids. And so there is an obvious turn away from the Umayyads and ultimately an absorption into the 'Alid and Ṭalibid families. This realignment was accompanied by harsh treatment at the hands of the Umayyads, participation in Ṭalibid revolts, and political appointments in the early 'Abbāsīd period. This pattern is ubiquitous.

The next chapter (Ch. IV) concentrates on the family of the third caliph and Companion 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who was a member of the Umayyad family that came to rule not long after his murder. The history of the 'Uthmānids is relatively easy to assess, since their cognate lines do not show as much social and political variety as the other elite families. To some extent, the details further corroborate the observations from earlier chapters: those few members of the Umayyad dynasty that had come to share in the identity of one of the two blocs (mentioned below) show more longevity than those who did not (though such longevity was not necessarily continuous—as for some of the elite mentioned above, so here a period of reconciliation in the early Umayyad era was followed by a rather long break with the dynasty after 'Abd al-Malik that lasted until the last days of the dynasty). However, most 'Uthmānids tended to be associated with the Umayyads and were able to secure enviable political appointments from them through much of their reign. This close association also generally meant their suppression in the early 'Abbāsīd period.

The final chapter (Ch. V) is the longest part of the book. It is a study of the descendants of the fourth caliph and Companion 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose party later developed into the Shi'a. In many ways, this chapter marks a natural end of the research on the Hijāzī elite because its central figures were also the leaders of the two main sociopolitical blocs that absorbed many of the other elite figures. Thus both in terms of kinship links and political program, the trajectory of the Hijāzī elite studied in the rest of the book can be viewed from the vantage point of the members of the 'Alid family. Put another way, the major part of the continuous narrative that can be extracted from the disparate details of the first four chapters really tells the story of the Hijāzī 'Alids and their associates.

The prosopographical work on the 'Alids suggests that sometime around the end of the reign of al-Walid (and perhaps as early as the middle period of 'Abd al-Malik's reign), two vaguely defined political coalitions had emerged in the Hijāz. The Hasanids led the first bloc, which, with the exception of the line from Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, incorporated most of al-Ḥasan's descendants and a number of branches of the Hijāzī elite (with the general exception of the Zuhris). It also absorbed a few politically disillusioned Husaynids (descended mostly from concubines of 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin). The leader of this bloc 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī is something of a shadowy figure. However, it is highly likely that he aspired to gain rulership for his family on the basis of clandestine propaganda activity starting already sometime around the end of the reign of al-Walid. Two of his sons married heavily into the ranks of the Hijāzī elite (in fact his family married heavily into these groups for at least two generations) and were ideologically backed by followers in several provinces. They came out in an abortive revolution in 145 AH.

Around this time, these Hasanids also began a trend towards endogamy with the result that, though they remained militant for several generations to come, their erstwhile elite support disappeared in the later times. The loss of elite support may in fact have been a result of the clever 'Abbāsīd policy of granting lucrative appointments to the elite and establishing marriage ties with them. This method of social and political absorption was also employed by the early Umayyads and is noted at various points throughout the book.

The second political bloc also had its roots in the reign of al-Walid (or 'Abd al-Malik). During this time the lines of both 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidin and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya perpetuated their family's earlier contacts with the 'Abbāsids. In the years that followed, two lines of 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidin (discussed below) also strengthened their ties with the Ḥanafīyya. It is likely via the contacts running through the latter that both these Ḥusaynid lines came to embrace the revolutionary call—but this should be seen as an anti-Umayyad stance and not necessarily as a pro-'Abbāsīd one. Yet the first of these two Ḥusaynid lines came out in what appears to have been a premature revolt in Kūfa in 122 AH and, though its leader (and later his son, who counted the Ḥanafīyya as his kinsfolk) appealed to the Ḥāshimīyya, he received no support from them. The Ḥusaynids' social isolation (unlike the Ḥasanids discussed above) meant that the mass of the Hijāzī elite could not be counted on support either. Thereafter, this line turned to a strict endogamy and many of its members and followers came to be incorporated in later Ḥasanid-led revolutionary movements. They generally abandoned contacts with all other 'Alid branches, including the Imāmī line.

At the same time, the second bloc itself had split. The aforementioned second line of 'Ali Zayn al-'Ābidin (by Umm 'Abdallāh) was overtly quiescent. It is perhaps due to this fact and due to their marital contacts with the Ḥanafīyya at a time when practically no other 'Alid branch took them as in-laws, that they were able to reassert their kinship tie with the 'Abbāsids when the latter came to power. In other words, between the death of al-Walid and the toppling of the Umayyads these Ḥusaynids did not lead premature movements and were the only 'Alids to maintain sustained kinship links with the Ḥanafīyya. It is also during this time that these same Ḥusaynids (later to emerge as the Imāmīs) solidified their own family structures via intense endogamy. Thus these Ḥusaynids had not only shaped a self-identity, but had also remained central participants of the revolution. In this case, one also witnesses a substantial number of marriages into the 'Abbāsīd line a little before and again after the success of the revolution. And it is their descendants that remained in the tightest (and most suffocating) embrace of the 'Abbāsids for decades after the success of the revolution.

The rest of the book consists of a concluding chapter and an appendix. The concluding chapter summarizes the larger trends extracted from the prosopographical details in the body of the book; this chapter also lightly touches upon the issue of the usefulness of the prosopographical method for early Islamic historiography in the light of its employment in other fields. The appendix presents a series of family trees as companion to the narrative of the chapters.

#### Pointers and Reminders

Some last points are in order in this introduction, which the reader will soon recognize as *al-faraj qabl al-'shidda*. Given the absence of any studies on the sociopolitical history of the elite of the Hijaz for the period under consideration<sup>45</sup> and the equal dearth

<sup>45</sup> Despite its title, al-Sharīf's *Dawr al-hijāz fi 'l-hayāh al-siyāsīyya al-'amma fi 'l-qarnayn al-awwal wa-'l-thānī li-'l-hijra* has little to say on the political role of the Hijaz in the period, and Sayf's *al-Hayāh al-iqtisādīyya*, though useful, offers a thematic study of topics ranging from stipends and slaves to agricultural enterprises of the Hijaz. In other words, neither is directly concerned with the sociopolitics of the elite and its relation to the central government.

in the field of works that demonstrate a systematic and sustained use of a prosopographical method, this book is perforce exploratory and experimental.

That there were practically no secondary sources to work with was both a blessing and a curse: it meant that the territory was virgin, but also that I had to gamble with an untested method, and reconstruct much of what is found here from scratch. As the reader will notice, this also meant an almost exclusive reliance on primary sources and an obsession with detail.

By its very nature, prosopography takes a toll on the reader. Thus, as the chapters began to take shape, I decided that each one should be introduced in an anecdotal style with a deliberately uncritical attitude towards the narratives of sources. The aim here was to provide a smooth (perhaps kind) transition into the mass of details that follows. Some *najāh* from the prosopography is also provided in the introductory chapter synopses, in the short analyses that follow the details of various branches of each family, and in the conclusions at the end of each chapter. I would also like to note that, throughout this study, I use 'revolution' in place of 'rebellion' to imply that, in the absence of a consensus on legitimate authority in the early Islamic period, all movements against established powers (and established powers themselves) were equally legitimate. The word 'rebellion' or 'mutiny' implies the recognized legitimacy of the established authorities and it appears to me that notions of legitimacy are not clear-cut during this early period. (Of course the contingents that were involved in the murder of the third caliph and similar groups can perhaps be considered fair exceptions.)



## CHAPTER I

## The Descendants of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās

## I.1.1. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās

The sources tell us that Sa'd was born in the year of the Fijār wars to Mālik b. Uhayb of the Kilāb b. Murra of the Quraysh and Ḥanna bt. Sufyān b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams of the same tribe. He converted to Islam at the age of nineteen or twenty-two.<sup>46</sup> We know very little about his life as a youth. We do know that he was an early convert to Islam and that he was not the only one in his family to have joined Muḥammad's budding religion. His younger brother 'Umayr also converted at a very young age and was an underage participant at Badr, where he became a martyr.<sup>47</sup> Another brother of his, 'Āmir, converted well before the *hijra*.<sup>48</sup> Sa'd has been credited with having shot the first arrow in the service of Islam. He is also counted among the '*Ashara Mubashshara*', those ten to whom the Prophet had promised Paradise in their lifetimes. He was a close and constant Companion of the Prophet and transmitted some two hundred and eleven *ahādith* from him that have been recorded in the sources.<sup>49</sup>

After the Prophet's death, Sa'd appears again in the sources, this time as the conqueror of Iraq, during the caliphate of 'Umar I. The major victory in the region for which he has been highly acclaimed in the Islamic sources occurred at al-Qādisiyya.<sup>50</sup> It is here that the Sassanids were expelled from Iraq and that Sa'd was able to take hold of al-Madā'in. Thereafter, his nephew Ḥāshim b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqās was sent by him to al-Jalūla,<sup>51</sup> where another decisive victory was gained. Hawting estimates the years of Sa'd's military activities to fall between 14 and 19 AH. Once the Sawād was secured, Sa'd built Kūfa there as a garrison town and became its first governor.<sup>52</sup>

The information we have about Sa'd from this point on concerns largely his troubled relationship with 'Umar, sprinkled with hints about his slowly crystallizing social links in Kūfa.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>46</sup> BL, 1: 103, 5: 83-6. He was the third, seventh or ninth to convert ('Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās' (G. R. Hawting), *EI2*).

<sup>47</sup> See BL, 1: 295; al-'Uṣfūrī, *Tārīkh khalīfa*, 32; IH, 128-30; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-Akbar*, 17: 55.

<sup>48</sup> It appears that it took some convincing to bring him to his brother's side against the extraordinary efforts of his mother. Thereafter, he went to Abyssinia in the second migration with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and returned with Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. He died in the caliphate of 'Umar either in the plague of 'Amwās or in Egypt. See BL, 5: 79ff.

<sup>49</sup> This is at least my count to date. I did not consider variants (sometimes somewhat significant) to be separate Traditions.

<sup>50</sup> This battle took place in the first or second year of 'Umar's reign. See references below and 'al-Qādisiyya' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri [sic]), *EI2*.

<sup>51</sup> This battle took place at the end of 16 AH. See reference below and 'al-Djalūla' (M. Streck), *EI2*.

<sup>52</sup> Some further details are found in 'Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās' (G. R. Hawting), *EI2*.

<sup>53</sup> Some of the details pertaining to these two points occur in the form of *ahādith*. Their analysis is found in my dissertation, Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' Chapter II.

But what was the nature of the quarrel between Sa'd and the caliph? I suspect that it had something to do with Sa'd's growing power and wealth in the conquered territories. What is surprising is that this might well have been the consequence of 'Umar's early administrative policies in the region, which only later came to give way to the *sābiqa* system. The sources report that the victory at al-Jalūlā yielded to the Muslims the greatest booty up until that point. Sa'd, practicing his discretion as the governor of Kūfa, the executive commander in the region, and the paternal uncle of the leader of the expedition, very likely kept the lion's share for himself and for his favorites.<sup>54</sup> Some complaint about this must have reached 'Umar's ear, for he asked Sa'd about five female slaves from the *khums* which Sa'd was accused of having wrongfully appropriated. Sa'd explained, 'I did so, so that the Muslims would not be tempted by them and I sold them and designated their price for (the benefit of the Muslims).'<sup>55</sup> 'Umar investigated the matter and found Sa'd's claim to be true.<sup>56</sup>

It is also clear from the sources that this was not the first time that 'Umar had investigated Sa'd. He is reported to have sent Hishām b. al-Walid b. al-Mughīra to Kūfa to inquire about him. The spy brought back news of the overwhelming approval of Sa'd in the region. Excluding some members of the 'Abs and Bajilā,<sup>57</sup> it seems that Sa'd enjoyed popularity with the people who counted most in this region.

The sources say that there developed a mutual distastefulness between al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī and Shurābīl al-Kindī, as both vied to be Sa'd's favorites.<sup>58</sup> When the latter gained the upper hand and was ennobled/honored (*shurīfa*)<sup>59</sup> in Kūfa and was made head of the army, al-Ash'ath suggested to Jarīr al-Bajalī to calumniate him on his next visit to the caliph. When the occasion arose and 'Umar (as usual) asked about the state of affairs in Kūfa, Jarīr said that there were straight and crooked arrows in Kūfa and that Sa'd was their straightener (*thiqāfuhā*)—he straightened the crookedness of the crooked and covered the crookedness (again?) of the crooked (*yūqimu awada dhī 'l-awad wa-yaghmuru 'asla dhī 'l-'asli*)<sup>60</sup> He then complained about Shurābīl and

<sup>54</sup> The sources also mention that a son of 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās was the leader of the expedition. 'Sa'd.' *EI* reports that it was Hishām b. 'Utba b. Abī Waqqās.

<sup>55</sup> BL, 5: 92f.

<sup>56</sup> That these reports are later setups for expositions of various legal matters is a likely possibility. But this only means that Sa'd must have had a certain reputation in the historical memory of the Muslim community to have been an appropriate placeholder in such cases.

<sup>57</sup> I am as of yet uncertain of the Bajilā's attitude. I base my position on reports that the Bajilā claimed to have lost a substantial number of men at Qādisiyya. This must have been especially difficult for them to come to terms with in the face of reports that Sa'd did not appear on the battlefield. I also base this on the report that Jarīr al-Bajalī calumniated a favorite of Sa'd before 'Umar. Sa'd's son, 'Umar, was also killed at Mukhtār's order by a slave of the Bajilā. See SA, 1: 289ff., and especially p. 293. I discuss these points in more detail below.

<sup>58</sup> BL, 5: 91ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, 571; al-Iṣbahānī, al-Aghānī, 14: 32; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 2: 342.

<sup>59</sup> There must be some editorial error here. Gh-M-R should probably be emended by Gh-M-Z. The latter part of the phrase will then loosely translate as, 'he squeezes/pinches the crookedness of the crooked.' This act of pinching seems to result in the straightening of spears, though I do not fully understand the mechanics. See the examples in Lane under Gh-M-Z. Alternatively, '-S-L may be emended by '-D-L to read 'idli, cunningness. So the latter part of the statement would read, 'he pinches (and so straightens) the cunningness of the cunning.' Jarīr also seems to have complained about Sa'd (in addition to Shurābīl and al-Zabrā') in the following verses, which he recited before 'Umar (in *ṭawīl*): 'I would that I and the man, Sa'd b. Malik, / And Zabrā' / Ibn al-Samī were out in the deep sea // And

Zabrā', the latter a slave of Sa'd. 'Umar exiled the former to Syria, where he was later found to be unwittingly instrumental in some of Mu'āwiya's political machinations during his struggle with 'Alī.<sup>61</sup> Zabrā' was imprisoned in Medina.

'Umar inquired on another occasion about Sa'd after he had conquered al-Qādisiyya and parts of the Sawād. This time the addressee was 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib al-Zubaydī of the Madhij. The caliph learnt from him (in *ṣaj*) that his governor had exceptional talent in levying taxes and that he looked after the populace with the love and care of a mother for her child. To this 'Umar responded, 'It seems that the two of you eulogize each other.' Balādhuri states that Sa'd had earlier written in praise of him.<sup>62</sup>

One pattern to note in the foregoing details is that the men interested in upholding Sa'd's reputation (or, for that matter, those vying for his favors) are all from southern tribes.<sup>63</sup> And it is mainly with these tribes that Sa'd established personal links in that my friends were drowned while I emerged sound / Upon the back of a great ship, calling, 'Abū Bakr!' One of Sa'd's wives of the Bakr b. Wa'il stock was named Umm Zabrā' and she also appears as the one who convinced Sa'd to release Abū Mihjan al-Thaqafi from prison so that he may participate in the battle of al-Qādisiyya. The latter had been caught drinking wine by 'Umar and had subsequently sought refuge with Sa'd (*kāna bi-bi'dī 'in-fa-takhallasa hattā lahaja bi-sa'dīn*). It is only when he continued with his old habits that Sa'd imprisoned him. That a person could have escaped 'Umar and found refuge with Sa'd is again very suggestive of their tenuous relationship. In another version in Mas'ūdi's *Murāj al-dhahab*, 2: 297, his wife from the Taymāllāt, a widow of al-Muthanna' b. Haritha, is the one who released the prisoner. Here she is reported to have said nothing demeaning of Sa'd, but the source does mention some tension between the two. However, she did ask Abū Mihjan why he was imprisoned by 'haddā r-rajal' (the less than friendly tone is apparent). To this he responded that he was a poet and had gone a bit far in his description of wine (*fa-asifu 'l-qahwata wa-tudakkilani 'l-aryahiyatu fa-aldhdu bi-madhi tyūhā*)—perhaps he got drunk on his description). This may have appeared as a disproportionate punishment for the crime. From other accounts, Sa'd's remaining behind lines seems to have been one of the standard complaints against him. For example, SA, 1: 293, mentions that Sa'd was actually in his palace as the fighting went on and the Persian reinforcements approached. Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 2: 316, mentions that he had given the command of the army to Khalid b. 'Arfata al-Udhri in his stead due to an illness (*li-'illatīn wajaduhā*). BL, 5: 95–7, mentions an account, according to which Sa'd did not fight at al-Qādisiyya. When the battle ended, he came out of his palace and exposed a gaping wound on his back, which had kept him away from the battlefield. In this context are also mentioned a few verses from Bishr b. Rabī' al-Khath'amī about how everyone fought but Sa'd (*wa-sa'dun amiru sharrihi dūna khayrihi...*). Here again (BL, 5: 95–7) are mentioned the verses of an unnamed Muslim, 'I fought until God sent his help / while Sa'd was protected at the door of al-Qādisiyya // We were happy, but many women had been widowed / But not the women of Sa'd.' Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 2: 316, also mentions that Sa'd's wife from the Taymāllāt (mentioned above in this footnote) also taunted Sa'd for sitting in the palace at the time of al-Qādisiyya. She recalled her former husband's bravery and said that Sa'd was a coward. Report of his cowardice was heard by a Muslim who said, 'You accuse him of cowardice? I saw him fight alongside Muḥammad like an experienced lion.' The memory of the early Muslims had preserved these compromising reports about Sa'd. It appears that the tradition was repeatedly trying to overcome them.

<sup>61</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 199–202. BL, 5: 89–92, mentions that Sa'd had made Shurābīl head of the army.

<sup>62</sup> BL, 5: 92f. Similar cases are noted in Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' Chapter II.

<sup>63</sup> al-Ash'ath b. Qays was descended from the famous kings of the Kinda. Shurābīl b. al-Samī was likewise a Kindī. 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib was from the tribe of Madhij. His tribe had apostatized after Muḥammad's death with those who did so in Yemen. They converted back in the *Ridda* wars and thereafter went to Iraq. There they participated in al-Qādisiyya in substantial numbers (IS, 5: 525). The role of the Madhij in the conquests was generally considerable. They also participated in the conquest of Egypt, settled in Fustāt, and contributed considerable numbers to the malcontents in Egypt who rebelled against 'Uthmān. In Kūfa, they were among the Yemeni tribes to settle there. Thereafter, they



addition to these political ones.

What might have made 'Umar anxious about Sa'd was this consolidation of his political power with the very important southern tribes in the region. As we will see in the next section, this was reinforced by his personal associations with them. This political power, however, would have been short-lived and entirely precarious in the absence of adequate financial resources. Amassing these was not a problem in Kūfa—at least not until the time of Nihāwād, which took place some time around the year 19 or 20 and so not much more than four years before 'Umar's assassination. We have already come across complaints about Sa'd's handling of the spoils of war.<sup>64</sup> What the sources only hint at is that until the time between Jalūla' and Nihāwād this practice was hardly disapproved of by the government in Medina. For our sources tell us of a visit by Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajālī to 'Umar when the caliph asked the former to ask the Bajālī to relinquish the property they had acquired in the Sawād. This presumably happened at al-Qādisiyya, where the Bajālī constituted a quarter of the Muslim forces and had thus come to acquire substantial spoils. What is significant here is that the spoils were very likely immovable booty. Otherwise, there would be little question of returning them to the state.<sup>65</sup>

It seems clear then that 'Umar changed his policy after al-Qādisiyya.<sup>66</sup> And it seems likely that he did so after al-Jalūla' when the aforementioned complaints about Sa'd began to multiply in some quarters and after which the latter was dismissed from his post. That the issue had to do with the distribution of immovables may be gauged from another report, according to which 'Umar instructed Sa'd after al-Qādisiyya to distribute movable property (*māl wa-kur'ā*) and to leave the water resources<sup>67</sup> and workers already laboring on the lands for the stipends of future generations. Such instructions were obviously aimed at changing the current spoils distribution policies.<sup>68</sup>

There are also a number of reports which tell us that (1) whenever 'Umar would appoint a governor, he would write out a contract with him, listing what he had a right were in the forefront of pro-'Alid and anti-Umayyad movements. At Šiffin, they placed themselves under Malik al-Ash'ar of the Nakha' of Madhijj and afterwards joined the movement of Ibn al-Ash'ath. See 'Madhijj' (G. R. Smith, C. E. Bosworth), *EI2*. On the role of al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindi and 'Amr b. Ma'dī Karib at al-Qādisiyya, see Balādhuri, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 2: 316. The genealogy of the Bajālī is uncertain. They are sometimes placed under the northern Anmār and, at other times, considered to be Yemeni. See 'Bajālī' (W. M. Watt), *EI2*.

<sup>64</sup> Other instances are mentioned in Ahmed, 'Between,' Chapter II.

<sup>65</sup> This report is found in several sources and comes with many *isnāds*, so as to be worthy of a close analysis. See Nawawī, *al-Majma'*, 19: 454; al-Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 6: 360; Ahmad b. Muḥammad, *Sharḥ ma'āni al-āthār*, 3: 249; al-Jaṣṣaṣ, *Aḥkām al-qur'ān*, 3: 579, etc.

<sup>66</sup> This is not to say that 'Umar changed his policy only because of Sa'd. Surely the growing power of governors in other regions must have troubled him as well.

<sup>67</sup> *al-mā'*, perhaps plantations, as in 'Alī's *ṣadaqa* testament (see Majlisī, *Bihār*, 41: 41; 42: 73; Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 1: 225; Bakrī, *Mu'jam 'Yanbu'* and 'al-Bughaybiḡha').

<sup>68</sup> The policy on the handling of spoils was closely connected with 'Umar's institution of the famous *dīwān*. Although some sources date its inception to 15 AH, most reliable sources claim that this did not occur until 20 AH. This is also what I have independently gauged from the episodes studied above. See 'Dīwān' (A. A. Duri), *EI2*, and the references given there. See also Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 60ff. The sources also mention the 'irāḍa system—which implies the existence of the 'aḍā and dīwān—to have been instituted sometime after al-Qādisiyya. But most of the details regarding it come from the time of Mu'āwīya. See 'Irāḍa/Arīf' (Salih A. al-ʿAlī/Cl. Cahen), *EI2*.

to / what belonged to him and would then divide with him the excess. Sa'd is listed among such governors. (2) A variant makes no mention of excess, and reports simply that he would divide with him what he had a right to / what belonged to him when he dismissed him. (3) Yet another variant states that 'Umar would have his governors record their property and would then take half.<sup>69</sup> Whatever the implications of this report might be, it is likely that Sa'd was not honoring his part of the contract, keeping property for himself and distributing it to his favorites from southern tribes. This must have angered certain Kūfans (as is directly and indirectly mentioned in their complaints) and must certainly have kept 'Umar worried. For the caliph was able to see quite clearly that Sa'd's political and personal influence was growing in Kūfa and that this was backed up with substantial wealth. If this analysis holds water, we may say that 'Umar's institution of the *sābiqa* system was not an act guided by a religious precedent *per se*. It was rather a move to weaken the authority of Sa'd (and surely other governors who had adopted similar practices) and the tribal élite of the south in his entourage.

By the time of 'Umar's murder, Sa'd's political career may have been on the wane. According to some sources, he may have been appointed by 'Uthmān for one year over Kūfa, in keeping with 'Umar's wishes.<sup>70</sup> But the sources differ on these matters. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Sa'd had left what seemed then to have been good foundations for the political careers of his children. Some rare occurrences in the historical tradition hint at his continued interest in the political world.<sup>71</sup> But according to the majority of the sources concerned with issues of religious doxa and praxis (which constitute the

<sup>69</sup> I am uncertain of my reading of this report; nor am I all that sure of its underlying significance. Did 'Umar have the governors record what they already owned before they left for their posts? But then why would he divide what was in this list when he would remove them? Did he have them list what they acquired during their tenure? This makes more sense, but also implies that they were entitled to at least half of what they acquired. Does this apply to all of the excess, as in one report, or to half of whatever they decided to take? (1) *kāna idhā ba'atha 'āmīlan katāba lahu mā lahu (mālahu) 'u thumma qāsama al-fadla fa-qāsama ghayra wāḥidin minhum sa'd...* (2) *idhā ba'atha 'āmīlan 'alā madīnatin katāba mā lahu (mālahu) 'u wa-qad qāsama ghayra wāḥidin minhum mā lahu idhā 'azalahu.* (3) ...*umar... amara 'ummālahu fa-katabū amwālahum minhum sa'dun fa-shātarahum 'umaru amwālahum fa-akhadha nisfan wa-a'ākhum nisfan.* (1) and (2) mention other governors, but (3) mentions only Sa'd. (1) BL, 5: 382-4; (2) IS, 3: 282; (3) IS, 3: 307. A rather bold thought that occurs to mind is that 'Umar was in some way selling the lucrative post of governor, either in exchange for the existing substantial wealth of the future governor or for a share in the wealth he was to accrue. What was to accrue to 'Umar would supposedly be at his disposal as the leader of the *Umma* and would ideally be dispensed in the way of God. Something similar was of course carried out by 'Uthmān in his 'exchange' of the *māl al-muslimin* in the Sawād for private land in the Arabian Peninsula. In effect, 'Uthmān was privatizing the immovable property in the Sawād in exchange for private property in the Peninsula, converting the latter to crown lands. 'Uthmān's repeated claim that he was not doing anything different from his predecessor makes one wonder. On 'Uthmān's policies, see Madelung, *Succession*, 81ff. The simpler solution that 'Umar was simply extracting a portion of the *anfal* that had accrued to his governors was of course the first idea that occurred to my mind. However, it fails to explain all the variants of the report mentioned above. See also some comments on the major issue of the rights of surplus (*al-fadl*) in Kennedy, *The Armies*, 75.

<sup>70</sup> Earlier, 'Umar had himself removed Sa'd from office.

<sup>71</sup> For a rare report about Sa'd's presence at Dūmat al-Jandal, see Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 8: 79. It is also in the context of the Šiffin arbitration that Sa'd is reported to have said that he deserved to rule more than others because he had taken no part in the murder of 'Uthmān or the Civil War. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 20: 287; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 8: 79.



bulk of the material for the latter part of Sa'd's life), he went into seclusion in al-'Aqīq<sup>72</sup> at the time of the first *fitna*. He became a quietist, adopting a determinist and quasi-Murji'ite attitude. He also became the moderate voice of the age, urging people not to curse 'Alī, Ṭāḥa, or al-Zubayr.<sup>73</sup> In keeping with these attitudes, he also hesitatingly accepted Mu'āwīya.<sup>74</sup> All these are characteristics of a model that—as I have argued elsewhere—seems to have been manufactured by the 'Abbāsids in view of a program of general political assimilation.<sup>75</sup> Sa'd's attitude towards 'Alī was perhaps a bit more nuanced.<sup>76</sup>

Sa'd lived to a ripe age of over 80. He died in al-'Aqīq in 55 AH, one of the last of the Companions to pass away.<sup>77</sup> It was from his haven in al-'Aqīq that his bier was carried on the shoulders of the believers to the cemetery in al-Baqī'.<sup>78</sup>

### *Li.2. Sa'd's Identity: An Excursus*

In this short section, I would like to point to an interesting phenomenon regarding Sa'd's identity that occurs in the sources. To the best of our knowledge, Sa'd's father, Mālik b. Uhayb, had no son named Waqqās. That he should be called Abū Waqqās is thus somewhat problematic (although not necessarily so, since one's *kunya* need not always correspond to some existing child). A survey of Arabic names reveals that Waqqās was generally a southern name (the only exception to this might be 'Alqama b. Waqqās, whose genealogy is uncertain, though 'Alqama itself seems to be a predominantly southern name). It occurs several times in Ibn al-Kalbi's *Nasab ma'add*,<sup>79</sup> and all instances are Qahṭāni. What is also interesting is that a certain al-Ḥārith b. Waqqās was also present at al-Qādisiyya<sup>80</sup> and that a certain 'Amr b. Muthāra b. 'Umayr of the Jalīḥa recited the following verse on the occasion of the battle, 'I made my camel kneel at the door of al-Qādisiyya / while Sa'd b. Waqqās (sic) was *amīr* over me.' (*anakhṭu bi-bābi l-qādisiyyati nāqatī / wa-sa'du 'bnu waqqāsin 'alayya amīrū*). The meter is *ṭawīl* so that the introduction of the *kunya* of Sa'd's father would break it down. I find the occurrence to be interesting nevertheless. Things become even more intriguing when we find a very confusing Tradition in the sources, where Sa'd asks the Prophet, 'Who am I?' To this he responded, 'You are Sa'd b. Mālik b. Uhayb... May the curse of God be upon anyone who says otherwise.'<sup>81</sup> It appears likely that this Tradition first

<sup>72</sup> *Al-'Aqīq*, a coveted and lush *wādī* in the south of Medina, and its surrounding regions were the home of the Medinese aristocracy in the early Islamic period. The family of the Prophet's uncle Hamza and of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr (among others) had *manzil* of a few miles from here. The family of the 'Alid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, is known to have held many of the springs in the region as *sadaqāt*. On the latter, see the chapter on the 'Alids. Bakrī, entry: 'Juthjātha'; Ibn Maghlūth, *al-Aḥṣā al-Tārikhi*, 126.

<sup>73</sup> See BL, 5: 86 and Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' 52 n.101 for a further discussion of quietist Traditions related to Sa'd.

<sup>74</sup> On the hesitation, see BL, 4: 86; Dhahabī, *Tārikhi*, 109–111.

<sup>75</sup> See, Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' Chapter II.

<sup>76</sup> See Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' 54 n.103 and Madelung, *Succession*, 145.

<sup>77</sup> BL, 5: 83–6 reports that he died aged 70 in 55 AH. There are also reports that he was poisoned by Mu'āwīya. See Madelung, *Succession*, 331.

<sup>78</sup> A variant occurs that he died in Medina. See BL, 5: 83–6.

<sup>79</sup> 1: 268–281, 2: 672.

<sup>80</sup> *Id.*, 1: 268–81.

<sup>81</sup> Dawraqī, 178; al-Dahḥāk (Ibn al-'Āsim), *al-Aḥdā*, 1: 167; al-Tabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 1: 137; al-Nisābūrī, *Ma'rifa't ul-um al-hadith*, 169; IS, 3: 137; Ibn Hanbal, *al-'Ilal*; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Tabaqāt*, 2: 279; *'Ilal al-daraqunī*, 4: 365; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghādī, *Tārikhi*, 1: 155; Ibn 'Asākir, 2: 285.

came to be circulated in a Zuhri-'Alid complex in the Hijāz sometime between the second half of the first and the first half of the second Islamic century and then moved to Iraq in the second half of the second Islamic century.<sup>82</sup> We can only guess at the significance of this Tradition. A reasonable explanation may be that the *nasab* 'Ibn Abī Waqqās' was given as an honorific to Sa'd by his southern friends in Iraq and that this name stuck with him a bit too well and came to be used against his descendants in some genealogical dispute in the time period specified. The Tradition aimed at restoring their celebrated lineage. A bolder explanation may be that Sa'd was not a Qurashī at all and that the lineage was forged some time between the second half of the first and the first half of the second Islamic century. That the Sa'ds were pretenses to the Qurashī lineage and were in fact from the Qudā'a (the 'Udhra, to be precise) has also been recorded in a gloss of Ḥassān b. Thābit's *Dirwān*.<sup>83</sup>

### *Li. The Descendants of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās*

The foregoing has provided us with a good foundation to study the fortunes of the descendants of Sa'd. For in many ways, they seem to take up politics where their illustrious ancestor left it off. In order to make things manageable, I have divided the descendants of Sa'd into six categories along cognate lines: Children from (1) Kinda and Sa'd b. Madhij of Kinda; (2) Bahrā' of the Qudā'a; (3) Bakr and Taghlib b. Wā'il; (4) Taym al-lāt b. Tha'laba; (5) Banū Ḥārith b. Zuhra; (6) Miscellaneous. I will deal with each group in turn.

Each cognate line (in fact each segment within a given cognate line) has a distinct trajectory, so that a general summary cannot really serve as a perfect substitute for the details. However, I think that it would be useful to note some general trends to frame the prosopographical exercise. (This is a practice I have adopted for all of the remaining chapters.)

I have noted above that some sources and circumstantial details lead us to cast doubt on Sa'd's Qurashī identity and to highlight his political aspirations. These suspicions and observations are further corroborated by the social and political trajectories of his descendants. Most of them remained largely connected with their Iraqi cognates of south Arabian extraction and flourished or withered with the latter. Thus, for example, of two of Sa'd's Kindi children, the full brothers 'Umar and Muḥammad, one appears to be in the favor of the Umayyads and the other a staunch revolutionary. Similarly, certain sons born to the Bakr b. Wā'il line established marriage ties with the Umayyads at a time when other Sa'ds did not. These seemingly haphazard details make sense in light of the changing relationship of the Kinda and the Bakr with the Umayyads during the course of the latter's reign. As a general rule, it is fair to say that after the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, the Sa'ds, many of whom were half southern via their cognates, found themselves in pro-'Alid and anti-Umayyad camps because their cognates had similarly shifted their alliances. Their history often overlaps that of their cognates, the south Arabian tribal elite, and not so much that of the religious elite of the Hijāz.

<sup>82</sup> I have provided a preliminary analysis of this Tradition in Ahmed, 'Between,' Chapter II.

<sup>83</sup> A few more details regarding the 'Udhri lineage are found in Madelung, *Succession*, 94, n. 74 (where the *Dirwān* is also mentioned) and problems regarding his identity are noted in Crone, *Roman*, 157 n. 63.

## Lii.1. Children of Kinda

Sa'd had children by two women of the Kinda: the first, Māriya/Māwiya bt. Qays b. Ma'di Karib b. Abi al-Kaysam b. Samṭ b. Imri' i 'l-Qays b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya al-Kindi.<sup>84</sup> was perhaps his most significant marital alliance. She bore him five children, three daughters and two sons. Of all his children, 'Umar and Muḥammad, his two sons from this woman, seem to have had the greatest involvement in the politics of the day. The three daughters brought two important sons-in-law into the family—Mughīra b. Shu'ba, who was married to Hafsa bt. Sa'd; and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, who married Umm al-Qāsim bt. Sa'd and then Umm Kulthūm bt. Sa'd. This Ibrāhīm's son Sa'd was appointed *qāḍī* and was head of the *shurṭa* of Medina on several occasions. In turn, his son Ibrāhīm, who was appointed the *qāḍī* of Baghdad by al-Rashīd, was also a companion of the 'Alid *imām* al-Šādiq.<sup>85</sup> As with al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, this was a significant political alliance.<sup>86</sup> The second Kindi woman Sa'd married has been identified as Umm Hilāl bt. Rabi' b. Murayyīn of the Madhij of the Kinda.<sup>87</sup> She gave birth to three little known children, one of whom has been identified by the sources as a *muḥaddith*.

## Lii.1.A. Children of Māriya bt. Qays

'Umar b. Sa'd made the most of the opportunities he inherited from his father. He was involved in the political sphere from a very early age and is presented in the sources as the leading aggressor against al-Husayn b. 'Alī at Karbalā'.<sup>88</sup> His involvement in the events around 61 AH begins with al-Husayn's movement. We are told that when news of Muslim b. 'Aqīl's covert operation in Kūfa reached 'Umar b. Sa'd, he wrote a letter to the caliph Yazīd, informing him of this development. His letter was similar to the one written by 'Ammāra b. 'Uqba and 'Abdallāh b. Muslim: it advised the caliph to remove a weak and quietist administrator like al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr and to install instead someone who could effectively handle subversive forces. When this letter reached Yazīd, the *mawla* of Mu'āwiya, Sarjūn, advised him to install 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād as the governor. In a way then 'Umar was among those responsible for bringing 'Ubaydallāh to Kūfa. And this served him well. For 'Ubaydallāh eventually appointed him governor of Rayy and Hamadhān and made him commander over an army of four thousand horsemen sent to Daylam.<sup>89</sup> It is this same army which massacred al-Husayn and his family shortly after these events transpired.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>84</sup> It is also said that she was a daughter of Abū al-Kaysam al-Kindi

<sup>85</sup> See al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 2: 88; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, 1: 252; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 1: 105; 3: 403; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 4: 350; 5: 418.

<sup>86</sup> Among the Zuhra, the 'Awfids did relatively better than the Sa'dids in gaining important posts. This descendant of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and his line did particularly well. I study the 'Awfids in the next chapter.

<sup>87</sup> In IS, 3: 137f., the name is given as: Umm Hilāl b. Rabi' b. N-R-Y b. Aws b. Hāritha b. Lām b. 'Amr b. Thumāma b. Malik b. Jud'a b. Dhalīl b. Rūmān b. Hāritha b. Kharīja b. Sa'd b. Madhij. On the Madhij, see above. They were important allies of 'Alī and Ibn al-Ash'ath, representatives of two groups with whom Sa'd also did fairly well.

<sup>88</sup> See Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' 56ff.

<sup>89</sup> IS, 5: 168f.; *Bihar al-anwār*, 44: 355; al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān *Sharḥ al-akhbār*, 3: 149; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 45: 59; BL, 4: 136.

<sup>90</sup> For details, especially regarding the polemical and hagiographical elements in the presentation of 'Umar b. Sa'd, see Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' 59ff.

In 63 AH, when the caliph Yazīd died, a group of the Kinda wholeheartedly supported 'Umar's appointment in Iraq as deputy governor while the issue of the caliphate was being decided. In this instance, 'Umar had even surpassed Ibn Ziyād, whose proposal to serve the same post (after his renunciation of Yazīd) was violently rejected by those assembled. 'Umar might well have succeeded in acquiring this post had the memory of al-Husayn not weighed so heavily on the conscience of the Kūfians. Just as people were coming forward to pay homage, he was turned down among the wails of Kūfan women lamenting the brutal murder of the beloved grandson of the Prophet.

When in 66 AH al-Mukhtār b. Abi 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi erupted on the scene in Kūfa, 'Umar b. Sa'd, Ibn al-Ash'ath, Shabath b. Rabi', 'Amr b. al-Hajjāj, and other notables involved in the murder of al-Husayn are reported to have fled from the city and to have headed for Baṣra. Mukhtār, who is consistently described in the sources as uncompromisingly bent on the Husaynid vendetta, was not going to let them go unpunished. So he sent a special envoy, Abū al-Qulūš al-Shibāmī, in pursuit. Abū al-Qulūš was able to catch up with them and, after an intense battle, was able to capture 'Umar b. Sa'd. The rest of 'Umar's companions were able to elude him. 'Umar and then his son Hafṣ were decapitated—'Umar for al-Husayn and Hafṣ for 'Alī b. al-Husayn<sup>91</sup>—and his head was sent off to Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya.<sup>92</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting bit of information in this account is the list of the names of the notables who fled with 'Umar. Shabath Abū 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Kūfī was (surprisingly) of Tamīmī stock. He was a companion of 'Alī and was the first to participate (*awwalu man a'ana*) in the murder of 'Uthmān. Thereafter, he became one of the Khawārij, turned away from them, and then rejoined them. He then witnessed the murder of al-Husayn, after having written to him in support and inviting him to Kūfa.<sup>93</sup> Shabath was appointed over the *shurṭa* of al-Hārith b. 'Abdallāh, the governor of Kūfa for 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, before Mukhtār arrived there. He is also mentioned as a *sayyid* of the Tamīm.<sup>94</sup> What we can speculate on the basis of this brief biography is that, much like the other notables in this region, Shabath was an opportunist. Like Ibn al-Ash'ath, he was not attached to any ideology or policy;<sup>95</sup> he changed suits as the occasion arose.

Likewise, 'Amr b. al-Hajjāj was a leader of the southern Madhij tribe in Kūfa. After the arrest and beating of Hānī' b. 'Urwa (in the Muslim b. 'Aqīl episode) at the hands of Ibn Ziyād, 'Amr arrived outside his palace along with his Madhij to demand the safety of his kinsman. They dispersed with due assurances from Ibn Ziyād's messenger.<sup>96</sup> Like Shabath, 'Amr had also written to al-Husayn, 'The Janāb has grown

<sup>91</sup> This must be 'Alī al-Akbar b. al-Husayn. See Tabarī, XIX, 169–170; 217 (trans.).

<sup>92</sup> al-Dīnawari, *al-Akhbār*, 298f. al-Yūsī, *al-Amālī*, 243.

<sup>93</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 25 (trans.)

<sup>94</sup> *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4: 266. The phrases *a'ana* 'alā qatli 'uthmān and *kāna mimman tuliba bi-damī 'l-husayn ma'a mukhtār* are a bit confusing. I take them to mean that he helped in the murder of 'Uthmān and that he was among those who were sought out in retaliation for al-Husayn. *Ma'a mukhtār* should probably be taken as *fi 'ahd mukhtār*, i.e. at his time. *Tabarī al-tahdhīb*, 1: 411. *Siyar*, 4: 150. For a slightly different version of things, see Tabarī, XIX, p. 25, note 19 (trans.)

<sup>95</sup> Crone, *Slaves*, Appendix I, no. 29.

<sup>96</sup> Tabarī, XIX: 46–47 (trans.). A less than cordial exchange between Ibn Ziyād and 'Amr is also recorded by Tabarī, XIX: 20 (trans.)



green; the fruit has ripened; the waters have overflowed. Therefore, if you want to, come to an army that has been gathered for you. Peace be with you.<sup>97</sup> However, 'Amr is later found leading five hundred horsemen against al-Husayn and positioning them to cut off the water supply of the latter at Karbalā'. In the Karbalā' episode again, he is found at the head of the right wing of 'Umar b. Sa'd's forces.<sup>98</sup> What this tells us is that 'Amr did not feel any dutiful allegiance to his governor or to his political position. He was only interested in his own welfare and that of his tribe. Although he is praised in at least one source as a good Muslim,<sup>99</sup> we would qualify him also as a member of the tribal and not the religious elite. What begins to emerge now and will become even more apparent with fragments about 'Umar b. Sa'd's brother Muḥammad is that this line of Sa'ds followed in the footprints of the tribal elite of Iraq. And like so many of them, they did not care to promote any religious position, ideology, or policy; they were interested rather in self-promotion and self-preservation and so shifted in their political leanings with the appropriate opportunities.<sup>100</sup>

That this line of the Sa'ds generally chose to be dragged upon the coattails of their Kinda brethren should already be somewhat clear.<sup>101</sup> Further substantiating evidence for this view comes from the biography of 'Umar's full brother Muḥammad. The latter makes his first appearance in the sources at the battle of al-Harra. The causes behind the battle are fairly complicated and deserve a full study, which, unfortunately, is beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>102</sup> For our immediate interests, we should note that three main events of varying chronological order are associated with this battle: (1) the expulsion of Yazid's governor of Medina by its inhabitants; (2) the public repudiation of Yazid by the Medinans; and (3) the siege by the Medinans of the Banū Umayya in

<sup>97</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 26 (trans.)

<sup>98</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 107, 121 (trans.)

<sup>99</sup> He resisted the Kinda call to the Ridda. See Ibn Hajar, *al-Isāba*, 5: 111.

<sup>100</sup> I have failed to find any long-term consistent pattern of tribal behavior for the Umayyad period. In past scholarship, efforts to generalize tribal commitments to political parties and ideologies have also proved ineffective. Agha writes quite correctly that "all through the Umayyad era, although politics were almost consistently tribal, tribal politics had rarely been consistent." And he supports this claim with substantial data. Agha, *The Revolution*, 275.

<sup>101</sup> There are numerous situations where 'Umar b. Sa'd is found in the company of Ibn al-Ash'ath, adopting the same political position as his cognate kinsman. Also, of the three notables who fled with 'Umar, two were from southern tribes. And both tribes were linked by marriage to Sa'd. Below we will also witness similar Kinda marital alliances established by 'Umar. 'Umar had fully been assimilated into the tribal elite structures and had left behind the claims to religious priority which Sa'd had claimed. See Ahmed, 'Between the Acts', 59ff.

<sup>102</sup> Any sociopolitical study of the battle will certainly require attention to al-Husayn's movement, the role played by the Zubayrids in Kūfa prior to the Hijāzī homage to Ibn al-Zubayr, the relationship between Ibn Ziyād and the Zubayrids (hinted at above), the al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib line, the role of 'Amr b. al-Zubayr, the hesitation and distrust of Muslim b. 'Uqba towards Qurashis (which is tinged with something of a proto-Syrian 'nationalism'—see Tabarī, XIX, 210–212 (trans.)), and especially the longstanding covert political movement of the Anṣār and the minor 'Alid lines, etc. The sources generally offer quite a few details on the stages of the conflict, the military operations, and the attitudes of various leaders. They are more silent on the various causes of the revolt and present it almost unanimously as the product of divergent religious forces. Kister has provided an excellent preliminary analysis of the socioeconomic causes of the revolt in his 'Battle of the Harra'. He argues that the battle was partly the result of the tension between landowners in Medina and the Umayyad authorities who wanted to usurp their properties.

Medina.<sup>103</sup> These events were perhaps an expected outcome of the general refusal of the Muslim Community to accept Mu'āwiya's son as the new caliph. But their more immediate cause was the incitement of the people of Medina by 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanzala al-Ghassīl al-Anṣārī, son of a well-known Companion of the Prophet who fell at Uhud.<sup>104</sup> 'Abdallāh was a member of a delegation sent to Yazid from Medina, the aim of which was to verify or refute the accusations against the latter's character. If the accusations were to be proven true, Yazid would be generally deemed unfit for the caliphate. Upon his return from the mission,<sup>105</sup> 'Abdallāh severely reviled Yazid for various faults, whereupon the people of Medina gave their oath of allegiance to the former. The three events outlined above seem to have followed the *bay'a* to 'Abdallāh.<sup>106</sup> It is at this point that Yazid summoned Muslim b. 'Uqba and ordered him to head for the Hijāz.

It is not clear whether Muslim's main target was Mecca or Medina. Ibn al-Zubayr had already sought refuge in the former and had, according to various reports, been given the homage there.<sup>107</sup> But it was only in response to the call of the besieged Medinan Umayyads that Muslim had set out from Syria. Tabarī reports that when Muslim reached Medina, he gave the insurgents a chance to make peace, provided of course that they paid homage to Yazid. He then added, 'What are you going to do? Are you going to make peace or are you going to fight?' When the Medinans chose the latter, he said, 'Don't do this. Rather enter into obedience, and we will use our vehemence and our weapons against this man who deviates from the truth, to whom heretics and libertines have gathered from every side.' Muslim's goal now was obviously Mecca. And ostensibly the Medinans only chose to engage him in order to defend it. For they shouted, 'Enemies of God, by God, if you want to pass across to them, we will not leave you until we fight you. We will not let you go to the Sacred House of God to terrorize its inhabitants, to act impetuously there, and to violate its sanctity. No, by God! We will not allow this.'<sup>108</sup>

But this is all very problematic. I have already pointed out that, according to several reports, Muslim had set out for Medina only in response to a distress call from the besieged Umayyads there. It also appears that the Medinans were interested in their own political program and were not as drawn to Ibn al-Zubayr's call as some reports suggest. For they had already and independently paid homage to one of their own and soon followed his lead to their defeat.<sup>109</sup> In none of the battle details is there any

<sup>103</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 201 (trans.)

<sup>104</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 198, note 657 (trans.)

<sup>105</sup> 'Abdallāh must have returned from Syria with memories of excellent treatment and a well-lined pocket. See Tabarī, XIX, 219, (trans.)

<sup>106</sup> The *bay'a* to 'Abdallāh occurred in 62 AH. The three events occurred in 63 AH. See Tabarī, XIX, 198, 201 (trans.). Alternatively, 'when the people of Medina heard of [Muslim b. 'Uqba's] coming...[they] besieged them [the Umayyads] in the house of Marwān'. But I am not sure if this last is a more specific description of the general siege. I have not listed all the various chronological differences in the accounts. (Tabarī, XIX, 206; cf. 202 (trans.)).

<sup>107</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 189ff. Ibn al-Zubayr also reportedly had the general support of the Medinans. But it makes little sense that they should have given homage at the same time to 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanzala.

<sup>108</sup> Tabarī, XIX, 208 (trans.).

<sup>109</sup> I am unclear about what *bay'a* means in this context. It may simply indicate a promise by the Medinans to follow 'Abdallāh and not that he was to have any official political position. What does emerge from the sources is that *bay'a* to a person in the circumstances of insubordination to the regime meant following that person's independent judgment. So for example, in the account of Ibn al-



mention of Ibn al-Zubayr on the part of the Medinans. Further, according to one report in Ṭabarī, Muslim had accepted a military tactic suggested to him by 'Abd al-Malik: he bypassed Medina, went around it, and returned from the east. Thus he could have continued on his route to Mecca without engaging the Medinans. Subduing them would of course be important, so that his back would not be exposed. Nevertheless, given the details above, I have a suspicion that the sources have turned a genuinely Medinan phenomenon into an effect of the Meccan.<sup>110</sup>

Muhammad b. Sa'd makes only a brief appearance at al-Ḥarra. As he was perhaps fighting for the cause of the Medinan aristocracy, he appears with none of his Kinda kinsmen, who were engaged in other intrigues far away in Iraq. We read in Ṭabarī, 'Muhammad b. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ came out to fight on that day. When the Syrians fled, he went after them striking at them until the defeat overcame him.'<sup>111</sup> He is mentioned last in this battle episode; thereafter the city was given to pillaging. Elsewhere, he appears as an impetuous warrior and almost as the cause of the great destruction of Medina that followed: after a great number of Quraysh and Anṣār had been killed, Muslim ordered the Syrians to hold back. It was at this moment that Muhammad rushed forward. Fighting broke out once more; men were killed, women were 'compromised', and property was plundered.<sup>112</sup> This is all we hear about him at al-Ḥarra. After the defeat of the Medinans, a number of inhabitants fled the city. Muhammad was very likely one of them.<sup>113</sup> It is highly probable that he went to Iraq, doffing his claim to religious aristocracy and looking forward to testing his luck with his cognates.

Before he did so, however, we do meet him one last time as a member of the religious elite. He was part of a delegation which came with al-Ḥajjāj to 'Abd al-Malik after the death of Ibn al-Zubayr. The group consisted of such luminaries as Muhammad b. al-Hanafīyya, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān asked 'Abd al-Malik to get rid of 'the rule of this Thaqafī slave' (i.e. al-Ḥajjāj). 'Abd al-Malik secretly complied.<sup>114</sup> So we are able to gather from these fragments that Muhammad was a member of the Medinan religious elite at the time of al-Ḥarra and that he participated there on behalf of his group against the Umayyads. Thereafter, he very likely came to Iraq and established some civil links with the Umayyads after 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne. We also gather that he was unhappy with al-Ḥajjāj's rule.

There was perhaps one thread of continuity that linked Muhammad's tribal career in Iraq with what had transpired in Medina. One of the great Medinan warriors of al-Ḥarra

Ash'ath's revolt, several independent leaders are given *bay'ā* by their followers. These leaders join and separate themselves from a larger movement at suitable moments. See for example, the *bay'ā* to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās, Ṭabarī, XXIII, 17, 53 (trans.). But compare the *bay'ā* to Bisām b. Maṣqala, Ṭabarī, XXIII, 47 (trans.).

<sup>110</sup> Ṭabarī, XIX, 207–208 (trans.). Cf. Ṭabarī, XIX, 204 (trans.). The Medinan sanctifying Traditions, a good number of which were transmitted on Sa'd's authority, also give us a hint of some independent movement in Medina. Although I have not analysed them carefully, a quick look reveals that they come from the second half of the first century. I direct the reader's attention to Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' 413–16, 433–35.

<sup>111</sup> Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Imāma*, 2: 59.

<sup>112</sup> Ṭabarī, XIX, 213 (trans.).

<sup>113</sup> Ṭabarī, XIX, 213 (trans.).

<sup>114</sup> BL, 4.2: 485ff. His removal from the Hijāz is meant. See al-Burī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 330.

has been identified as al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī. It is said that he fell ten yards away from Muslim, whom he had fixed as his main target. It is very likely that some family members of this Ḥārithī Hāshimī went north to Iraq along with those who left Medina after the battle. For we find his brother 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās as a leader in the insurgency of Ibn al-Ash'ath.<sup>115</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān later headed a splinter group of Ibn al-Ash'ath's army, which included our Muḥammad as a leading man. The significance of this connection—if indeed it has any—can only be gauged on the basis of a study of the Ḥārithīs. This is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this chapter.<sup>116</sup> Suffice it to say that some elements of the failed anti-Umayyad revolt in Medina had now made their home in Iraq and had found a willing partner there in the southern tribe of Kinda. Muḥammad had good relations with both interest groups and might even have served as a middleman for them.

Much like al-Ḥarra, the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath was a fairly complicated event and so cannot be presented in detail within the confines of a chapter on the Sa'dids.<sup>117</sup> It is fairly certain that it was the response of an overextended Iraqi army, members of which had been sent far away from their homes and families and who feared that the disasters of their predecessors in the east would befall them as well. The army was also generally unhappy with the rule of al-Ḥajjāj and was resentful of the higher stipends paid to the Syrian army.<sup>118</sup> There was also some sense of a looming paranoia that Ḥajjāj's aim in sending them far afield was to appropriate their Iraqi land (perhaps for the Syrian army).<sup>119</sup> The revolt had taken on a regionalist character;<sup>120</sup> in other words, it was the war of the Iraqis against the Syrians. Those who had invested most in the war—simply by virtue of their sheer numbers—were members of the southern tribes.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>115</sup> On the settlement of some of the Banū al-Ḥārith in Iraq and on 'Abd al-Rahmān, in particular, see Madelung, 'Hāshimīyyāt', pp. 22–3.

<sup>116</sup> A *maṭlū'* of al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās, Nuṣayr, is mentioned as the warrior on Ibn al-Ash'ath's side who killed Sa'id b. Yahyā b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ in 82 AH at al-Zāwīya. He was the nephew of the governor of Medina, 'Amr b. Sa'id, at the time of Yazid. This diplomatic governor, much to Yazid's later regret, was removed and replaced by al-Walid b. 'Uṭba. This happened as trouble was brewing in Medina, i.e. just a little before al-Ḥarra. (Ṭabarī, XXIII, 15–16 (trans.)).

<sup>117</sup> Sayed, *Die Revolte*, considers the causes of the revolt from a socioeconomic perspective and argues that it was in large part the product of the tensions created by the shift from societies organized around autonomous tribes to those responsive to a central religious authority. The political aspects of the revolt are discussed in 'Ibn al-Ash'ath' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EL*.

<sup>118</sup> It is unclear whether and to what extent the Syrian army was paid from the revenues of Iraq. The absence of any mint in Damascus until the time of 'Abd al-Malik suggests that some fiscal burdens of Syria must have been shouldered by the Iraqis. It is also fairly certain that the later 'demiclitarization' of the Iraqi *muqātila* meant that more revenues were taken to Damascus. See H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs*, 75.

<sup>119</sup> This is indeed what happened later with the foundation of al-Wasīf. The Iraqis were slowly being pushed eastward. Indeed a huge number of them had settled in Khurāsān, where, unsurprisingly (given the southern demographics of the Iraqis), the Muḥallabids now held sway. On the demographics of Khurāsān and the depletion of Iraqi *amṣār*, see Agha, *Revolution*, 177–185, esp. 181 and the references there. See also Sharon, *Black Banners*, 65 and Agha, 'The Arab Population in Khurāsān', p. 218.

<sup>120</sup> This is somewhat reminiscent of the Medina-Syria clash above.

<sup>121</sup> For a summary of Iraqi grievances, see Ibn al-Ash'ath's speech in Ṭabarī, XXIII, 4–5 (trans.). See also the peace package offered by 'Abd al-Malik, *Id.*, p. 23 and al-Ḥajjāj's speech to his army, *Id.*, p. 9. It is true that the greatest number of leaders on Ibn al-Ash'ath's side were of southern extraction. But it certainly cannot be denied that it included Tamīmī leaders. See Ṭabarī, XXIII, 25 (trans.).



In its early phases, the war against al-Hajjāj was fought in Baṣra, where Ibn al-Ash'ath gained the support of at least some of the local population. Among the leaders of the Baṣrans who came to his aid was 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabi'a, whose brother we met earlier at al-Harra.<sup>122</sup> He might well have been the leader of the young Qurashis fighting against al-Hajjāj, whose participation in Ibn al-Ash'ath's cause was mentioned with regret later by 'Abd al-Malik. It is possible that Muḥammad b. Sa'd was among his supporters.<sup>123</sup> After the defeat of Ibn al-Ash'ath here, the Baṣrans swore allegiance to 'Abd al-Rahmān and continued to fight the Syrians for three days. Thereafter, they followed 'Abd al-Rahmān to Dayr al-Jamājim, where he met up with Ibn al-Ash'ath and was appointed over his cavalry.<sup>124</sup> In this context, Muḥammad b. Sa'd is mentioned in the sources as the leader of Ibn al-Ash'ath's infantry.<sup>125</sup> After Ibn al-Ash'ath's defeat at al-Jamājim, Muḥammad b. Sa'd headed to al-Mada'in, where he was joined by a great number of men. When they saw al-Hajjāj approaching, however, they all departed for Baṣra, where they again consolidated their forces with Ibn al-Ash'ath. Then together with Ibn al-Ash'ath, Muḥammad very likely went to Maskin, where the fate of the revolt was finally sealed.<sup>126</sup>

Muḥammad b. Sa'd was probably among those who fled with Ibn al-Ash'ath to Sijistān and then to the territory of the Zunbil. If this is the case, he did return with him to Sijistān to join his men who had assembled there. Once there, Muḥammad was among those who splintered away from Ibn al-Ash'ath and headed to Khurāsān, after having paid allegiance to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās. In Khurāsān, Muḥammad was among those captured by Yazid b. al-Muḥallab and was sent back to al-Hajjāj.<sup>127</sup> Back in Iraq as a captive, he was called forth by al-Hajjāj. He was declared to be a trouble-maker, who participated at various occasions against the establishment, and was then executed.<sup>128</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not have as much to go by in terms of details and historiographical manipulation<sup>129</sup> for Muḥammad as we do for his brother. Nevertheless, taken together, these two full brothers do offer us some interesting patterns to contemplate.

However, the Tamimids did tend to betray Ibn al-Ash'ath along the course of the events. See *Id.*, 46–47 and 50. The army also included Qurashi elements (perhaps settled from Medina some years ago—but more on this below). There is no indication in the sources that this was a revolt in the name of the southern aristocracy. In fact, Ibn al-Ash'ath's two claims to the throne rested on his cognate Qurashi lineage and his pure Arab blood. See Tabari, XXIII, 25 (trans.). al-Hajjāj's own military leaders at Dayr al-Jamājim included at least two southerners (although, of the Kalbi, and thus possibly Syrian, line). There appears to be no clear-cut tribal division between the two forces; indeed the sources indicate this as something that distressed the warriors on various occasions. Again, none of this is to deny that the war was fought largely in the *interests* of men who happened to be southerners. See Tabari, XXIII, 25, 39–40 (trans.). See also Crone, 'Qays and Yaman,' *passim*.

<sup>122</sup> Tabari, XXIII, 21 (trans.).

<sup>123</sup> It is, however, mentioned that Muḥammad settled in Kūfa and then went out with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and witnessed Dayr al-Jamājim: IS, 6: 221. So perhaps he was not originally part of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās' troops.

<sup>124</sup> Tabari, XXIII, 17, 25 (trans.).

<sup>125</sup> Tabari, XXIII, 46–47 (trans.); Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 5: 58

<sup>126</sup> Tabari, XXIII, 52–3, 56 (trans.).

<sup>127</sup> Tabari, XXIII, 65 (trans.). BL, 6: 466; IH, 128–30; Ibn Abi al-Hadīd, *Sharḥ naḥj al-balāgha*, 1: 344.

<sup>128</sup> See Ahmed, 'Between the Acts,' 59ff.

Since they were sons of the same Kindī woman, it is possible that they were both born in Iraq during Sa'd's campaigns there; and it is also likely that they spent their very early years in that province. Thereafter, they returned with Sa'd to Medina, which they made their base during their youth. In the light of the foregoing discussion, we can safely guess that 'Umar b. Sa'd came back to Iraq not long after the murder of 'Uthmān (he probably arrived there after 'Alī's assassination). Muḥammad, on the other hand, continued to play his political hand with the élite of Medina.

Their stories become apparently irreconcilable around the beginning of the Umayyad era. For 'Umar appears in our sources as a leader in the anti-Husaynid movement, working closely with the most highly ranked agents of the dynasty. About the same time, his brother appears in an anti-Umayyad movement in Medina. This should certainly not lead us to think that they adhered to anything like different ideologies. Until al-Harra, Muḥammad's best bet at political ascendancy as a resident of Medina was to affiliate himself with his agnates and to wear the mantle of the religious élite. Once this opportunity faded away, he came to Kūfa and perhaps even enjoyed good relations with Ibn Ziyād under the protection of his cognates and his brother. Since he had played no part in the murder of al-Husayn (or perhaps because he was blessed with good luck like Ibn al-Ash'ath), he did not come under al-Mukhtār's knife and survived his brother. From this point on, in many ways, he took up politics where his brother had left it off. He allied himself with the Kinda—although he probably also kept up a solid relationship with the Medinan Qurashis in Kūfa—and became a member of the tribal élite. Their successes and failures became his own. And so we find him later as a leading member of Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt. There is in fact a kind of continuity that Sa'd, 'Umar, and Muḥammad gave to each other's lives. For Sa'd had made an investment in valuable links with the southern tribes of Iraq. His son 'Umar benefited from its returns at the time of Mu'awiya and Yazid. He was consistently found above in the company of his southern cognates, enjoying along with them the benefits the central government was willing to bestow on them. His other son Muḥammad, who came late to Iraq, joined the next generation of these cognates. And he suffered their misfortunes with them. In many ways, the continuity in the political career of this line emerges as a solid relief against the fortunes of the southerners Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath and his son, 'Abd al-Rahmān. 'Umar did only as well as the former and Muḥammad only as badly as the latter.

All of 'Umar b. Sa'd's children were born to Kindī women<sup>130</sup> and an inordinate number of concubines. His brother Muḥammad is not known to have fathered children from anyone other than women in the latter category.<sup>131</sup> In other words, their social capital was not diverse. So when the Syrian army entered Iraq and came to supersede in that region the tribal army structures of the early Umayyad period, not only did the southerners in general fall by the wayside, but this line of the Sa'dids, which had showed so much potential with Muḥammad and 'Umar, also moved out of the political

<sup>130</sup> Perhaps two of his children were born to a paternal cousin. But this is debatable. See IS, 5: 146f.; 165f.; 5: 236f.; Tabari, *Tārīkh*, 4: 532; BL, 5: 95–7; Baladhuri, *Futūḥ*, 2: 349; al-'Ijlī, *Ma'rifah*, 2: 388; *Tārīkh baghdād*, 5: 148; Ibn 'Asākir, 67: 20.

<sup>131</sup> IS, 5: 146f.; al-'Ijlī, *Ma'rifah*, 1: 227; al-Rāzi, *Jarḥ*, 2: 194; IH, 128–35; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, 6: 4, 28; *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 2: 171, 189, 2.



limelight.<sup>132</sup> A few of their descendants turned to the next best thing to a political career: they became transmitters of historical and religious accounts. In other words, where they could no longer participate in political history, the contributed to shaping historical memory. Only a handful gained any prominence.<sup>133</sup> The sources have preserved very little information about the descendants of this Kindi line.<sup>134</sup> What little we have can hardly be used to infer a pattern. What we might say with some hesitation is that generally the descendants of 'Umar resided in Iraq and that those of Muḥammad inhabited both that region and Medina.

<sup>132</sup> There are of course a few exceptions to any generalization: as I mentioned, Sa'd's daughter, Hafsa did marry the very important Umayyad politician, the Thaqafi al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba. Likewise, 'Umar b. Sa'd's daughter Umm 'Amr was married to a grandson of Sa'd b. al-'As b. Umayya. It seems that this grandson had tried to establish some links with the Kinda. 'Umar may himself also have married Maryam bt. 'Amir b. Abi Waqqas, but this is uncertain. We know very little about the fortunes of the descendants through these non-Kinda alliances. See BL, 5: 83ff.; IS, 3: 137f.; 5: 165ff.; 5: 236f.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8.

<sup>133</sup> I see no pattern of their geographical settlement or any other useful information in what I have gathered about these descendants.

<sup>134</sup> Here I would like to suggest that this lack of information both about the names and biographies of these descendants of Sa'd is probably the result of the failure of the Sa'd-Kinda political aspirations. At the time of Ibn al-Ash'ath's rebellion, when the southern tribes began to be replaced in Iraq by the Syrian army, the names of the members of the former, who enjoyed financial and political benefits simply by association with the tribe, were soon struck off of the registers (in some versions, the *diwān* was burnt, though this may read *khariqa*, ripped, a more common practice). If this is what happened and records of names were lost (for it is said that only the record of state lands was burnt and it is disputed whether the names of those receiving 'aḍā' were also burnt—See Kennedy, *Armies*, 71), it must have meant one's virtual anonymity for the central administration. That the Syrian army was emerging as the prime recipient of stipends can be gathered not just on the basis of the terms of the peace offered by 'Abd al-Malik to Ibn al-Ash'ath (see above), but also from the fact that just a few years after his death, his son Hishām would limit the minting of *dirhams* to Wasīt, the Iraqi base of the Syrian army (see Kennedy, *Armies*, 70–71, where he also discusses the importance of Wasīt over Kūfa and Basra after 'Abd al-Malik's conquest of Iraq in 82 AH). Second, the constitution of the new army also meant the corrosion of old tribal structures, which had been preserved in the early Umayyad period. Then the army in Iraq was a patchwork of different tribes coming together. The leader of each group was both usually the commander of his unit and a middleman between his tribe and the central government (for further details on stipends, army structures, and middlemen, see 'Diwān,' *EI2*: "Irafa'arī," *EI2*: "Aḍā" (Cl. Cahen), *EI2*, and the references there. For the varying importance and power in the hands of these middlemen in different regions of the Empire, see Kennedy, *Armies*, 66–67). After the failure of Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt, which ushered in increasing centralization, the army was conceived more as an organic unit (albeit still divided along tribal factions). This meant that the tribal component of the army ceased to have its quasi-independent nature—it was only part of a larger whole. In other words, one did not have tribes making up an army; rather, it was tribal men making up factions within the army (see Hawting, *First Dynasty*, 61–63). Genealogical writing may also have suffered as a result of this loss of the tribe's preeminence. Those groups and individuals invested in the complicated politics between the tribe and the Umayyad dynasty would have shared in the misfortunes of the former. A good way to test this theory would be to cast a glance at the genealogical traditions of those who were not the prime military beneficiaries of the *diwān al-jund* (i.e. were not from the first *makhṭab*) and who guarded a religious (as opposed to a tribal) elite status. The 'Alids and Zubayrids would fall in this category; and it is not so surprising that we have a lot more information about them in the genealogical sources. Indeed, these latter constitute almost an independent genre from tribal genealogies.

### Lii.1.B. Children of Umm Hilāl bt. Rabi'

Sa'd had three other children with a Ṭayyi'/Madhijji woman, who was the daughter of Rabi' b. Murrayyin, a *sharīf* in Kūfa. We do not know much about her father, other than the fact that he was appointed by al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayy over the *himā* near Kūfa. This is somewhat suggestive of a savvy political move by Sa'd to retain his status in Kūfa when it had begun to wane. For Rabi' b. Murrayyin's appointment indicates at least some measure of friendship between him and the governor who had just come to replace Sa'd during 'Uthmān's reign. This may also have been an indirect effort to establish better relations with 'Uthmān on a personal level, as al-Walid was the caliph's uterine brother.<sup>135</sup> One of the children from this line is reported as a *muhaddith*; another child was married to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth. 'Abd al-Rahmān was a Zuhri and certainly a member of the religious elite. He is also said to have held some critical views of 'Uthmān's policies and the reports related on his authority about the latter tend to represent him in a somewhat compromising light. It is possible, however, that, like his kinsman, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, he did approve of 'Umar and 'Uthmān at some earlier stage.<sup>136</sup>

### Lii.2. Children from the Bahrā' of the Quḍā'a

Sa'd married a woman of the Banū Bahrā' of the Quḍā'a and she bore him four children—'Amir, Umm 'Imrān, Ismā'il, and Ishāq al-Aṣghar. Her name is given as Makīta Umm 'Amir bt. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Zur'a b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi Jusham b. Ka'b b. 'Amr.<sup>137</sup> We know nothing about her father, 'Amr b. 'Amr. What we

<sup>135</sup> See BL, 5: 83ff.; IS, 3: 137f., 5: 165ff.; Ibn al-Kalbi, *Nasab ma'add*, 1: 225; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8. See also Madelung, *Succession*, 86. Given the limitations of the sources, my analysis presupposes that the friendship between al-Walid and Rabi' already existed when Sa'd married the latter's daughter. This indirect link with the Umayyads does not seem to have proved very useful.

<sup>136</sup> I will say more on the 'Awfids and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Aswad in the next chapter. Ibn al-Kalbi, *Jamhara*, 76 and 76 n. 4; IH, 128–30.

<sup>137</sup> For descendants from this line, see IS, 3: 137f., 5: 165ff.; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya*, 9: 257; BL, 5: 83ff.; *Tahdhib al-kamāl*, 8: 407; al-Dihabi, *Tārīkh*, 8: 275. For a neat genealogy, see also IH, 440ff. Like the Taghlib, the Bahrā' were a Christian Arab tribe, who settled around Hims. A delegation from them converted to Islam in 9 AH, but the tribe as a whole remained generally hostile to Muḥammad's religion and attached to Byzantium. They countered Muslim encroachment into Byzantine territory until well after his death and were finally converted after the conquest of Syria. See 'Bahra' (C.E. Bosworth), *EI2*. Kaḥbāla in *Mu'jam al-qabā'il*, 1: 110, mentions that they were descended from the Ḥafī line of the Quḍā'a. The Ḥafī were generally considered the unique root of the three *buṭūn*—'Imrān, 'Amr (the line of the Bahrā'), and Aslam. He then says that the Bahrā' used to live north of the Balī, between Yambu' and Ayla. This is problematic, since it would mean that the Balī were located much south of where the sources indicate them to have lived in the late pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. By the tenth century, the Balī had very likely expanded southeastward into the areas between Medina and Mecca (on their generally expanding territory, compare Isfahānī, *Bilād*, 'Qarān/Farān,' 173–4, 396–398, 397 n. 2–5, 403, Bakrī, 'Suqyā', Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 'al-Qurā' 'Wādī al-Qurā'. Ibn Hawqal, *Configuration*, 30, on the one hand, and Bakrī 'Amaj' and Hamdānī, *Sifat*, 170, on the other). This pull perhaps also included the Bahrā', drawing them into the regions inhabited by the Islamic elite. This resulted in marriages with the latter. Alternatively, the pull was the result of the existing political marriages of the elite with these tribes. According to Kaḥbāla, a huge number of the Bahrā' crossed the Red Sea into Africa and spread between Abyssinia and Egypt. There they multiplied until they overcame the Nubians. He does not mention their northern migration to Hims.



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do know is that some lines of the Bahrā' did fairly well in the political arena during the Umayyad period. For instance, a certain Ja'far b. Hanẓala is said to have been governor in Khurāsān and had influence and noble status there (*kāna lahu qadarun bi-khurāsān*). More interestingly, this tribe also produced al-Miqdād b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba, who is recognized as a Companion of the Prophet. He is also known as al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, after al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth b. Wab al-Zuhri, to whom he was linked by clientage. The latter was the nephew of Muḥammad's mother Āmina bt. Wab. The Bahrā' had thus established an early link with the cognates of the Prophet through al-Miqdād. The relationship with this family of the Zuhra is worth noticing because it also produced 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth, who was generally hostile to 'Uthmān in his later political life and who was suggested at Dūmat al-Jandal as a possible candidate for the caliphate. So at least some elements of the Bahrā' were in the anti-Umayyad Zuhri camp.<sup>138</sup> All this might tell us that the link with the Bahrā' could have been established in view of one or more of the following reasons: (1) to strengthen the bond<sup>139</sup> with another line of the Zuhra; (2) to establish a political relationship through marriage with a tribe generally hostile to Islam in the service of the emerging Empire; (3) to gain some political ground in Umayyad Syria—either to gain bargaining power<sup>140</sup> with the Umayyads there or to infiltrate what might have been conceived then by the Zuhra as hostile territory. But in the absence of more information, all this remains speculative.

The Zuhri pull on this family must have been fairly strong. For we know of the marriage of three of the four children of Sa'd from this line; and all of them were married to Zuhris.<sup>141</sup> His daughter Umm 'Imrān was first married to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hāshim b. 'Amr b. 'Utba b. Nawfal b. Uhayb and then to his brother Tulayb.<sup>142</sup> His son Ismā'il married a daughter of Sulaymān b. Azhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Hārith b. Zuhra, who bore him his son Yahyā. 'Abd al-Hārith was the grandfather of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, who had become fairly dejected about 'Uthmān's rule towards the end of his life.<sup>143</sup> The rest of Ismā'il's children were born to various concubines. Sa'd's son 'Amir, the transmitter of perhaps the greatest number of reports from his father, married a daughter of 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib b. Rabāh, an Ash'ari *ḥalīf* of the Zuhra. She gave him at least eight children. He and at least one of his children are reported to have been Medinese.

<sup>138</sup> On the 'Alid leanings of this line of the Zuhra, see Madelung, *Succession*, 13, note 24. See also *Id.*, 92, 122, note 212. On Abū Mūsā's or 'Amr b. al-'Ās' suggestion of 'Abd al-Rahmān as a candidate for the caliphate, see *Id.*, 285. Madelung states that if it was the latter who brought up his name, it was very likely a ploy. This seems correct. See also *Id.*, 400ff.

<sup>139</sup> Perhaps even to originate such a bond, given Sa'd's questionable genealogy. It is unlikely that Sa'd married anyone other than a daughter of a *sharif*. This would mean considerable leverage in an era where dynastic power depended on the delicate manipulation of the paradoxically colonized, yet conquering metropolitan tribes. See Crone, *Slaves on Horses*, 29–33.

<sup>141</sup> It is also for this reason that I am tempted to choose the first option in the preceding paragraph. <sup>142</sup> A granddaughter of this Hāshim was also married to Sa'd's son Muṣ'ab (on which, see below). 'Amr b. 'Utba was also the commander at al-Jalāla; so there was a further Sa'did link with this line. His brother Makrama is said to have been close to Sa'd and to have been punished by 'Umar for having committed a sin in the *jāhiliyya*. This fits in well with the 'Umar-Sa'd relationship discussed above.

<sup>143</sup> Very much like 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Aswad. On the 'Awfid line, see below.

We can gather from the foregoing that Sa'd's marriage into the Bahrā' was very likely aimed indirectly at strengthening his links with the Zuhra. His children from this line seem to be engaged in doing the same. This is a surprisingly roundabout way of doing things for a prominent member of the religious elite, one who was allegedly very important among the Zuhra. The fact that none of his children here established any other Zuhri links (nor, for that matter, any other links with the religious elite) leads us to conclude that this line did not have direct access to or a compelling attraction towards the Zuhra.

### Lii.3. Children from Bakr and Taghlib b. Wā'il<sup>144</sup>

Sa'd also married two women of the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il and two of the Banū Taghlib b. Wā'il. One of the former was Umm Zabā' and is said to have been either a daughter of al-Hārith b. Ya'mur b. Sharāhīl or of his father, al-Ya'mur b. Sharāhīl b. 'Abd b. 'Awf. She gave birth to two sons and five daughters. The second Bakrī woman was named Zayn and was a daughter of al-Hārith b. al-Nu'mān b. Sharāhīl<sup>145</sup> b. Janāb. To Zayn was born Sa'd's daughter 'Ā'isha, who was one of most prolific transmitters of reports from her father. Both these wives were captured as prisoners of war. The two Taghlibi women were named Salmā and Khawla. We do not know anything about Salmā. Khawla was the daughter of 'Amr b. 'Aws b. Salāma. The sources do not say whether they were also prisoners of war.

To the best of my knowledge, no information remains on the immediate ancestors of the two Bakrī women. It is also unclear whether they came from the same immediate line of Sharāhīl. For the first was descended from a Sharāhīl b. 'Abd / 'Abd 'Awf and the second, from a Sharāhīl b. Janāb. It certainly appears that there is some confusion in the sources. Both women were of the Qays b. Tha'laba line of the Banū Bakr and the name Janāb b. Qays appears in the genealogy of both lines. Therefore, I suggest that 'Sharāhīl bin Janāb' be read as 'Sharāhīl min Janāb'. A further problem—for which I have no solution—is that Janāb does not occur in the sources I have checked as a son of Qays. It makes sense to change 'Janāb' to 'Dabiba' or not to read it as a proper name. The unidentified Sharāhīl was then either the grandfather or the great-grandfather of the two Bakrī women Sa'd married. This makes some sense, as they were both very likely acquired as prisoners in the same raid on some territory of the Bakrīs.

Since no information is available on the immediate ancestors of these two women, the next best thing would be to say a few things about the Bakr b. Wā'il generally, so that we may make some sense of the fortunes of this Sa'did line.<sup>146</sup> The Bakr b. Wā'il

<sup>144</sup> For the Bakr and Taghlib b. Wā'il lines, I consulted the following: BL, 5: 83ff.; IS, 3: 137f.; 5: 165ff.; 5: 169; 6: 222; 8: 467; Sam'ānī, 1: 283; 2: 255–6; 3: 180f.; ; IH, 128–30, 133; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 1: 105f.; *Sakhāwī*, 1: 117–19, 2: 8; *Tārīkh al-ya'qūbi*, 1: 266; NQ, 91; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbab*, 67–8; Ibn Makūla, *Ikmal*, 4: 168f.; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, 5: 8; Burri, 2: 154; al-Isbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 16: 60–1; al-Tabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabir*, 4: 132; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-jalāl*, 4: 1717; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabir*, 3: 205; IB, 136; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 11: 273; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 45: 124.

<sup>145</sup> The only daughter of a Hārith b. al-Nu'mān that I know of appears in the sources as a potential wife of the Prophet. So far I have been unable to trace her genealogy to determine if the same al-Hārith is in question here.

<sup>146</sup> Such an approach would of course have severe limitations, since different groups from the same tribe may and do adopt different political and ideological stances.



inhabited the Yamāma region before the rise of Islam. The core of this tribe comprised the Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba, which happens to be the branch we are interested in here. Two other subdivisions of the Bakr were the Ḥanīfa and the 'Ijl; both were on the same genealogical level as the Tha'laba. In pre-Islamic times, the Tha'laba were the leading tribe of the north Arabian Kinda kingdom. They were subdivided into Shaybān, Layth, Taymallāt,<sup>147</sup> and Qays. The last of these is the subdivision from which the Bakrī wives of Sa'd descended. This group lived in Manfuha (among other places), south of modern day Riyāḍ. The vicinity of the villages in which these different subdivisions of the Bakr lived, coupled with the fluctuating agricultural economy, led to internecine wars, which ultimately induced a good number of them to adopt a nomadic life. It appears that after the prolonged wars with their brother, the Taghlib, the Bakr migrated northwards in the footsteps of the former. They probably maintained a north-south nomadic route and must have come into regular contact with the Tamīm, who occupied the regions vacated by the Taghlib and the Bakr. There was then a general northward push of the latter two and an eastward move of the former. This movement dates from the first half of the sixth century.

Around 570 C.E., the Taghlib moved further northwards after their chief killed the king of al-Ḥīra, so that around 580 C.E. all of Iraq was said to be the territory of the Bakr. By the beginning of the next century, the Tamīm had begun to push northwards. This resulted in the mounting tensions and raids between the two tribes.<sup>148</sup> Around this period, the Tha'laba b. Qays led a nomadic existence between Yamāma and the north and also formed a confederation with Taymallāt and 'Ijl against the Shaybān.<sup>149</sup>

The Bakrīs had accepted Christianity both in the north and the south, but it is very likely that it had not taken root in Yamāma at the time of Muḥammad. It is also from this region that the Tha'laba b. Qays spearheaded the *Ridda* after the Prophet's death. In the post-Muhammadan conquest period, the Bakrīs produced the famous warrior al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, who joined Islam when the *Ridda* failed. He was instrumental in the conquest of al-Ḥīra and was later a leader in the Battle of the Bridge. The Bakrīs also contributed to the conquest of 'what later became the province of Baṣra.' The 'Ijl and Ḥanīfa of the Bakr were also participants at Nihāwand. From Baṣra, they later pressed further into Khurāsān; there, as in Iraq, they also joined the Azd as members of the Rabi'a against the Tamīm alliance.<sup>150</sup> The feuds resulting from this alliance subsided in Iraq when a leading member of the Tha'laba accepted 'Abd al-Malik. The same did not happen in Khurāsān for some time.<sup>151</sup>

From the foregoing, we can infer that the Bakr b. Wā'il were a large constituency of Iraq and that they were also a significant force in Yamāma in the early post-Muhammadan period. We can also tentatively infer that they were generally anti-

<sup>147</sup> See *iv. Children from the Taymallāt* below.

<sup>148</sup> This was probably the beginning of what just a few decades later became the full-blown Rabi'a-Tamīm (Azd-Tamīm) rivalry in Iraq.

<sup>149</sup> At least this is what Caskel seems to be saying. See 'Bakr b. Wā'il' (W. Caskel), *EI2*.

<sup>150</sup> This of course led ultimately to the very confusing reshuffling of genealogies, whereby the Rabi'a b. Nizār (of whom the Bakr were a subgroup) forged a southern descent. The same occurred in Syria around the time of the well-known Marj Rāḥit with the Qudā'a in their alliance with the Kalb. See 'Rabi'a and Mudar' (H. Kindermann), *EI2*.

<sup>151</sup> All these details are extracted from 'Bakr b. Wā'il', *EI2*.

Umayyad, given that they were part of the Rabi'a-Azd alliance of Iraq against the northern Tamīm. This, in turn, may mean that they were on amicable terms with the 'Alids.<sup>152</sup> Indeed, there is quite a bit of information that does suggest the latter: they were about a little less than a third of the total force gathered for 'Alī when he first arrived in Iraq after 'Uthmān's murder;<sup>153</sup> and they are reported as one of the five contingents of Baṣrans with 'Alī in his struggle against Mu'āwīya.<sup>154</sup>

If we now turn to the Sa'did line from the Bakrīs, we see that some of this general information is indeed useful in extracting some patterns: one of Sa'd's Bakrī daughters married a son of the strongly pro-'Alid Zuhri, Ḥāshim b. 'Uṭba. Sa'd's son Ibrāhīm a *faqīh* of Medina, is said to have transmitted quite a few reports from 'Alī. The *imām* al-Bāqir, in turn, transmitted from the former. But there are certainly exceptions: one of Sa'd's daughters, Hind, married a *halif* of the Umayyads; another, Umm al-Ḥakam al-Sughra, first married 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and then Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf. The line of the former seems to have been subsumed into the Sa'did family; the latter was made governor of Medina by 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.<sup>155</sup>

The more successful line of the Bakr b. Wā'il came from Sa'd's grandson, Bajjād/Najjād b. Mūsā. The sources have preserved the names of several generations of this line. The last one mentioned is Muḥammad b. Abī Faraj, a Baghdādī born in 530 AH, who served as governor of al-Hajūbiyya. This line may have owed its longevity and success to a close link with their cognates. For they monopolized the rich gold mines in an area named after Najjād for several generations. Najjād was located near Ḥillit, a black mountain in the land of the Banū Dībāb, an area on the edge of Yamāma, where the Bakrīs had considerable influence. The details are certainly missing, but one cannot help but ascribe this good fortune to some leverage from the Bakr.<sup>156</sup>

Like so many other Sa'did descendants, the Bakrī line produced a considerable number of *ḥadīth* transmitters. Many of them were Medinese; and foremost among them was 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'd, who related several reports not only from her father, but also from the wives of the Prophet. According to the famous Testament of Sa'd,<sup>157</sup> she was his only child living towards the end of the first decade of the Muslim calendar. If this is true, Sa'd did not acquire these women of the Bakr during his own campaigns in Iraq. Instead, he must have bought them as prisoners of war during Muḥammad's lifetime. It is thus very likely that this marital link was not established with a view to consolidat-

<sup>152</sup> Here 'Umar's quarrel with the Tamīm (above) is some indication of an emerging Sa'did pattern. Sa'd appears generally to be inclined towards tribes of southern genealogies. This translates often into an anti-Tamīm-Qaysi attitude, which, in turn, means a pro-'Alid and anti-Umayyad inclination. This is all of course ultimately speculative and simplistic, but in the absence of specific information about the line of Bakrīs we are interested in, general patterns are all we have to fall back on. In what follows here, some other hints about the pro-'Alid stance of the Sa'dids will emerge.

<sup>153</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 167, note 120, 168. But compare also p. 168, where Madelung mentions that the Qays b. Tha'laba stayed in 'Ā'isha's camp at the Battle of the Camel.

<sup>154</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 220. The Bakr b. Wā'il were also the large part of the left wing of 'Alī's army assaulted at Mu'āwīya's command by his heavily armored elite corps (*Id.*, 233.) The prayer leader of the first Ḥarūrīyya, 'Abdallāh b. al-Kawwā', was also from the Bakr (*Id.*, 247.)

<sup>155</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 782, 799.

<sup>156</sup> See 'Ḥillit' and 'Najjād' in Bakrī, *Mu'jam*; Ishāhānī, *Bilād*, 107.

<sup>157</sup> This Testament, which concerns inheritance laws, is discussed in detail by Zaman, *Evolution*. The author also provides bibliographical references related to the Testament.



ing his power in Iraq (since the marriage preceded his expeditions). It was probably either the result of a simple commercial transaction or was aimed ultimately at attracting the rigid Bakr towards Muhammad's religion.

As in the case of the Bakrī women, we do not have any information about the immediate ancestors of Sa'd's two Taghlibi wives. Worse, the 'Amr b. Taghlib line, unlike the Tha'laba of the Bakr, is poorly represented in the sources. Nevertheless, it would be useful to make a note of a few things about the Banū Taghlib in a general fashion. I have already mentioned that the Banū Taghlib had moved northwards into al-Jazīra in the late pre- and early Islamic periods. There a good number of them had also converted to Christianity. They had put up considerable early resistance to the Muslim conquests, but were later also found by their side extending the conquest domain. At the time of the Battle of the Camel, the Taghlibis fought on 'Alī's side. By the time of Siffin, however, a number of them had left to join Mu'āwīya and were thus split in their loyalties. And more than two decades later, when 'Abd al-Malik waged war against Ibn al-Zubayr, they turned, along with their old enemies and brothers, the Bakr, to the support of the Umayyad caliph.<sup>158</sup>

Sa'd's Taghlibi wife Salmā gave birth to a son named 'Abdallāh. His Medinese son, Khārja, is reported as a *muḥaddith* in Ṭabarānī, which makes one wonder about his 'Alid inclinations. His daughter Ṣafīyya was married to a son of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and bore him a daughter who was in turn married to a Zubayrī. A son from this line was officially appointed to collect the *ṣadaqa* of their Zubayrid families.

Sa'd's other Taghlibi wife, Khawla, gave birth to Muṣ'ab b. Sa'd, who is said to have reported a number of Traditions from 'Alī. Muṣ'ab was a resident of Medina, but is said to have been in Kūfa at some point. He died in 103 AH.<sup>159</sup> We know practically nothing about his children. We do know, however, that he married a woman named Sakīna, who was a daughter of al-Hulays b. Ḥāshim b. 'Uṭba. The latter had a pro-'Alid father, is known to have transmitted only from a *mawla* of Sa'd, and was the brother of Ḥāshim b. Ḥāshim b. 'Uṭba, who married a Bakrī daughter of Sa'd. This marriage gives further support to my claim of Sa'd's 'Alid leanings. It is now also fairly certain in view of the foregoing that Sa'd was especially interested in strengthening his links with the Ḥāshim b. 'Uṭba line of the Zuhra. Muṣ'ab's marriage to a daughter of Ḥasan b. Farqad of the Banū Dabba is an exception to the general trend among the Sa'dids: the Dabba were allied with the Tamīm and fought against 'Alī at the Battle of the Camel. Judging from their appointments as judges and as high ranking military and administrative officers during the Umayyad period, it is safe to say that they turned pro-Umayyad at an early date.<sup>160</sup> This exception aside, these marriage alliances of Sa'd and his descendants were also southern (at least in name and general political inclinations), generally anti-Umayyad, and indirectly pro-'Alid.

<sup>158</sup> The Taghlib refused to convert to Islam for quite some time, but were nevertheless incorporated into the Muslim armies and were given special tax status. See Madelung, *Succession*, 74. On the Taghlib, see also *Id.*, 202, 293 and 'Taghlib b. Wā'il' (M. Lecker), *ET*.

<sup>159</sup> See al-Bujī, *al-Ta'dīl*, 2: 841; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, 10: 145; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb*, 2: 186; IS, 5: 169.

<sup>160</sup> See 'Dabba' (W. Caskel), *ET*, 2: 203–6.

#### Lii.4. Children of the Taymallāt b. Tha'laba<sup>161</sup>

Sa'd also married the widow of al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha, named Salmā bt. Ḥafsa (sic) b. Thaqa' b. Rabī' of the Taymallāt b. Tha'laba b. 'Ukāba.<sup>162</sup> Unfortunately, no information about her father or grandfather has come down to us. But we can gather from her previous marriage that she was of noble stock.

Salmā bore five sons and three daughters for Sa'd. Again, information about them is scanty and we know even less about their children. One of her daughters, Umm Ishāq, was married to Ḥāshim b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Waqqās, who has already made several appearances in this chapter. She was then married to 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī and then to 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥmad b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī. The former had been entrusted with the land survey of the Sawād by 'Umar and was then appointed governor of Baṣra by 'Alī. This is not all that surprising, since the Bakr b. Wā'il were largely concentrated in that town and since Umm Ishāq was not only one of their prominent daughters, but was also descended from a Companion of the Prophet. Thus she must have seemed to be the ideal candidate for a political marriage. The 'Alid proclivity here is of course obvious.<sup>163</sup> Her third marriage must have occurred sometime in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and after the Bakrīs had generally given him homage as their protector. For it established a link with the Umayyads, as 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ḥmad was their *ḥatīf*. In this one daughter of Sa'd, we can find a good measure of the political program of the Bakrīs and that of some Sa'dids: Umm Ishāq's first two marriages were to pro-'Alids; she then married a man in the Umayyad camp. Likewise, the Bakrīs were at first largely pro-'Alids; they began to turn to the Umayyads at the time of Siffin; thereafter, they became predominantly pro-Umayyad at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. From what we have observed so far, we can perhaps say something similar about Sa'd and some of his children: the former and a good number of the latter very likely harbored some pro-'Alid sentiment in the early Umayyad period. Thereafter, they turned to Mu'āwīya and Yazīd (as in the case of 'Umar b. Sa'd) to the extent that their cognates did so as well. When the Marwānids came, they had generally become quiescent.<sup>164</sup>

Another daughter of Salmā, Umm Ayyūb, was married to Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mu'tim of the Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, a clan traditionally associated with the 'Abd Shams. His father was a strong supporter of 'Uthmān and was among the delegation sent with 'Alī by the former to negotiate with the rebels.<sup>165</sup> He was also the husband

<sup>161</sup> Information for these descendants can be found at: BL, 5: 83ff.; IS, 5: 165ff., 170, 3: 137f., 5: 205–6; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 50: 291; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma*, 2: 16; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaḥam*, 5: 126, 6: 27; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8; al-Sahārī, 1: 326.

<sup>162</sup> As mentioned above, the Tha'laba were the most important of the three branches of the Bakr b. Wā'il.

<sup>163</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 151–2.

<sup>164</sup> It is true that at least three children of Sa'd participated at al-Harra, but I do not think that this would have happened had the Medinan aristocracy and the tribal elite of Iraq not felt an impending loss of their privileges. Muḥammad b. Sa'd went out with the Medinans and then with Ibn al-Ash'ath not in support of an ideology. Rather, he did so because the status and benefits that came with membership in both groups were on the wane. The balance of dynastic-tribal politics in Iraq was beginning to fail with the coming of the Marwānids. The Bakrīs there were successful—or were perhaps less ambitious—in establishing amicable links with the dynasty. The Medinans and the Kinda had a lot more to lose and so did not make such an attempt.

<sup>165</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 109–120.

of another daughter of Salmā, named Umm 'Amr. The latter's second husband was Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqāṣ. 'Amir, a brother of Sa'd, was an early convert to Islam, who is reported to have been sent by 'Umar as a messenger to Abū 'Ubayda in Syria. He may have spent some time in the region and is reported to have died there as well. Whether he established any links with the Syrians is not mentioned, but there is a fair possibility that his son had some such connections. Overall then the daughters of Salmā and Sa'd were ultimately taken into the Umayyad fold. As I mentioned, this may well be tied up with the evolving political maneuvers of the Bakrī.<sup>166</sup>

Two of Sa'd's sons from this marriage, 'Umayr al-Aṣghar and 'Amr, were both killed at al-Harra. This means that they were members of the Medinan aristocracy and might have followed a path similar to the one taken by their half brother Muḥammad. This is not to say that they would have participated in Ibn al-Ash'ath's revolt. On the contrary, on the basis of the preceding patterns, one suspects that they would have joined up with their Bakrī cognates in Iraq and might well have turned pro-Umayyad. Unfortunately, their lives were cut short.

#### *I.ii.5. Children from the al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra<sup>167</sup>*

Sa'd's only direct marriage link with what was allegedly his own clan was through an unnamed daughter of Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra.<sup>168</sup> al-Ḥārith was the half-brother of 'Abd Manāf. Both married Qayla bt. Abī Qayla b. Ghālib; 'Abd Manāf also married her sister Hind. The latter was the mother of the Prophet's maternal grandfather, Wabb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra. Hind's own maternal grandmother was of the Quḍā'a.<sup>169</sup> With these two women they produced the two most illustrious families of the Zuhra—the Sa'dids of 'Abd Manāf and the 'Awfids of al-Ḥārith. We do not know all that much about the descendants of the non-'Awfid Ḥāriths.<sup>170</sup> But the bit of information that has survived is very telling of pro-Ṭālib sentiment. Sa'd's wife had a brother who is said to have participated in the second Abyssinian Emigration. There he stayed with Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and returned with him.<sup>171</sup> A granddaughter of al-Ḥārith, Hind bt. Wabb, is also said to have married Abū Waqqāṣ and to have given birth to Sa'd's brother 'Utba. This brother is known to have written a testament to Sa'd, controversy over which became the basis of the principle of *al-walad li-l-firāsh*.<sup>172</sup> We have already met 'Utba's pro-'Alid son Ḥāshim on several occasions.

Shihāb's daughter bore three children for Sa'd. We know nothing about the two daughters. Her son Ishāq was Sa'd's oldest child, but his line did not survive. We do know that his son, al-Ash'ath<sup>173</sup> and the latter's grandson 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān both

<sup>166</sup> See BL, 5: 79ff., 1301; NQ, 262–5.

<sup>167</sup> Information for the descendants of this line was extracted from: BL, 555: 95–7; IS, 3: 137f.; Sakḥāwī, 1: 292–3, 1: 331, 2: 358; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 761, 1: 305, 5: 273–4; 11: 174; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 1: 427; *Lisān al-mizān*, 3: 259; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 14: 109.

<sup>168</sup> That this was his only link with the Zuhra thus raises again the suspicions about his pedigree.

<sup>169</sup> All this information is given in the context of the genealogy of the Prophet's mother in IS, 1: 59–60. See also NQ, 262–5.

<sup>170</sup> See the next chapter devoted exclusively to the 'Awfids.

<sup>171</sup> BL, 5: 117.

<sup>172</sup> 'Utba is said to have broken Muḥammad's tooth at Uhud. He very likely died a pagan, but this is uncertain. See NQ, 262–5; IH, 128–30.

<sup>173</sup> Strange name for a man of pure Zuhra pedigree.

spent at least some part of their lives in Medina. 'Abdallāh is said to have transmitted pro-'Abbāsīd Traditions.

#### *I.ii.6. Other Children<sup>174</sup>*

The sources identify three other wives of Sa'd. One of these, named Zabya, was descended from the Banū al-Namir b. Qāṣit. Like the Bakr and Taghlib b. Wā'il, this tribe was a subgroup of the Rabi'a b. Nizār. The Namir are said to have migrated north into al-Jazīra in the footsteps of the Taghlib sometime before the coming of Islam. We can then infer (but with due caution) that in their political activities they resembled their Wā'ilī brethren. Unfortunately, we do not know enough either about them or about Sa'd's only son from this line (Ṣālih) to say anything with confidence. Ṣālih is reported to have settled in al-Ḥira and his children subsequently settled in Ra's al-'Ayn of al-Jazīra. Given the geographical distribution of his cognates, this does make sense. The sources also mention that he settled in these two places because of a *sharr* that had occurred between him and his brother 'Umar. However, no further information is given.

Another wife of Sa'd's, named Umm Hujayr, gave birth to a daughter named Ramla. The latter married a Syrian son of 'Amir b. Abī Waqqāṣ.<sup>175</sup> We know nothing about her son 'Uthmān. Two of the latter's sons are reported in the sources as *muhaddithūn*. Sa'd's wife, Umm Hukaym/Umm Ḥakīm, was a daughter of a *ḫalīf* of the Zuhra. We know nothing about her daughter Hamna.

Finally, Sa'd is also said to have had a son named Khālid from an unidentified woman. The sources report a seventh generation descendant from this line named Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyā b. Mufrij b. Yahyā b. Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid. This latter's forefathers were from the town of Infil (perhaps, Afilā) in Syria, to which he traced his *nisba*. He was born in 352 AH, was one of the best philologists of Spain, possessed a very good knowledge of history and poetry, and served as the *wazīr* of the Umayyad caliph al-Mustakfī (r. 414–416) of Cordua. The miscellanea, however, yield no patterns.

#### *I.iii. Concluding Remarks*

Whether Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was a Qurashī Companion of the Prophet or not will perhaps always remain a moot point. What is certain, however, is that he formed only one direct link with his own Zuhri line;<sup>176</sup> this was his only Qurashī marriage. We also know that he married a large number of southern women and that, although his children did establish links with the Qurashīs, they also remained largely connected with their cognates. All this is very surprising in view of the claims of the sources that Sa'd spent a large portion of his life in the Hijaz.<sup>177</sup> In fact, this is especially troublesome if he was one of the earliest and closest Companions of the Prophet, one to whom Paradise was

<sup>174</sup> Information for this section was gathered from: BL, 555: 83ff.; IS, 3: 137f.; IH, 128–30; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8; Sam'āni, 2: 369; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 5: 330; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 1: 232.

<sup>175</sup> See *iv. Children from the Taymālāt b. Tha'labā* above.

<sup>176</sup> The Zuhri contacts of his family appear in the first generation and most of them were through the marriages of his daughters. The significance of this is unclear.

<sup>177</sup> By my calculations, he was in Iraq for only five to six years.



promised already in his lifetime. How could such a luminous personality of the religious elite be so utterly disconnected from his peers? This is all bound to make one suspicious.

In our sources, Sa'd appears as a politically astute man, who amassed great wealth during his tenure in Iraq. He was constantly struggling against 'Umar over financial and political matters; and he offered himself in what must then have seemed to be politically the most useful alliances in Iraq. In other words, he had set the stage in *potentia* for himself and for his children to reap the fruits. But his best plans never materialized for him. For the sources tell us that first 'Umar and then perhaps 'Uthmān removed him from his power base. He thus returned to the Hijāz and secluded himself from politics, much to the regret of his son 'Umar.<sup>178</sup>

From the details that have been presented in this chapter, I suspect that this is not what he would have done under different circumstances. Indeed, he may still have remained politically active after his return to the Hijāz, as some rare fragments in the sources suggest. However, if we do trust the majority of the sources, which are likely tempered by the later religious tradition, we can conclude with relative certainty that he returned to the Hijāz with some of his children and with his wives with whom he then fathered the rest of them. Most of these children, as we have seen, were born to southern women of Iraq.

As one of the earliest converts to Islam at the age of about nineteen, Sa'd was very likely in his mid-sixties when he retired to al-'Aqīq. Perhaps the old commander had come to realize that it was time to pass on his mantle to the next generation of Sa'd's. This is precisely what seems to have happened. After the *fitna*, we see that the only sons of his who had a bright political career were allied with their southern cognates. A few of them did test their luck with the Medinan aristocracy, but with the failure of the latter, the only one who survived headed north to Iraq and joined his family there. Once there, these Sa'd's married almost exclusively into the families of their cognates. Muḥammad, second only to 'Umar in the attention he receives from the sources, acquired only concubines. This is again perplexing for a man of his status.

Unfortunately, the coming of the Marwānids meant the rise of the Syrian army at the expense of the Iraqi south Arabian tribes. This meant that the Sa'd's sons with no alternative political capital shared their fate. Some Bakrī sons who seem not to have participated in high politics did draw tremendous financial benefits by associating themselves with their cognates. In sum, the fortunes of the Sa'd's sons hung in the balance with those of their southern families. Where the latter failed, so did they. Like their cognates, they were not interested in adopting ideologies. For we found one son of a Kindī wife as a murderer of al-Husayn and then his full brother in an anti-Umayyad revolt. Their seemingly opposed actions make sense against the backdrop of the changing political positions of the southern tribes in Iraq. Likewise, we found certain members of the Bakrī line marrying into Umayyad circles. And this too can be explained on the basis of the changed loyalty of the Bakrīs at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. As for Sa'd's daughters, a few Hijāzī links, mainly into certain 'Alid leaning or anti-Umayyad contingents of the Zuhra, were also established through them.<sup>179</sup> They seem to have been

<sup>178</sup> For more regarding Sa'd's hagiographic reconstruction and relationship with his son 'Umar, see Ahmed, "Between the Acts," Chapter II.

<sup>179</sup> Although the expected Umayyad links of Bakrī daughters were also noted above.

engaged in enhancing their family's position among the religious elite. Unfortunately, only very few of their children ever rose to prominence.

The details in this chapter present us with a politically engaged Sa'd, whose children followed in his footsteps and then those of their cognates, but were not blessed with lasting success due to certain unforeseen historical contingencies. Taken together and generally, they appear to be anti-'Umar, then, through the course of the Umayyad period, they are initially pro-Umayyad and then anti-Umayyad and pro-'Alid. This makes perfect sense in view of the southern tribal milieu in which Sa'd made his career.

## CHAPTER II

## The Descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf

## II.1.1. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf

When Muḥammad's close companion 'Abd 'Amr b. 'Awf<sup>180</sup> was a young man, he used to travel the famous trade routes of Arabia with his father. The latter was a successful merchant and may have counted 'Affān b. Abī al-'Āṣ among his professional partners. Like 'Awf, 'Affān used to bring his son 'Uthmān along with him on his journeys. Thus it is likely that 'Uthmān and 'Abd 'Amr had cultivated an early friendship and had shared some experiences in their youth. In fact, 'Uthmān and his father were both witnesses to one of the most tragic events of 'Abd 'Amr's life. On one of their journeys, the four of them had been entrusted with the task of delivering to its rightful owner the inheritance of a trader who had passed away in Yemen. They were attacked somewhere en route by a member of the Banū Jadhīma who wished to appropriate this inheritance for himself. In the struggle which ensued 'Awf lost his life.<sup>181</sup>

As painful as this incident must have been for young 'Abd 'Amr, it did not impel him to abandon commerce. In fact, it is perhaps surprising that it became an ever more significant backdrop to his earliest social links; that it contributed to some of his most poignant memories; and that it was also something for which he had exceptional talent. His father had used his abilities in this profession to rise socially in the Hijāz and later, perhaps after giving up everything for a new start in Muḥammad's Medina, 'Abd 'Amr used it well to rebuild his fortune. It was at the root of his economic, political, and social successes.

As he was born ten years after the Year of the Elephant and was one of the earliest converts, 'Abd 'Amr must have been in his early thirties when he accepted Islam. Upon his conversion, the Prophet renamed him 'Abd al-Rahmān. This is the name by which he is recognized in the Muslim sources. 'Abd al-Rahmān participated in both the Abyssinian migrations and later performed the *hijra* from Mecca.<sup>182</sup>

## II.1.2. Wealth

It appears that he arrived as a poor man in Medina, where he was made the brother of Sa'd b. Rabi' of the Balḥārith of the Khazraj. Sa'd offered him half of everything in his possession, but 'Abd al-Rahmān insisted instead on being shown the way to the market. There he demonstrated for the first time in Medina his acumen in trade, returning with a profit of clarified butter and cheese.<sup>183</sup> In due course, it seems, he was able to amass tremendous wealth thanks to his Midas touch.<sup>184</sup> Doubtless his financial success was

<sup>180</sup> BL (ARA), 5: 101. His full name is given as 'Abd 'Amr/Abd al-Ka'ba b. 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Harith b. Zuhra b. Kilāb. Other first names are also given.

<sup>181</sup> IS, 3: 270ff. See also Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muṣannaf*, 207.

<sup>182</sup> IS, 3: 270ff.

<sup>183</sup> S, 3: 270ff. He is reported to have said, 'It was as if whenever I would pick up a stone I would hope to see gold or silver underneath it.' See also BL (ARA), 5: 103.

partly due to the land grants he was given by the Prophet: a small palm grove called al-Ḥashsh and al-Salīl, which was land in Syria that the Prophet had presumably promised him; he is also reported to have contended with al-Zubayr over an unnamed tract of land around Medina.<sup>185</sup> The sources further report that he sold Kaydama, a portion of the property which had earlier belonged to the Banū al-Nadīr, to 'Uthmān.<sup>186</sup> As someone who participated in all the major early battles of Islam—and in some of them in the role of a leader<sup>187</sup>—he must also have gained quite a bit of capital through booty.<sup>188</sup> He is reported to have been one of the richest and most generous Muslims. His philanthropy extended especially towards the wives of the Prophet, to whom he is said to have given substantial monetary gifts. Thus he came to be called al-Amin (the Guarantor) with reference to them.<sup>189</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān is said to have written a testament of fifty-thousand *dīnārs* in the path of God.<sup>190</sup> He is also said to have left one thousand camels, three thousand sheep in al-Baqī, and one hundred horses, also grazing in al-Baqī. This area used to be tilled by twenty camels and his family used to extract its annual nourishment from it.<sup>191</sup> One of his wives, Tumādīr, got an eighth of the wealth, which is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand (*dīnārs*). Another report says that he left behind three wives and that each one got eighty thousand (*dīnārs*).<sup>192</sup> He is also said to have left some inheritance for Abū Bakra, the *mawlā* of the Prophet.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>185</sup> IS, 3: 270ff; BL (ARA), 5: 103.

<sup>186</sup> al-Bakrī (ARA), *Mu'jam*, 4: 1147: Kaydama was a well-known property near Medina. It had enclosures of palm trees. It is also said that it was sold to 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 4: 497.

<sup>187</sup> BL (ARA), 5: 110: He was sent as the leader of the army to Dumat al-Jandal, the territory of Kalb. It is after this expedition that he married the daughter of the leader of Kalb in this region (see his wife, Tumādīr, below). Thereafter, he was appointed over the *ṣadaqāt* of Kalb by the Prophet (BL (ARA), 1: 530). 'Abd al-Rahmān was the leader of a contingent of the army at Uhud. He was also sent by 'Umar at the head of a detachment of cavalry to aid 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in Egypt. And he was found in an unmentioned capacity in Syria at the time of 'Umar. His descendants were later found in all these areas, but they were concentrated largely in the Hijāz and somewhat less so in Egypt.

<sup>188</sup> IS, 3: 270ff.

<sup>189</sup> IS, 3: 270ff. This report is especially interesting in view of the claims of various sources that the wives and family of the Prophet were not eligible to receive *ṣadaqa*. Giving money to the Wives does not automatically mean that the donation was a *ṣadaqa*, but it is worth noting that one report says that, after he sold some property, 'Abd al-Rahmān gave the proceeds to the needy of the Zuhra, to the needy generally, and to the Wives. So one is tempted to include the Wives among the two other groups of the needy and thus to imagine them as receiving the same kind of donation. (See also IS, 8: 211.) The account above also appears generally in BL (ARA), 5: 106–7. Here 'Abd al-Rahmān's donation to the Wives is explicitly called a *ṣadaqa*. See also al-Burī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 337 (ARA).

<sup>190</sup> IS, 3: 270ff; BL (ARA), 5: 109–110.

<sup>191</sup> IS, 3: 270ff. I prefer to read *fa-akhrat innā 'atun minshunna thumnahā bi-thamānina alfan*, i.e. each of the wives got a fourth of the eighth (in other words, there were four wives at this time) as allowed by the Law, and still ended up with 80,000. See also BL (ARA), 5: 110. The geography is also a bit confusing. There was a Baqī al-Khayl located at the northern gate of Medina, but al-Jurf, also mentioned in the text, lay rather far northwest of the city. See Lecker, *Jews and Arabs*, VIII, 40n, 57, IX, 134, 144.

<sup>192</sup> See BL (ARA2), 1302, ed. M. Bāqir (Beirut, 1394 AH). For a variant account, see also al-Burī (ARA), *al-Jawhara*, 2: 338.

<sup>193</sup> BL (ARA), 5: 111. Further references to his wealth and property are found at: Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 1: 232; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 35: 265.



## II.1.3. Politics and Social Links

Wealth was important, but political success in early Islamic society was also in proportionate measure to one's social connections and religious rank. 'Abd al-Rahmān could boast of both. He had the good fortune of being born either to the daughter of an important Zuhri, 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Hārith b. Zuhra, or—even better—to a granddaughter of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams. His father was the half-brother of al-Ghaydaq (Nawfal) b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, an uncle of the Prophet.<sup>194</sup> Thus he came into the world with at least one foot in one of the two most powerful groups of early Islamic history. It is possible that he straddled both.

It appears that 'Abd al-Rahmān was a great friend of the first two caliphs, Abū Bakr<sup>195</sup> and 'Umar.<sup>196</sup> As mentioned above, he was a close companion of 'Uthmān for most of his life; he was also his brother-in-law. As a respected member of the early Islamic elite, as one of the ten to whom Paradise had been promised before their deaths, and as a friend of those in power, 'Abd al-Rahmān was given the privilege by 'Umar to lead the *hajj* over several years.<sup>197</sup> 'Umar also appointed him later as one of the six members of the Advisory Council (*Shūrā*) in which he was instrumental (as the presiding officer) in the selection of his old friend and kinsman, 'Uthmān, to the caliphate.<sup>198</sup> He was also ordered by 'Umar to lead the prayers after the latter was stabbed.<sup>199</sup> After 'Umar, he was again employed as the leader of the *hajj* by 'Uthmān.<sup>200</sup> Leading the pilgrimage is a symbolic act, which, in some instances, is meant to indicate the succession to the leadership in the Muslim community. Thus, it is worth venturing the suggestion that, in the historical memory of the early Muslim community, 'Abd al-Rahmān was a serious candidate for the caliphate both before and after 'Uthmān.<sup>201</sup> There was no chance, however, for him to be in contention for the

<sup>194</sup> IS, 3: 127; BL (ARA), 3: 310, 5: 101–2; IH, 114–5.

<sup>195</sup> BL (ARA), 5: 101–2.

<sup>196</sup> I have found no reports transmitted on the authority of 'Abd al-Rahmān in praise of 'Alī. On the other hand, there are a few that eulogize 'Umar and Abū Bakr. See, for example, BL (ARA), 5: 407; Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 2: 668, 681. Thus, his social links and attitudes seem to oppose those of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās'. But see BL, 5: 499 for his upbraiding of 'Uthmān and 'Alī for coming forward to lead the prayer after 'Umar's death out of their desire to rule.

<sup>197</sup> S, 3: 270ff; BL (ARA), 5: 108, 111.

<sup>198</sup> IS, 3: 287; 'Abd al-Rahmān's rank and a sense of the nature of his relationship with 'Umar is revealed in a report where none of the Companions is willing to approach 'Umar because of his harshness; they all ask 'Abd al-Rahmān to go to him to speak on their behalf. IS, 3: 340; 'Abd al-Rahmān's position with 'Umar and his candidacy for the caliphate is suggested by the fact that he led the prayers after 'Umar was stabbed. The relationship between 'Uthmān and 'Abd al-Rahmān is said to have become sour about half way into 'Uthmān's reign. Presumably this had to do with the latter's open nepotism. The two of them are said to have argued over some issues of ritual and to have exchanged some unkind words. See, for example, BL (ARA), 4: 528, 548. See also Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 1: 104; 3: 1031–1033.

<sup>199</sup> Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 3: 902.

<sup>200</sup> BL (ARA), 5: 137.

<sup>201</sup> IS, 3: 270ff; in his last year, when 'Umar also allowed the Wives to perform the *hajj*, he sent 'Uthmān and 'Abd al-Rahmān as their escorts. 'Uthmān rode in front of them and 'Abd al-Rahmān behind them. The symbolic importance of the person appointed over the *hajj* by a ruler seems to be indicated by IS, 3: 133. In the context of a discussion about *hajj* appointments, it is mentioned that Muḥammad chose Abū Bakr; the latter chose 'Umar; the latter chose 'Abd al-Rahmān; then 'Uthmān chose 'Abd al-Rahmān. Perhaps 'Abd al-Rahmān's riding behind 'Uthmān as an escort to the Wives should also be read symbolically to mean that, in the historical memory of the early Muslim

caliphate after 'Uthmān, for he died in 31 or 32 AH.<sup>202</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān's wealth, religious rank, and social connections were impressive enough to guarantee him marital links of the highest order. These, in turn, afforded a good number of his descendants pride of place in the social, religious, and political spheres of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsī periods.

## II.ii. The Children of 'Abd al-Rahmān

Unlike Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, whose almost exclusively southern marital links pulled his descendants in the direction of Iraq and largely swept them away with the failures of their cognates, 'Abd al-Rahmān's marriages were diverse enough to guarantee longevity to his family in three regions: in the Hijāz and—to a lesser extent—in Egypt and Iraq. For example, he not only had wives from important sections of the Banū Umayya, the Thaḳīf, and the Anṣār, but he also married daughters of various powerful southern tribes. This generally meant significant influence with three symbiotically linked sectors of society: the ruling dynasty, their provincial administrators, and the local elite. The marriages were not only politically indispensable in themselves, but also brought with them useful connections with other groups and individuals.

Again, if Sa'd's marriages were at least potentially—albeit, monotonously—useful, those of a good number of his children were certainly not as worthy of note. Here again the 'Awfids outdid their Sa'did kinsmen, building on the investments of their ancestor, and continuing to line up some of the most desirable spouses. These marriages meant the kind of pull that secured their social pertinence in the three regions during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsī periods. And their command in social circles, in turn, meant that they were good political commodities for the central government, which granted them enviable administrative posts.

The massive amount of detail that is found in this chapter will certainly be overwhelming. So before we are thrown again into the details that a study of this sort requires, let me bring in advance to the reader's attention some general conclusions that may be drawn from them. Such general points will give the reader some sense of direction when she feels lost and will help her wade through the torrents of genealogies before she reaches the short conclusions at the end of each section or the larger concluding section of this chapter.

The following points are noteworthy. By the end of this chapter, the reader will observe again that cognate links were not only essential for the success or failure of a given individual, but also that they were the means used by the central government to secure politically viable alliances. That is to say, one of the practices of the Umayyads and early 'Abbāsids in winning the favor of a given tribe was to approach it indirectly via a descendant of an early Islamic elite, whose cognates they might have been. We will also notice that, much like Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās—and perhaps in keeping with the

community, he was to be the next caliph. And he was certainly a strong candidate for the *Shūrā* that selected 'Uthmān. See also BL (ARA2), 204. al-Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh al-ya'qūbī*, 2: 169, reports that 'Uthmān had appointed 'Abd al-Rahmān as the next caliph in secret.

<sup>202</sup> al-Burrī (ARA), *Jawhara*, 2: 340; he was buried in al-Baqī' and 'Uthmān prayed over him, as instructed by 'Abd al-Rahmān in his testament.

political program of managing and creating a conquest society of which he was a leading proponent—'Abd al-Rahmān looked northward and outside the Hijāz to contract a good number of his marriages. Like Sa'd, again, he had minimal marital connections with his own Zuhra. However, unlike him, he did establish some early links with both the old guard of Mecca and some early converts to Islam. These two categories sometimes tended to intersect. Marriages into the southern tribes in the north of Arabia (southern Syria and, to a lesser extent, Iraq) meant a power base for his descendants near the centers of government. The same was obviously the result of marriages with members of the 'Abd Shams and, more specifically, with the Banū Umayya. Marriages with the old and new Hijāzī élite meant that 'Abd al-Rahmān's descendants were among the local notables and were, therefore, good candidates for provincial administration. The various connections outlined above often worked together in their favor. Finally, cognate links tended to perpetuate themselves in future generations. By the end of this chapter, it will become undeniably clear that cognate kinship counted for a lot—perhaps even more than agnate kinship—for social and political management and ascendancy during the early Islamic period.

The descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān will be presented along seven cognate lines (i.e. with reference to their mothers). Four of these lines were southern: (1) Sahla bt. 'Āsim; (2) Tumādīr bt. al-Asbah; (3) Majd bt. Yazid al-Himyariyya; (4) Umm Hurayth al-Bahriyya. His fifth wife seems to have been of royal Persian descent. Her name was (5) Ghazāl bt. Kisrā. His sixth wife was an Umayyad named (6) Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba. In the seventh category, I have collected information about (7a) named wives whose children seem to have left no progeny; (7b) unnamed concubines who bore at least one child; (7c) wives who are unnamed, but left children; (7d) named wives with no mentioned children by 'Abd al-Rahmān. As we know very little about the order of these marriages, my numbering is not meant to be chronological.

### II.ii.1. The Southern Children

#### II.ii.1.A. The Children of Sahla bt. 'Āsim

Sahla bt. 'Āsim b. 'Adī's father hailed from the southern tribe of the Balī of the Qudā'a. His tribe is said to have settled generally in the northwest of Arabia in and around the Wādī al-Qurā'.<sup>203</sup> The Balī were the confederates (*hulafā'*) of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf of Aws and were, by implication, those of the Anṣār.<sup>204</sup> 'Āsim b. 'Adī, a notable (*sayyid*) of the 'Ājlān, was a companion of the Prophet and witnessed Badr along with his brother Ma'n b. 'Adī. The latter also participated at al-Yamāma, where he was killed in battle.<sup>205</sup> It is said that 'Āsim did go out to Badr, but was sent back by the Prophet as the overseer of al-Qubā and al-'Āliya. After the Muslim victory at this engagement, he was given a

<sup>203</sup> It is unclear whether the Balī's southern movement into the holy lands of Islam was the result of such marriages with the Islamic élite or whether this movement was the cause behind such marriages. Certainly, by the time we get to the ninth century, they are found in large numbers in the regions of the Banū Sulaym between Mecca and Medina.

<sup>204</sup> IS, 5: 261. Another report says that 'Āsim b. 'Adī was among the *hulafā'* of the Banū 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Mālik b. 'Awf b. 'Amr (Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 155).

<sup>205</sup> Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 155.

portion of the booty.<sup>206</sup> He died in Medina.<sup>207</sup> A son of his named 'Abbād lost his life at al-Harra, presumably on the side of the Medinans.<sup>208</sup> This wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān was thus the daughter of a respected and important early southern convert, who was associated with the Anṣār and with their city.

Sahla had six children by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf: amat al-Rahmān, Shuqayq, al-Qāsim, Zayd, Ma'n, and 'Umar. We know nothing about the only daughter of hers mentioned in the sources;<sup>209</sup> nor do we know anything beyond Shuqayq's and al-Qāsim's names.<sup>210</sup> Zayd, like his uncle 'Abbād, was killed at al-Harra, fighting on the side of the Medinans. He left no progeny.<sup>211</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān's son Ma'n left no lasting impression on Islamic history. But it is very likely that his children continued to remain locally relevant in the Hijāz as pious and wealthy individuals. Although they seem to have established no connections with the Umayyads, they reemerged in the early 'Abbāsīd period as officers of the central government. A descendant of his, Hārūn b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n al-Madanī al-Mālikī, for example, was appointed the judge (*qāḍī*) of al-Maṣṣīṣa,<sup>212</sup> he then served in the same capacity at al-Raqqā, eastern Baghdad,<sup>213</sup> and Egypt.<sup>214</sup> All these posts were granted to him by al-Ma'mūn.<sup>215</sup> Hārūn's son 'Abd al-Rahmān was the *qāḍī* of Mecca for al-Mu'taḍid. He died there in 291 AH.<sup>216</sup> His son Yahyā, in turn, was appointed *qāḍī* of Mecca for al-Mu'taḍir. Yahyā, perhaps like his ancestors over the previous decades, was a pious and respected man in Mecca and commanded the obedience of the populace. He had estates in al-Fur' and reportedly lost one hundred and fifty thousand *dīnārs* to the Qarāmiṭa when they entered Mecca.<sup>217</sup> It stands to reason that this locally powerful group was strategically employed by the new dynasty to bolster its position and to establish control in the notoriously rebellious province of the Hijāz.<sup>218</sup>

<sup>206</sup> There is some confusion in the sources over the identity of this 'Āsim. For we are told that Sahla had a brother, Abū al-Baddāh, but his father was not this 'Āsim (Ibn Hajar, *al-Iṣābah*, 3: 463).

<sup>207</sup> al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 2: 270.

<sup>208</sup> IS, 5: 261.

<sup>209</sup> IS, 3: 127; BL, 5: 113–4.

<sup>210</sup> IH, 132. If this al-Qāsim is the same as the brother of 'Abdallāh al-Akbar (see below), then his mother was a daughter of Anas b. Rāfi' al-Anṣārī. See Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 343, where such alternative genealogies are a regular feature.

<sup>211</sup> IS, 3: 127; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 4: 324–6, 5: 111–116. al-Burri reports that his mother was another wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān, Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba (Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 338).

<sup>212</sup> Byzantine-Muslim frontier region. See 'al-Maṣṣīṣa' (E. Honigsmann), *IEJ*, 3.

<sup>213</sup> Here he was appointed over the Camp of al-Mahdī—a quarter of Baghdad on its east side—at the time of al-Ma'mūn. See al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 14: 13.

<sup>214</sup> I have already mentioned above that 'Abd al-Rahmān's descendants were largely based in the Hijāz and, in lesser concentrations, in Egypt. In addition to having kin from other children of his ancestor in Egypt (see below), Hārūn may well have commanded respect in the region on the basis of the already existing connections established there by the descendants of Ma'n b. 'Umar b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n (see al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 19: 256–7). In fact, Hārūn was married to Ma'n b. 'Umar's daughter Sahla. See NQ (ARA), 271–73.

<sup>215</sup> IH, 135; NQ, 271–73, reports that he continued serving as the *qāḍī* and was removed towards the end of the caliphate of al-Mu'taḍid. See also Ibn Hajar, *Raf'*, 447H.

<sup>216</sup> IH, 135.

<sup>217</sup> IH, 135.

<sup>218</sup> If the politics of the descendants of Ma'n were anything like those of their cousins, the children of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, then it is likely that they had turned away from the Umayyads (or, as is



The sources tell us that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān was among the Hijāzī delegates sent to 'Abd al-Malik after al-Zubayr was killed by al-Hajjāj. This delegation comprised the children of some of the most prominent companions of the Prophet. Its main objective, it seems, was to ask the caliph to remove al-Hajjāj from the Hijaz and thus to return it to the local population. He complied with this request, perhaps realizing that control over the region would have to be effected through the agency of local leaders.<sup>219</sup> Earlier, his father Marwān had appointed 'Umar over the *ṣadaqāt* of several tribes in the area.<sup>220</sup> 'Umar also seems to have been fairly close to the caliph. For the latter consulted him on a private matter—that he had wanted to marry Zaynab bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, but that she had rejected him in favor of Yahyā b. al-Hakam.<sup>221</sup> 'Umar promised him an even better match and brought the more beautiful daughter of Ismā'il b. Hishām to his attention.<sup>222</sup> Finally, one of 'Umar's sisters was half 'Umayyad and it is reported that 'Umar was killed along with her family in Syria by al-Manṣūr.<sup>223</sup>

It is unclear what happened to these fairly strong Umayyad links after 'Umar's death. For we find none of his descendants in the service of the dynasty. Indeed the only child of his who seems to have had an Umayyad link was his daughter Humayda, who was only reluctantly married off to some member of the Umayyad family and then transported to Syria.<sup>224</sup> Of the children we know about, many remained in the Hijaz and maintained connections there.<sup>225</sup> They also possessed enough wealth for major contentions to arise. For example, the sources record a dispute among four notables of the Hijaz:<sup>226</sup> 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān and al-Ḥasan b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, on the one hand, and their cousins, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān and

more likely, that the Umayyads had turned away from them—see below) very early on and that they had become involved for the next several decades in the internal politics of the Hijaz that culminated in the 'Abbāsīd revolution. This might explain their absence from the Umayyad rosters. On the changing position of the descendants of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, see the two following paragraphs. See also the footnote on patterns of administrative appointments by the Umayyads and 'Abbāsīds.

<sup>219</sup> IS, 3: 127; IH, 132. From the time of 'Abd al-Malik onwards and until the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, a new category of local middlemen was employed in the Hijaz. The governors continued to be extracted from the ranks of the Meccan old guard, but here also there was new focus on a specific group. For details, see footnote 63 and the explanation offered there.

<sup>220</sup> al-Iṣḥānī, *al-Aghānī*, 1: 172. Burri (ARA), *Jawhara*, 2: 343; it also seems that he was appointed in some official capacity during al-Hajjāj's rule in the Hijaz.

<sup>221</sup> This is very likely Yahyā b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. 'Umayya.

<sup>222</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 45: 124.

<sup>223</sup> Burri (ARA), *Jawhara*, 2: 343. If it is indeed 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān whom he killed, the latter must have been at least in his mid-eighties when this happened. It also makes little sense that soon thereafter his grandson would find favor with the caliph (see below). It is more likely that the 'Umar who was killed by Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr was a son of Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, as reported by Ibn Qutayba (ARA), *al-Ma'ārif*, 238. See the discussion of the descendants of Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān below.

<sup>224</sup> Iṣḥānī, *al-Aghānī*, 13: 111; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 3: 297; NQ, 271–73; IH, 135.

<sup>225</sup> Given that they were a generation younger than Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar, it is more than likely that this dispute took place in the early 'Abbāsīd period. Muḥammad was alive in 179 AH. Nevertheless, their wealth and rank in the holiest places of Islam suggests generational continuity rather than otherwise.

Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, on the other.<sup>227</sup> This dispute, which resulted in multiple homicides, had to do with property rights in al-ʿĪs, an estate among the dependencies (*a'māl*) of Medina.<sup>228</sup> Two of the original culprits fled to Egypt and sought refuge with an anonymous member of the élite of the region, before more blood was spilled between them.<sup>229</sup>

Much like the family of his brother Ma'n, 'Umar's descendants reappear only in the early 'Abbāsīd period.<sup>230</sup> His grandson Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar was born to a concubine. He was a notable, was *qādī* of Medina for al-Manṣūr, and a transmitter from al-Zuhri. He is also reported to have been al-Manṣūr's treasurer in Medina. And

<sup>227</sup> IH, 135.

<sup>228</sup> NQ, 271–73.

<sup>229</sup> The sources report that some of 'Umar's descendants were also found in Baṣra. See BL (ARA), 5: 116.

<sup>230</sup> The general administrative policies of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsīds with respect to the Hijaz seem to have been almost identical. With the exceptions of the appointments by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the large majority of Umayyad governors of the region were members of the ruling family, army generals, or Makhzūmīs. It seems, however, that the micromanagement of the area had been placed in the hands of the local élite. There are some general patterns worth observing: in the period before 'Abd al-Malik, these local élite, who negotiated with the local population from the posts of *qādī* and as heads of the *shurfa* (roles that were often concurrently played by one person), were invariably members of the early Islamic élite. Thus, the first five *qādīs* of Medina, for example (we know little about the *qādīs* of Mecca from this time), were all from the Banī Zuhra or were very closely associated with them (from the year 40 to 73, allowing for the gaps created by prolonged civil strife, they were 'Abdallāh b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith, Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 'Amr b. 'Abd b. Zam', 'Abd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf). After 'Abd al-Malik, another clear pattern is worth attention: the governorships still continued to be handed largely to the members of the ruling family, but there was an increase in the number of Makhzūmīs who were employed in this role. It is also very interesting to observe that the micromanagement of the region was now in the hands of the Makhzūm and, more so, of the Anṣār. These patterns make good sense. For the Makhzūm had been closely associated with the Zubayrids and had to be won over at the end of prolonged hostilities between the Umayyads and the Hijāzīs. During their time as members of the Zubayrid coalition, the Makhzūm must also have won considerable support and must have gained renewed respect in the province. The changing of the guard on the more important level of *qādī* and *shūhāb al-shurfa* also makes sense. 'Abd al-Malik must have realized that power in the hands of those who could boast legitimate claim to rule was a terrible idea. Already, several of the descendants of the members of the *Shūra* had participated in serious revolts (Ibn al-Zubayr, Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, etc.). It was, therefore, reasonable to marginalize this group and to seek the service of another willing sector of society, one that commanded local obedience, but did not have the credentials to mount a revolution. But marginalization did not mean that the descendants of the religious élite became locally insignificant. As we see throughout this chapter, they continued to establish important local connections. Judging from the fact that a good number of them reemerged in the early 'Abbāsīd period, they might have had a silent presence in the movement that toppled the Umayyads. In fact, their local appointments and mass exodus from the Hijaz after the coming of the 'Abbāsīds suggests nothing less. In their early years, the 'Abbāsīds, like the Umayyads, generally used members of their family as governors in the Hijaz. Earlier on, the local managers were drawn from the potentially dangerous religious élite (the 'Awfīds, Bakrīds, and 'Umayrīds all make their appearance as *qādīs*), but from the time of al-Mahdī, when the *qādīs* were directly appointed by the caliph, the Makhzūmīs and Anṣārīs and some members of lesser clans of the Quraysh such as the 'Amīr b. Lu'ayy reappear. These patterns of the administrative policies of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsīds not only inform us of the political roles of the descendants of the élite under study, but they also explain the ebb and flow of their historical records. See 'Abd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh*, 51ff.; al-Fāst (ARA), *Shūfā*, 2: 251ff.; *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mecca*, 2: 158ff.; Waki', *Akhbār al-qādīs*, see the sections '*qādī* banī umayya bi- l-madīna' and '*qādī* banī l-'abbās bi- l-madīna', 1: 111ff.; 'Makhzūm' (M. Hinds), *EI2*.



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he is said to have come to Baghdād on several occasions.<sup>231</sup> Muḥammad was thus a useful local ally for the 'Abbāsids. One cannot tell whether he considered Medina his home, but he certainly had a powerful extended family there. We find few such children of the early Islamic elite in the company of the later Umayyads.

His son Ibrāhīm was a Medinan notable, a transmitter, and a companion of 'Abd al-Malik b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>232</sup> He stands as a symbol of his father's far-reaching connections: Ibrāhīm's mother was Hind bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Thus she was a Hāshimī, descended from a luminous family of the early Islamic period. al-Hārith b. Nawfal, whose mother was of the Azd, was appointed by the Prophet over some dependencies of Mecca; thereafter, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthmān appointed him governor over Mecca. Towards the end of the caliphate of 'Uthmān, he made his home in Baṣra, where he spent the last years of his life.<sup>233</sup> The sources tell us practically nothing about Hind's father 'Ubaydallāh other than that he was the brother of 'Abdallāh.<sup>234</sup> 'Abdallāh was from Baṣra and a popular political and religious personality there at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>235</sup> His mother was Hind bt. Abī Sufyān b. Harb b. Umayya, a sister of Umm Habiba bt. Abī Sufyān, who was a wife of the Prophet. It is also reported that when 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād was removed from Baṣra at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr, the people appointed 'Abdallāh over the prayers (and he was very likely also chosen as the governor of the city by the rival tribes of the town). He was subsequently appointed governor of the city by Ibn al-Zubayr and served in this capacity for a year.<sup>236</sup> It seems that the family had maintained some contacts with the Hijāz; for his son Ishāq was a Medinan. It is also fairly clear that they had begun to favor the 'Alids not long after.<sup>237</sup> For example, a descendant of his, Ismā'īl b. al-Faḍl, was a companion of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; and his grandson 'Abdallāh b. al-Faḍl was among the reliable transmitters of the Imāmis.<sup>238</sup>

So Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf fathered his son Ibrāhīm into the family of a Hāshimī; the family was respected both in Baṣra and the Hijāz, and had begun to shift its loyalties sometime around the generation of his wife from the Zubayrids to the 'Alids.<sup>239</sup> In previous generations, it had also established some cognate connections with the Umayyads. With these various links, it is not

<sup>231</sup> al-Sam'āni, *al-Ansāb*, 3: 180–1; IH, 135f. NQ, 271–73; Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 343; al-Ardabili, *Jāmi'*, 2: 139; al-Shahīdī, *Ashāb al-imām al-ṣādiq*, 3: 121.

<sup>232</sup> Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, 3: 180–1; IH, 135; NQ, 271–73; al-'Uqaylī, *al-Du'afā'*, 1: 61; al-Rāzi, *al-Jarḥ*, 2: 128. <sup>233</sup> IS, 4: 56.

<sup>234</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghaba*, 3: 338; al-Taftīzī, *Naqd al-rījāl*, 1: 392, adds that he was a Companion. The extended account of al-Hārith b. Nawfal, found at IS, 4: 56, where a list of his children is given, does not mention 'Ubaydallāh at all.

<sup>235</sup> 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith, also called Babba, was a supporter of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr and secured the Baghras' oath of allegiance for him. See Madelung, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the Madīna'.

<sup>236</sup> IS, 5: 24.

<sup>237</sup> More on this intriguing family of al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and their contacts with the 'Alids in the last chapter. Whether 'Abdallāh was himself a pro-'Alid is debatable, though he had certainly turned away from Yazīd b. Mu'awīya. See Madelung, 'Abdallāh', esp. 297ff.

<sup>238</sup> Burri, *Jarḥ*, *Tarā'if al-maḥall*, 2: 54, 2: 9; 1: 226; al-Khū'i, *Mu'jam*, 4: 79; al-Shahīdī, *Ashāb al-imām al-ṣādiq*, 2: 298.

<sup>239</sup> Similar patterns are to be found in the family of 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, on which see below.

surprising that Muḥammad should have been considered useful by the central government. As a notable Medinan 'Awfīd, with possible nascent links with the moderate 'Alids in Baṣra, the punishment he meted out against his nephew Ja'far b. 'Imrān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz may have been seen more as an act of legitimate chastisement from one's kinsman than as an oppressive measure of the central government.<sup>240</sup> The sources do not tell us why he was punished, but it is likely that it had to do with his possible involvement in Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan's revolt. Ja'far's father had participated in this revolt along with his brother Musā b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.<sup>241</sup> And it is possible that, many years later, the latter's son 'Abd al-Wahhāb was given official posts as consolation.<sup>242</sup> Similarly, Ja'far b. 'Imrān's brother the *sayyid* 'Abd al-'Azīz, who was a great Medinan scholar, became a companion of Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī. It is reported that he used to come to Baghdād and was plied with gifts by his friend.<sup>243</sup>

Thus there seem to be clear efforts on the part of the early Umayyads and, more so, the 'Abbāsids to establish Hijāz-Iraq relations through the agency of the notable descendants of the early Islamic elite. These descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān and Saḥla, who were prominent in Medina (like their cognate ancestor, Saḥla's father) and who had favor in Baṣra and with the 'Alids, were perfect for the task.

### II.1.1. The Children of Tumādīr bt. al-Aṣbagh

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf was sent off by the Prophet at the head of an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal to bring the message of Islam to the tribe of Kalb. He had instructions to marry the daughter of their chief or king if they agreed to convert.<sup>244</sup> When some of them did turn to Islam, he married the royal Tumādīr bt. al-Aṣbagh b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba

<sup>240</sup> IH, 135.

<sup>241</sup> IH, 135; IS, 5: 436; al-'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'*, 3: 300.

<sup>242</sup> al-Kindī (ARA), *Wūlāt*, 165. This happened in 182 AH.

<sup>243</sup> IS, 5: 436; IH, 135; NQ, 271–73; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 13: 154–5; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 10: 440.

<sup>244</sup> 'Abd al-'Azīz also had some impressive links through his wife al-Sa'ba bt. 'Abdallāh b. Rabi'a b. Abī Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Makhzūmī. Her niece Qarība bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh was married to 'Abdallāh b. Humayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (see IS, 5: 436; 4: 121). Through his wife's line, 'Abdallāh b. Humayd seems to have had quite a few 'Abd Shamsī, Hāshimī, and Makhzūmī links (see IS, 5: 154 and Humayd's family below). Abū Umayya was married to a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. A daughter of his, Umm Salama, was a wife of the Prophet (IS, 5: 194). There was thus a dual Makhzūmī and Hāshimī link that 'Abd al-'Azīz had established in this marriage. Another wife of his, Humayda, was the daughter of Muḥammad b. Bilāl b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (IS, 5: 436). He was a Medinan transmitter. Abū Bakr's (his grandfather) mother was a granddaughter of the first caliph (Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 456). There is some minor confusion in Muḥammad b. Bilāl's genealogy (see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 3: 548; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 1: 43). See also Rāzi, *al-Jarḥ*, 9: 340; Ibn Hibbān, *Kitāb al-thiqāt*, 7: 364; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, 7: 512; Id. *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 1: 255; IS, 5: 436. In this marriage 'Abd al-'Azīz had established a link with the families of the first and second caliphs. Given these important Hijāzī connections in addition to his descent from a famous companion of the Prophet, he must have been an attractive Hijāzī ally to the 'Abbāsids.

<sup>245</sup> BL (ARA), 1: 378, gives what appears to be a variant account. It states that the army of 'Abd al-Rahmān had a party of Kalb in it. They converted to Islam. Since the Prophet had ordered 'Abd al-Rahmān to marry one of the daughters of their kings if they obeyed him, he married Tumādīr. But perhaps this account is elliptical. Later, 'Abd al-Rahmān was appointed by the Prophet over the *sadaqāt* of Kalb because he had nobody from among them at his disposal. This is the best straightforward testament to the importance of 'Abd al-Rahmān's Kalbī links (BL (ARA), 1: 530).



b. Ḥiṣn b. Dāmḍam b. 'Adī b. Janāb of the Kalb of Quḍā'a, the first Kalbī woman to marry a Qurashī. He returned with her to Medina, where she gave birth to her only child with him, Abū Salama 'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar. The sources report that Tumādīr had a bad temperament, which was the likely cause of her two previous divorces. She demanded a dissolution of the marriage from 'Abd al-Rahmān as well and was granted it.<sup>245</sup> Thereafter, she married 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. Some reports say that this was her last marriage; others say that she was then married to al-Zubayr, who divorced her very soon as well. It is also stated that Ḥayyā b. Khālid b. 'Uqba was the half brother of Abū Salama.<sup>246</sup> Tumādīr's brother Imru'u l-Qays was the 'āmīl of the Prophet over Kalb.<sup>247</sup> Thus this marriage with Tumādīr brought to 'Abd al-Rahmān renewed links with a section of the ruling family of Islam; among Muslims, it gave him the first connection with the Kalb; and this link was with a very powerful clan of the tribe.<sup>248</sup>

Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf was a famous scholar, ascetic, and a major transmitter in Medina. He was appointed the *qāḍī* of Medina and head over its *shurṭa* by Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ when he was serving his first term as the governor of the city for Mu'āwīya. He is also said to have visited Baṣra and Kūfa at some point and to have transmitted there as well.<sup>249</sup>

Abū Salama's son Salama is also said to have been a *qāḍī* of Medina, but the sources do not tell us who appointed him. He and his sister, her paternal grandmother's namesake, were both born to a concubine.<sup>250</sup> Another child named 'Umar from this same concubine was a transmitter of questionable capacity. He was a Medinan and was appointed *qāḍī* of the city, but again the sources do not specify any dates or reigns. 'Umar seems to have been loyal to the Umayyads, for he was killed by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī in Syria in 133 AH in the company of members of the Banū Umayya.<sup>251</sup>

The general pattern of cognate pull is further substantiated in Abū Salama's enduring marriage to Umm Ḥasan bt. Sa'd b. al-Aṣbagh b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba al-Kalbiyya, a woman by whom he had seven children.<sup>252</sup> With the exception of one, all the children from this marriage are nondescript. The only one to have left a mark on history was 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Abī Salama; and even he did so only through his descendants. They are said to have been the Zuhra living at a later date in al-Andalus, al-Bājja, and Baṭleus.<sup>253</sup>

<sup>245</sup> IS, 3: 127.

<sup>246</sup> NQ, 146f., 267-9; IS, 8: 298-9. Ḥayyā (Ukhayy/Ujayy) was among the companions of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and had influence with him (Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 7: 364).

<sup>247</sup> al-Burī, *Jawhara*, 1: 454-5.

<sup>248</sup> If her father's station was not enough to boast about, we may add that her maternal grandfather, for example, was the brother of the famous al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir (NQ, 267-9).

<sup>249</sup> IS, 3: 127, 937; Sam'āni, *Ansāb*, 3: 180-1; IH, 132; BL, 5: 113-4; Burī, *Jawhara*, 2: 337-344.

<sup>250</sup> IS, 5: 155-6; IH, 132; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 4: 80; al-'Iḥḥ, *Ma'rifa*, 1: 421; Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 455.

<sup>251</sup> IH, 132; BL, 5: 116-7; NQ, 271-73; Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 455; al-'Iḥḥ, *Ma'rifa*, 2: 168 al-'Uqaylī, *Du'afā'*, 3: 164. Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib*, 1: 718.

<sup>252</sup> IS, 5: 155-6.

<sup>253</sup> Their later location is somewhat interesting in view of the Egyptian migration of some of the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān. Perhaps there was a general westward push of some lines. It is also interesting because a distant descendant of Khālid b. 'Uqba, who was married to Tumādīr and whose

Abū Salama also married Barīha bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mukammil b. 'Awf al-Zuhri. Her father owned some property in Medina that was transferred several times until it fell into the hands of al-Mahdī and his descendants. His paternal grandmother was a Himyarī prisoner of war from the Banū Yaḥsub. So this was a further southern and Medinan link for the 'Awfī family. Unfortunately, we know nothing more than the names of her three children.<sup>254</sup>

Finally, Abū Salama's visit to Baṣra and Kūfa during the governorship of Bishr b. Marwān<sup>255</sup> served more than a scholarly purpose. He was able to marry off his daughter Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā<sup>256</sup> to the governor by whom she had her son al-Jakam.<sup>257</sup>

This line of 'Abd al-Rahmān is fairly easy to summarize. Its Kalbī origins and other Umayyad connections through the marriages of Tumādīr after 'Abd al-Rahmān must have made it fairly attractive to the Umayyads. The latter generally counted on the Kalb of the south Syrian desert, the home of Tumādīr, as important allies. In fact, this tribe was cognate cousin to more than one Umayyad. Given this, it is no surprise that we do not hear about the descendants of this line in the post-Umayyad period. Medinans like a good number of their cousins, they were given important posts in their home city in the early Umayyad period; like their cousins again, they had established some contacts with Iraq. Although we do not hear about them after 'Abd al-Malik, it is likely that they maintained some measure of amicable relations with the Umayyads. For at least one of their luminous members lost his life with them in Syria at the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

## II.1.C. The Children of Majd bt. Yazīd al-Himyarīyya

Tumādīr was not the only royal southern wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān. A daughter of Yazīd b. Salāma Dhī Fā'ish named Majd al-Himyarīyya was also married to him. Like Tumādīr, she bore only one child for 'Abd al-Rahmān. Majd's father was of the Yaḥsub b. Mālik, a tribe we have already come across in connection with a wife of Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. Dhī Fā'ish,<sup>258</sup> in turn, seems to have been a patron of the poet al-Nābigha, before the latter turned to the service of al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. Imrī' l-Qays.<sup>259</sup> In fact, some of his praise poetry for his new patron set up comparisons with

sister was a wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān, was a famous *faḥīh* in al-Andalus. This descendant, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Walid b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Khālid b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Khālid b. 'Uqba, had migrated to al-Andalus from Egypt and was paid homage in Dāniya, in the east of al-Andalus, towards the end of Umayyad rule there. Perhaps the same descendants of Khālid and 'Abd al-Rahmān had grown in numbers in Egypt and furthest west, had maintained ties with each other, and had gained influence in some of these regions over the years. But this is speculation. See IH, 132; IS, 5: 155-6; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 2: 328.

<sup>254</sup> IS, 5: 155-6.

<sup>255</sup> He was the governor of Kūfa and Baṣra for 'Abd al-Malik. He was appointed in 74 AH. See Tabastī, *Rijāl*, 380; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 10: 253.

<sup>256</sup> Umm Kulthūm was born to Umm 'Uthmān bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf al-Zuhri (IS, 5: 155-6; IH, 106).

<sup>257</sup> al-Nuwayrī (ARA), *Nihāyat al-arab*, 3: 177-9; he was Salāma b. Yazīd b. Salāma. But elsewhere he appears as Dhī Fā'ish b. Yazīd b. Murra (IH, 436). Are these two different people? Are these editorial errors?

<sup>258</sup> We have already come across 'Abd al-Rahmān's distant connection with al-Nu'mān with reference to his wife Tumādīr.

Dhū Fa'ish, who had boasted against him earlier.<sup>260</sup> A great grandson of Dhū Fa'ish, named Salāma b. Yazid b. Salāma b. Dhī Fa'ish b. Yazid b. Murra, was also eulogized by al-A'shā.<sup>261</sup> Perhaps, like his great grandfather, he was a patron of poets. Finally, the sources mention al-Dahhāk b. al-Mundhir b. Salāma b. Dhī Fa'ish b. Yazid b. Murra as a delegate to Mu'āwīya. The proud Dahhāk reminded Mu'āwīya that his father and grandfather were both kings and that all the tribes that ruled in his day were not long ago inferior to his.<sup>262</sup>

From this royal lineage<sup>263</sup> was born Suhayl Abū Ahyād b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was a Medinan (perhaps also an Egyptian at some time) and left behind his descendants in that city.<sup>264</sup> Despite the privilege he might have enjoyed due to his genealogy, his legacy to the historical memory of the Muslims has nothing to do with official posts and political intrigue. Remembrance of him is largely limited to two verses—attributed to various poets—about his marriage to Thurayyā bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Umayya al-Aṣghar b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. She was a companion of the poet 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a, who was infatuated with her and may have been the one who produced the verses when he heard of her marriage to Suhayl.<sup>265</sup> They read, 'Oh you who married off Suhayl <Canopus> to Thurayyā <the Pleiades> / God preserve you! How will they meet? / For she is northern when she moves <across the sky> / And, when he moves <across the sky>, he is southern.'<sup>266</sup> The clever play on words seems to have won these verses some fame independent of the individuals to whom they are generally said to have applied.<sup>267</sup> Given this, there is a possibility that the identification of this Suhayl as a son of 'Abd al-Rahmān was due to his being a good match for the metaphor, not due to some historical reality. In fact, there is at least one report which states that al-Thurayyā, who was taken to Egypt after her marriage, was the wife of Suhayl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān. This same report claims that Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān did not have a place in Egypt.<sup>268</sup> Whatever the case may be, all this tells us that Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān was connected well enough at least to have been mistaken for the husband of a desirable Medinan beauty with an excellent lineage to boot. al-Thurayyā was also from the camp of Medinans who might have liked to have seen the Medinans win at al-Harra. For she is said to have taught her *mawlā*, al-Ghurayd the Berber, to eulogize those who were killed by Yazid at the engagement. She was thus an aristocrat of Medinan loyalties with some connections to north Africa.

<sup>260</sup> al-Nuwayrī (ARA), *Nihāyat*, 3: 177–9.

<sup>261</sup> IH, 436.

<sup>262</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 24: 370.

<sup>263</sup> Whether the two identifications of Dhū Fa'ish found in the sources point to one man or to two different ones is irrelevant, for both were royalty.

<sup>264</sup> IS, 3: 127; IH, 132. See also BL (ARA), 4: 316; 5: 113f; NQ, 148–51, 267–9; al-Qalqashandī (ARA), *Nihāyat al-arab*, 79–81; al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 1: 57–8, 2: 337, 344; Suhayl married Thurayyā and then moved her to Egypt. Ibn Habbāb, *al-Munammaj*, 397; Marwān punished him for drinking.

<sup>265</sup> IH, 76.

<sup>266</sup> The verses are attributed to al-Nābigha in al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi*, 10: 41.

<sup>267</sup> The two celestial bodies are fixed stars that hang in the sky in diametrically opposed points. The poet is also playing on the genealogies of the couple.

<sup>268</sup> Ishāqī, *al-Aghānī*, 1: 92–3. On the family of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān in Egypt and another marriage to a bride of the 'Awfids, see note below.

Suhayl may indeed have had contacts (and perhaps even a home) in Egypt. We remember, for example, that his father had been sent there by the second caliph on a military mission. We also learn that his grandson 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Zubayr b. Suhayl was born to the last of the Banū Khārīja b. Hudhāfa al-'Adawī. Khārīja, who had at least one southern wife from the Kinda, was the *qādī* of Egypt and head of its *shurta* for 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. He is mentioned as a brave Companion of the Prophet and an excellent horseman of the Arabs. Like 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, the second caliph had sent him with three thousand horsemen to the aid of 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ. With him he witnessed the conquest of Egypt, where he had gained quite a bit of popularity, before he was killed by a Khārījite.<sup>269</sup>

Other than 'Abd al-Rahmān, the sources do not mention any other children from this marriage. Unfortunately, we know nothing about 'Abd al-Rahmān. But we can guess that, if he was anything like his kinsmen, he was an Egyptian with some Hijāzī connections. For another son of al-Zubayr, named Ibrāhīm, who was born to an unnamed woman, was a Madanī transmitter and is said to have come to Egypt.<sup>270</sup> This Ibrāhīm built on his father's connections with the Banū 'Adī and married another descendant of Khārīja, named Qadisa bt. al-Rabi' b. 'Awn b. Khārīja. Her father was among those who went to al-Walīd b. Yazid with the homage of the people of Egypt.<sup>271</sup> Given this role, he must have been politically relevant during his time. He must also have been very wealthy. For a son of his, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b. Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, is said to have inherited a huge amount of property and a number of *mawālī* from his mother, who died in Egypt.<sup>272</sup> Thus the marriage was politically, socially, and economically very useful to the 'Awfids.

Several of the other descendants of Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān had Medinan links. For example, his grandchildren, Suhayl, amat al-'Azīz, and Sawda,<sup>273</sup> all children of 'Abd al-Majīd b. Suhayl, were born to Umm 'Amr bt. 'Abd al-'Azīz of the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. The children of her great great grandfather, Abū Qays b. 'Abd Wadd were counted among the élite of Medina; a good number of the members of this family were early converts and their descendants did hold important official posts.<sup>274</sup> Another child of 'Abd al-Majīd, Muḥammad, was a Medinan transmitter.<sup>275</sup>

<sup>269</sup> IS, 4: 188, 496; Rāzī, *al-Jarh*, 3: 373; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 3: 111. It is reported that the Khārīja who was killed was a Sahmī and not an 'Adawī (Ibn Hajar, *Usd*, 2: 71). It is also said that the Khārīja who was appointed *qādī* was a Sahmī (Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3: 312). See also Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 3: 65; Ibn Abī al-Hadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 15: 200–1.

<sup>270</sup> NQ, 374f; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 1: 115f.

<sup>271</sup> Ibn Mākūla, *al-Ikmāl*, 7: 105–6; 6: 411 (the Khārīja given here is Sahmī). See also Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 4: 168. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 18: 77.

<sup>272</sup> The woman he inherited from is Qadisa bt. 'Awn b. Khārīja. I think this might be a mistake for his mother (as given above). See NQ, 274f.

<sup>273</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 36: 476.

<sup>274</sup> NQ, 421f. al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 9: 67. Two prominent men, for example, from the line of Abū Qays were Sa'id b. Sulaymān b. Nawfal b. Musābiq b. 'Abdallāh b. Makhrama b. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. Abī Qays, the *qādī* of Medina for al-Mahdī; 14: 372; and Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabra b. Abī Ruhm b. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. Abī Qays, the *qādī* of Mecca for Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh; he was then appointed the *qādī* for al-Hādī Mūsā b. al-Mahdī (presumably in Baghdad). For the various early converts from this family, see, for example, IS, 3: 404, 4: 135, 201, 203, 5: 186.

<sup>275</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, 7: 367; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 3: 29; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb*, 2: 107.



It is unclear what direct contributions this marriage of 'Abd al-Rahmān made to the fortunes of his children. It did give them a southern royal lineage, but one cannot say much about the manner in which it may or may not have counted towards their elite status. Unlike his other children from a similar marriage (Tumādīr), they seem to have had little to do with the central powers. What is certain, however, is that with Suhayl and his descendants, this 'Awfīd line had begun to straddle influences both in Medina and in Egypt.<sup>276</sup> Given their marriages, it is fairly obvious that they were socially powerful. At least some of them were also wealthy.

#### II.ii.1.D. Children of Umm Hurayth al-Bahriyya

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf also had three children with a captive of the Bahra', named Umm Hurayth.<sup>277</sup> We know nothing more about this woman except the names of her children: Āmina, Maryam, and Muṣ'ab. Āmina was married to Ibrāhīm b. Qārīz b. Khālid al-Kinānī. After her, Ibrāhīm married her sister Maryam.<sup>278</sup> Ibrāhīm, like his son 'Abdallāh, was very likely a Medinan and a *halif* of the Zuhra.<sup>279</sup>

The son of 'Abd al-Rahmān who gets by far the greatest attention in the sources and who, unsurprisingly, was most intensely involved in the politics of the day was Muṣ'ab. We have no knowledge of Muṣ'ab's early years nor do we know much about his loyalties prior to his success in the political sphere of Medina.<sup>280</sup> A valiant warrior among the Medinans, Muṣ'ab was appointed by Marwān as *qāḍī* of Medina during his second tenure as governor of the city for Mu'āwiya. He was also appointed by him over its *shurṭa* at a time when internal strife in Medina had caused the number of murders and other felonies to swell in the area. He was a notorious disciplinarian and his strict rule, although not well liked by some Medinans, did temper the situation. He remained the *qāḍī* of Medina until Marwān was removed from his post in 57 AH.<sup>281</sup>

<sup>276</sup> Such dual influence was also enjoyed by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān's family, which seems to have crossed paths (perhaps accidentally) with the 'Awfīds on a couple of occasions. See note below.

<sup>277</sup> IS, 3: 127, 5: 158. It is also claimed that her name was Kabsha bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Nu'mān of the Tanūkh (Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 407).

<sup>278</sup> This was one of the few Kinānī links that appear in this line of the 'Awfīds. See below.

<sup>279</sup> IS, 3: 127; BL, 5: 113–4; Kshāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 1: 126; Ibn Hibbān, *Muḥabbar*, 67–8; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Thaqāt*, 67.

<sup>280</sup> The sources do mention an episode in his life that might have occurred before he gained political prominence. In addition to possibly revealing something about his own inclinations, it may also be instructive about the regional politics of the Hijāz in the early Umayyad period. We learn that Muṣ'ab was the murderer of Ismā'il b. Ḥibār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. His partners in crime were Mu'ādh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī and 'Uqba b. Ja'wana, a *halif* of al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. We are told that the murder was committed in response to a personal affront of Ismā'il's against Muṣ'ab. Whatever the cause behind the tragedy may have been, what transpired is instructive. When the corpse was discovered, the Banū Zuhra are said to have united with the culprits against the body of the Islamic elite who had pressed charges against them. The Zubayrids, demanding justice for their slaughtered kinsman, were the most aggressive. This suggests three things: (1) the Zubayrids were capable of attracting considerable support in the Hijāz at short notice; (2) the Zuhra were a strong enough company to stand its own against the mass of the Islamic elite; (3) the Banū Taymī and the 'Abbās were either united in some respects with the Banū Zuhra or were themselves two interest groups that stood apart from the Zubayrids. I do wish to make clear, however, that this is speculation. See BL (ARA), 5: 71ff. (here is also included a report where the Sa'dīds are actually on the side of the victims); NQ, 219f., 267–9, 289–91, 315–18; IH, 119.

<sup>281</sup> Then al-Walīd b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Sufyān was appointed governor and he, in turn, appointed Ibn

When Yazīd came to power and appointed 'Amr b. Sa'id as his governor of Medina, the latter also gave Muṣ'ab the same posts.<sup>282</sup> However, when the revolts of al-Husayn and Ibn al-Zubayr broke out and 'Amr ordered Muṣ'ab to destroy the houses of the Banū Asad and the Banū Hāshim, Muṣ'ab refused to do so.<sup>283</sup> He then attached himself to Ibn al-Zubayr.

Now it is unclear whether he was a subordinate of Ibn al-Zubayr or whether he had joined him as the leader of some independent interest group. Perhaps he was both. For, on the one hand, the sources inform us that he was sent as the leader of a contingent against Ibn al-Zubayr's brother 'Amr when the latter headed towards Mecca to fight his brother at the orders of the Umayyads. Most sources agree that it was Muṣ'ab who successfully defeated and then captured 'Amr.<sup>284</sup> He is also said to have fought al-Husayn b. Numayr alongside al-Miswar b. Makhrama.<sup>285</sup> On the other hand, we also find him listed among those who came from outside Mecca to Ibn al-Zubayr's aid when his brother set out to attack him.<sup>286</sup> This suggests that he was the representative of some other group that had joined the revolution, perhaps out of the necessity of forming a unified front against the Umayyad onslaught, but that did not in itself constitute the Zubayrid cause. That this was likely the case may be inferred more cogently from the claims of the sources that in Mecca the issue of the caliphate was to be decided—after the revolutionaries had successfully deterred the Umayyad armies—among three candidates: Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Miswar b. Makhrama, and Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān. And the decision was to be made at the recommendation of a *shūrā*.

The final homage to Ibn al-Zubayr was thus not just the result of the support he had in Mecca; there were too many contenders to the throne with their local supporters for this to have sufficed. It had to do in fact with the disappearance of these various contenders from the scene. We know that one leader of the Medinans at al-Ḥarra, 'Abdallāh b. Ḥanzala, was killed in battle. When the Medinans were defeated, another leader, Muḥammad b. Sa'd, left the region and joined his southern cognates in Iraq.<sup>287</sup> Likewise, two of the three contenders at Mecca, Muṣ'ab and Makhrama, were killed in the struggle there.<sup>288</sup> This created the political vacuum that worked wonderfully in Ibn al-Zubayr's favor. When news of Yazīd's death reached Mecca, he immediately cast aside his earlier slogan, *lā ḥukma illā li-'llāh* and called people to his *bay'a*.<sup>289</sup> It is

Zam'a al-'Amīr as *qāḍī*; the latter remained in this post until Mu'āwiya died. Khalifa, *Tabaqāt*, 173; NQ, 267–69, claims that Muṣ'ab remained the head of the *shurṭa* until Mu'āwiya died. BL (ARA), 5: 116–7; IS, 3: 127, 5: 158.

<sup>282</sup> NQ, 267–69.

<sup>283</sup> This again suggests that he must have had considerable clout in Medina to be asked to take such a bold step.

<sup>284</sup> IS, 3: 127, 5: 158.

<sup>285</sup> See the previous chapter.

<sup>286</sup> BL (ARA), 4: 340ff. It is unclear whether Muṣ'ab died in the first or second siege of Mecca. First: IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 116–7; second: BL (ARA), 4: 349–51. al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 342, quotes al-Wāqidi as saying that Muṣ'ab passed away, but was not killed. A few sources also report that he died at al-Ḥarra, fighting alongside the Medinans (BL (ARA), 4: 316, 324; al-Bukhārī, *Tārīkh*, 7: 350; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, 8: 303; Ibn Hibbān, *Mashāḥir*, 112).

<sup>289</sup> One result of this change in attitude was that the Khawārij, who had been supporting him until then, abandoned him. IS, 3: 127, 5: 158; BL (ARA), 4: 349–51; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 5: 152–54. Compare the report in BL (ARA), 4: 352, where it is said that after Yazīd's death, some members of



at this point that the various groups that had joined Ibn al-Zubayr with their respective leaders threw in their support with the remaining candidate.

No descendant of Muṣ'ab ever came as close as him to ruling the Muslim community. However, his legacy and Medinan connections were sufficient to guarantee them pride of place in the Medinan religious aristocracy. But it was perhaps their father's participation in one of the two major failed revolts of the period that generally sealed their fate in the political sphere in the post-Zubayrid period. We know the names of his children from three wives and from one concubine. Two of the wives were Zuhriḥ: Laylā bt. al-Aswad b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra and Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra.<sup>290</sup> The former's brother Jābir was the governor of Medina for 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.<sup>291</sup> Thus the connection with the Zubayrids was maintained. Laylā's son Zurāra was perhaps the oldest child of Muṣ'ab. He was a Medinan transmitter.<sup>292</sup> Zurāra's son Aḥmad was one of the greatest scholars of Medina;<sup>293</sup> and his great grandson Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Ḥārith b. Zurāra b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was among the famous legal scholars (*fuqahā*) of Medina, a companion of Mālik, and, at one time, the *qāḍī* of Medina. He was appointed to this post by 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib when he was the governor of the city for al-Ma'mūn.<sup>294</sup>

We know nothing about Laylā's other son, 'Abd al-Raḥmān.<sup>295</sup> But we do know that his granddaughter Barīḥa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was married to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama al-Zuhri; and this tells us again that the old revolutionary bonds were maintained at least in some quarters. 'Abdallāh was appointed over the stipends (*dīwān al-'atā'*) of Medina by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh when he took over the city. He was a transmitter to the Medinans and Iraqis. He was also among the closest companions of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh and believed that he was the Mahdī, something he is said to have regretted later in life.<sup>296</sup>

Umm Kulthūm's daughter Fāṭima bt. Muṣ'ab was the wife of Ibrāhīm b. Muṭṭalib b. Sā'ib al-Sahmī, a Medinan Qurashī.<sup>297</sup> We know nothing about her other daughter,

the élite did not pay homage. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 28: 209, offers the rare report that Ibn al-Zubayr abandoned this and his other slogan, *'al-'idh bi-l-bayt* before their deaths. Whether this was the case or not, it is uncontested that until fairly late they were all viable candidates.

<sup>290</sup> I was not able to find anything about his third named wife, Umm Sa'd bt. al-Mukhārīq b. 'Urwā, nor about her daughter, Umm al-Faḍl bt. Muṣ'ab (IS, 5: 155-6).

<sup>291</sup> Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 1: 325, 403.

<sup>292</sup> IS, 5: 155-6; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 3: 439; Sakḥāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 2: 81.

<sup>293</sup> Burī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 343.

<sup>294</sup> As with the Sa'dids, who participated in the revolts of the Umayyad period, by and large, the descendants of Muṣ'ab also seem to have disappeared from the historical sources. Like them, they were also given practically no political appointments. The rare post that Aḥmad was granted had perhaps more to do with 'Ubaydallāh's cognate link with the 'Awfids than anything else. His mother was a daughter of al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās b. Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Her mother, in turn, was Umm Salama bt. Salama b. Abī Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf. This cognate link was perhaps also considered significant as an explanation of this appointment by Ibn Bakkār, who gives the genealogy above amidst a discussion of the 'Awfids (see NQ, 271-73). See al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, 2: 43; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 8: 21; Sakḥāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 1: 211.

<sup>295</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 27: 301; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 6: 189; Ibn Khaldūn *Tārīkh*, 3: 190; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 10: 159-62.

<sup>297</sup> IS, 5: 155-6; Ibn Hibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 209.

Umm 'Awn.<sup>298</sup> Thus all we know about this line is one Medinan link.

Another daughter of Muṣ'ab, 'Awna, was married to Abū Bakr b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Mulaika b. 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān of the Ka'b b. Lu'ayy; she bore him a son named 'Abd al-Raḥmān. 'Ubaydallāh was a Medinan and it is said that either he or his brother was the *qāḍī* of al-Ṭā'if for Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>299</sup> So this again is an instance of the persistence of the old revolutionary connection.

The children from this line of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf were very similar to some descendants of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ. Born to a southern captive of the Bahra', a woman gifted to 'Abd al-Raḥmān by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, their most prominent member was Muṣ'ab, a member of the Medinan élite. In the Sufyānid period, he was a favorite of the central government and was appointed by its representatives to quell the rising unrest in the region. He must have inspired respect along with a measure of fear to have succeeded at this task. This, in turn, implies that he had considerable clout in the region and this ultimately proved dangerous to the interests of the Umayyads. With the death of Mu'āwiya, Muṣ'ab refused the reappointment in Yazīd's cadre and openly joined the ranks of the Hijāzī revolutionaries. Like so many other ambitious élite, he lost his life in the struggle; and the vacuum was filled by Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>300</sup> As can be expected from the patterns noted throughout this book for several of the élite families, his descendants completely disappear from the history of the Umayyad period. During Zubayrid rule, a couple of them married men of consequence in the Hijāz—those who did succeed in securing some enviable posts in the region. The rest mostly remained in Medina and became scholars. Only one was given official rank during the 'Abbāsīd period; and this happened very likely due to his remote cognate link. The family had thus begun its career under the auspices of the Sufyānids and shifted its loyalties to the Hijāzī revolutionaries for a greater prize. It maintained close social links with the latter, but when the revolution failed they became political outcasts. In all this, the descendants of this line are somewhat reminiscent of 'Umar and Muḥammad, the two prominent children of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, whose mother was also a southerner from around Iraq.

## II.ii.2. Children by non-Southern Women

### II.ii.2.A. The Children of Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba

'Abd al-Raḥmān's wife Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayy b. Abī 'Amr b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams was perhaps his most valuable link with the Umayyads. Her mother, a

<sup>298</sup> IS, 5: 155-6.

<sup>299</sup> IS, 5: 472-3; Ibn Hanbal, *al-'Ilal*, 3: 98; Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt khalfā*, 492. There are, however, some confusions over the identity of the *qāḍī*: IS, 5: 472; Ibn Abī Mulaika is reported to have said that Ibn al-Zubayr appointed him *qāḍī* of al-Ṭā'if. Id. *Tabaqāt*, 492: Abū Mulaika's full name is given as Zuhayr b. 'Abdallāh b. Jud'ān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy. Abū Bakr's name was 'Abdallāh. He died in 118 AH. IH, 137f: 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh's *kunya* is not given, though it is mentioned that he had a brother with the *kunya* Abū Bakr and that the latter had a son named 'Abd al-Raḥmān. al-Burī, *Jawhara*, 2: 311: Ibn Abī Mulaika is identified as 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Mulaika. Now, is this 'Abdallāh's *kunya* Abū Bakr?

<sup>300</sup> More than three hundred children of the Muhājirīn lost their lives at al-Harra. See al-Fāsi, *Shifā'*, 168. For a list of those killed at al-Harra, see Ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh khalfā*, 182f.



great granddaughter of Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams, was born to a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim. Thus, much like 'Abd al-Rahmān, she was related both to the Ḥāshimis and the Umayyads. She was the half-sister of the notorious al-Walid b. 'Uqba and so also the half-sister of the third caliph.<sup>301</sup> Umm Kulthūm is well known in the Muslim sources as the first woman to have performed the *hijra* after Muḥammad. She did so against the wishes of her paternal family; in fact, her brothers are said to have come to Muḥammad to demand her surrender. He did not comply.<sup>302</sup>

Umm Kulthūm did not have a husband in Mecca; in Medina, she became a multi-marrying woman (*murdifa*), taking in succession as husbands (a) Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha al-Kalbī; (b) al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām; (c) 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf; (d) and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ.<sup>303</sup> These marriages were contracted in view of her impressive genealogy and social baggage, which is remarkably similar to the genealogies of other *murdifāt* of the early Islamic period. They served diplomatic purposes. Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba had six children with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf: (1) Ismā'il; (2) amat al-Rahmān; (3) Ḥumayd; (4) Muḥammad; (5) Ibrāhīm; and (6) Ḥumayd.

Although Ismā'il is mentioned in several places in the sources, we know nothing useful about him.<sup>304</sup> amat al-Rahmān and Ḥumayd were both married into the 'Awfid family, the former to 'Abd al-Rahmān's nephew Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh and the latter to his nephew 'Abdallāh b. al-'Aswad.<sup>305</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān's *kunya* refers to his son Muḥammad. He was born into Islam and was a minor transmitter of traditions.<sup>306</sup> Like his mother, Muḥammad's wife Maryam was descended from 'Abd Shams and, like her, she also had a link with the Ḥāshimis. Her father, al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams, was first married to Zaynab, a daughter of the Prophet. After her death, he married Fakhita bt. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ b. Umayyā and fathered Maryam with her.<sup>307</sup> Then it is likely that, like her mother, she was perceived as a useful tool for bridging the Ḥāshimī-'Abd Shamsī divide. Her son with Muḥammad, named al-Qāsim, had

<sup>301</sup> BL (ARA), 4: 505–7, 5: 101–2.

<sup>302</sup> IS, 3: 127; IS, 5: 55; IS, 5: 153. The episode of Muḥammad's refusal to surrender her is mentioned among the *asbāb al-nuzul*.

<sup>303</sup> She had children with Zayd. She also bore Zaynab with al-Zubayr. IH, 114–5, mentions that 'Abd al-Rahmān was her last husband. It also only mentions Ḥumayd as their child. NQ, 145, does not mention 'Amr as her husband. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 405, does not mention Zayd as her husband. See also al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 1: 52–3; NQ, 265f.

<sup>304</sup> IS, 3: 127, 5: 55; IH, 132; BL, 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f.

<sup>305</sup> NQ, 265f.: 'Abdallāh did not perform the *hijra*. He lived sixty years in Islam and sixty in the *jāhiliyya*. He left a legacy to Ibn al-Zubayr: al-'Aswad performed the *hijra* before the Conquest. al-Ṣādafi, *al-Waḥī*, 8: 364 (1971), reports that Ḥumayd may have been married to al-Araqm b. Abi al-Araqm, a very early convert, and that she might be the mother of 'Ammār and 'Abdallāh, two of his sons. al-Araqm's house was where the Prophet sought refuge in Mecca. It was later forcibly transferred by various people until it ended up in the hands of the descendants of al-Ḥādī. The account of the transfers is found here in al-Ṣādafi. The transfer of Hijāzī property into the hands of the early 'Abbasids is a notable feature of their provincial policy. Similar efforts (which generally failed) were also made by the early Umayyads.

<sup>306</sup> IS, 3: 127, 5: 55; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f.; al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340; al-Rāzi, *al-Jarh*, 7: 315.

<sup>307</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 67, 5, states that he was first married to Fakhita and then to Zaynab. He left Fakhita not long after their marriage. It also says that their daughter, whom Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān married, was named Umayyā. See also NQ, 157–8, 176–9, 269–71; IH, 78.

offspring among the Quraysh.<sup>308</sup> Muḥammad's son 'Abd al-Wāhid was a Medinan and a minor transmitter. The sources do not mention his mother; they inform us that he had children living in Medina, but no names are listed.<sup>309</sup>

By far, the two most prosperous children of 'Abd al-Rahmān and Umm Kulthūm were Ibrāhīm and Ḥumayd. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, a *sayyid* and legal scholar (*faqīh*)<sup>310</sup>, was a major *muhaddith*, who is said to have transmitted directly from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He also reported from 'Uthmān, 'Alī, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, and Abū Bakra.<sup>311</sup> He was the companion of some of the most luminous and politically powerful personalities of his times.<sup>312</sup>

The sources mention by name four of the women with whom he fathered children. Two of them were daughters of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās, namely Umm al-Qāsim and Umm Kulthūm. They were full sisters and were born to Māriya bt. Qays b. Ma'di Karib al-Kindi. The latter's two sons, 'Umar and Muḥammad, were closely linked with the politics of their cognates in the early Umayyad period. It is, therefore, not surprising that others from their ranks should also have something to contribute to Islamic history. Although none of the children of Umm al-Qāsim left any marks worth recording,<sup>313</sup> the descendants of Umm Kulthūm were reasonably visible. Her son Sa'd was a major transmitter like his father. Perhaps building upon his Umayyad and elite southern genealogy and on the connections of his father, he was able to secure the posts of *qādi* of Medina and head of its *shurṭa* on several occasions during the Umayyad period.<sup>314</sup> It is likely that he and his father had both maintained amicable relations with the Umayyads for a good part of the first Islamic century.<sup>315</sup>

Towards the end of the caliphate, however, as the internal intrigues of the Umayyads grew more intense, Sa'd fell out of favor. He was caught up in an investigation on charges

<sup>308</sup> NQ, 269–71; IH, 132. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 5: 242: he had a grandson named 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Aḥmad, known as Abū al-Faḍl al-Mutakallim al-Ash'arī. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad is mentioned as a transmitter in Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 34: 160.

<sup>309</sup> IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 116–7; Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340; al-Rāzi, *al-Jarh*, 6: 23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Ta'jil al-manā'ia*, 267.

<sup>310</sup> BL (ARA), 5: 113–4.

<sup>311</sup> IS, 3: 127, 5: 55.

<sup>312</sup> IH, 132. He is mentioned as part of a group that used to meet in a mosque at nights, presumably for study. Among the members of this group were Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr, Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthba. This group used to meet during the last years of Mu'awiya.

<sup>313</sup> IS, 5: 55; IH, 133–4. BL (ARA), 5: 116–7: He was the *qādi* of Medina for Yūsuf b. 'Umar; during the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, he was the *qādi* of Medina for Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Hishām b. Ismā'il. Ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh khalifa*, 261: under the year 105 AH, it is reported that the governor of Medina for Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik, 'Abd al-Wāhid b. 'Abdallāh al-Nasrī, appointed Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm its *qādi*. See also NQ, 269–71; al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 340–1.

<sup>314</sup> One imagines that they had some Iraqi connections through Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās' daughter and perhaps through her two sons, 'Umar and Muḥammad. The gathering, mentioned above, in which Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān used to participate, also used to take place in Iraq. Thus, in this family of 'Abd al-Rahmān, the Umayyads may have found kinsmen with useful close southern links in Iraq and Medinan links through 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. We remember that relations between Muḥammad b. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās and the Umayyads went sour with the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. The possible friendly relations between his 'Awfid brother-in-law and his nephew, on the one hand, and the Umayyads, on the other, are lessons either in the less than absolute guarantees and unpredictable implications of kinship relations or in the short-term memory of the Umayyads.



of embezzlement carried out by the central government against Khālid al-Qasrī and his friends. Under pressure (and perhaps torture and certainly under pain of humiliation) the latter's son Yahyā is said to have divulged the names of several individuals to whom Khālid had given money. Among those named were Sa'd and two 'Alids, Zayd b. 'Alī and Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī. It is unclear whether this indicates any shift in Sa'd's alliances. Certainly, for a good part of the period after Marwān, the Umayyads seem to have adopted a gradually intensifying policy against the 'Alids.<sup>316</sup> For example, there were several marriages with 'Alids contracted by the allies of the Umayyads that were dissolved by them. A case in point is the series of marriages of the famous Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib, a Median woman of the 'Udhra of the Kalb (on her mother's side), who was successively married to al-Aṣṣagh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān,<sup>317</sup> 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Uthmān, and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. All three marriages were dissolved at the orders of Umayyad caliphs.<sup>318</sup> The Umayyads also seem to have slowly alienated the Hijāzī elite. For example, the number of the descendants of the elite employed as *qādīs* and heads of the *shurṭa* in the Hijāz seems to have dwindled over time.<sup>319</sup> Sa'd had perhaps begun to shift his loyalties as the Umayyads took their last breaths.

Whether it was because of changing loyalties or because the 'Abbāsids were equally impressed by the useful connections of this line of 'Abd al-Rahmān, they appointed Sa'd's son Ibrāhīm *qādī* of Medina. When he came to Baghdād, he was assigned there over the Treasury.<sup>320</sup> Of the other descendants of Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān

<sup>316</sup> Mu'āwīya, Marwān, 'Abd al-Malik (for about half his reign), and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz seem to have been a lot more diplomatic in their relations with the 'Alids than other Umayyads.

<sup>317</sup> al-Aṣṣagh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's descendants came to gain considerable political ground in Egypt by the early 'Abbāsīd period. His grandson Ḍiḥya b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Aṣṣagh revolted in Egypt in the time of al-Ḥādī, calling the people to pay homage to him. 'Abd al-'Azīz's family seems to have maintained firm relationships in the Hijāz and to have expanded westward in Egypt. They counted the Berbers and the Azd among their supporters. A similar pattern is noticeable among some descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān, but none rose to comparable political prominence. Below we will find 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān as the husband of another woman said to have been married to a descendant of 'Abd al-Rahmān (see 'Children of Majd b. Yazīd'). One suspects that this general pattern of Egyptian-Hijāzī connections among Hijāzī elite is something worthy of attention ('Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān's family was the closest direct Umayyad link to the Hijāz). Whether there is something more specific to note between the 'Awfids and the descendants of 'Abd al-'Azīz is as yet unclear. See al-Kindī, *Wulāt*, 151ff.

<sup>318</sup> Her first marriage may have been to an 'Alid. She is also said to have married two members of the Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. None of these three marriages ended in a divorce. There are several different accounts about the sequence of her marriages, about which caliph ordered the dissolution of the marriage with which husband, and about whether some or all of the three men named in the main text were indeed ordered to divorce her. The reasons behind these divorces are also unclear. Some sources report that she had earlier rejected a marriage proposal of 'Abd al-Malik (presumably this had angered the Umayyads); others say that when she married Ibrāhīm, the Banū Ḥashim were unhappy. See IS, 8: 475; BL (ARA), 5: 113f. NQ, 59; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*; 438; Ibn Khallikān (ARA), *Wafayāt*, 2: 394-7; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 214; al-Ya'qūbī (ARA), *Mīr'āt*, 1: 198-9.

<sup>319</sup> See note above.

<sup>320</sup> IS, 7: 322. Ḥārūn al-Rashīd gave him this latter post. Ibrāhīm was a traditionist and a reporter of *maḥāzī*; he was respected in Baghdād despite the fact that he used to sing. There are some dating discrepancies in the sources: Ibrāhīm is said to have died in Baghdād in 183 AH (IS, 7: 322); but another source reports that he came to Baghdād in 184 AH. (Dihabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 12: 24-6). See also BL (ARA), 5: 116-7; NQ, 269-71; al-Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 341-2; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, 4: 228-31; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuhfa*, 117-9.

who were not descended from Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, the two about whom we know anything were also Baghdādīs.<sup>321</sup> Ibrāhīm's son Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān also had connections with Baghdād. He was appointed the *qādī* of al-Wāsiṭ in the caliphate of al-Ḥārūn. He was then appointed in the same capacity over the camp of al-Mahdī<sup>322</sup> at the beginning of the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn when the latter was in Khurāsān. He presumably retained this post until the end of the governorship of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, the architect of Ma'mūn's success. al-Ḥasan was removed from his post when Ma'mūn returned to Baghdād in 204 AH. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm then joined al-Ḥasan in Famm al-Ṣulḥ and was appointed *qādī* over his army.<sup>323</sup>

With Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān had decidedly come out of the Hijāz; after him, they established long-lasting links with the 'Abbāsids. The younger brother of Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, Ya'qūb, was a famous Baghdādī transmitter and had found favor with al-Faḍl b. Sahl and joined the latter some years before his death.<sup>324</sup> His son Sa'd had descendants residing overwhelmingly in Baghdād and at least one, 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, was appointed *qādī* of Iṣḥāhān.<sup>325</sup>

Umm Kulthūm and Ibrāhīm's son Ṣāliḥ was a *sayyid* in Medina and a major transmitter of Traditions.<sup>326</sup> His daughter 'Ātika was married to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd

<sup>321</sup> The first is Aḥmad b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm. IH, 133-4; he was a well-known traditionist. Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 12: 255-6, reports that he died in 273 AH. But his must be Aḥmad b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm. The second is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm. IH, 133-4; he was among the companions of the *qādī* Ismā'īl b. Iṣḥāq. He died in 338 AH in Baghdād.

<sup>322</sup> Again there are some problems with the dates. If Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm died in 201 AH in al-Mubārak (IS, 7: 343), then the series of events I outline above does not work. In that case, he must have been appointed *qādī* of Baghdād before al-Ḥasan was removed in 204 AH. When Sa'd was removed from his post independently of the removal of Ḥasan, he must have attached himself to the governor and was then appointed over his army in Famm al-Ṣulḥ. This he never witnessed the Saḥlīd-Ma'mūn split, which occurred very likely in 202 AH. See also Dihabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 14: 84; Ibn al-Jazārī, *Ghiyāṭ*, 1: 303; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 2: 123. As the Saḥlīds were the sometime protégés of the Barmakids and since at least one line of 'Awfids was closely linked with the latter, one wonders about the continuity of the connections between these two groups.

<sup>323</sup> IS, 7: 343; IH, 133-4; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 341. A much later descendant of Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, Abī l-Wafā' b. Yahyā, who died in 687 AH, was a great scholar and the *khātib* of Jerusalem for forty years.

<sup>324</sup> Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 3: 180-1; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 10: 323; he died in 260 AH. Id. *Tārīkh*, 10: 367, states that all the members of this line of 'Abd al-Rahmān were transmitters. Although he does not give any information beyond the names of some of them, I presume they were Baghdādīs, given the patterns of information we do have about some descendants from this line. For some descendants, see Id. *Tārīkh baghdād*, 4: 403 (Aḥmad b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān); al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 2: 327 ('Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān: he was a Madanī and settled in Baghdād. He was also a transmitter and died in al-Maṣṣīḥ in 238 AH); al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 3: 180-1; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 3: 132 (Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān); al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, 3: 180-1; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 10: 288 ('Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān); Id. *Tārīkh baghdād*, 10: 367 ('Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān).

<sup>326</sup> IS, 5: 55; IH, 133-4; BL (ARA), 5: 116-7; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4: 332.



al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the *qāḍī* of Medina for al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, the governor of Medina for al-Manṣūr. The latter's father had held the same post before him and his brother did so for al-Ma'mūn.<sup>327</sup>

Ibrāhīm also had children by a daughter of Muṭfī b. al-Aswad b. Hāritha b. Naḍla b. 'Awf b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwayy b. 'Adī b. Ka' b. Muṭfī had witnessed the conquest of Egypt, when he was sent by the second caliph at the head of an army to aid 'Amr b. al-'Ās. He was later appointed over the *shurta* by the latter during his governorship for Mu'āwīya. Thus we have a further Egyptian connection for the 'Awfids. Unfortunately, we know nothing about the children from this marriage other than their names.<sup>328</sup> We also know nothing of his children from a daughter of Ma'rūf b. 'Amir b. Khamaq or from his concubines.

Finally, Umm Kulthūm b. 'Uqba's and 'Abd al-Rahmān's son Ḥumayd was also a prominent Medinan personality. He was a wealthy notable of the Quraysh, a major transmitter, and was appointed over the *diwān* of Medina for Yazīd.<sup>329</sup> He was the *kātib* of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, presumably when he became caliph.<sup>330</sup> He was also the owner of the Dār al-Kubrā, the first home that was built in Medina by a *muhājir* and which remained in the hands of the 'Awfids until a much later date.<sup>331</sup> This is all evidence for good relations with the early Umayyads. One of Ḥumayd's wives, Juwayriya, was the daughter of Abū 'Amr b. 'Adī b. 'Ilāb b. Abī Salama al-Thaqafī, a *halif* of the Zuhra. No information on her father is available. A descendant of 'Ilāb b. Abī Salama, named Ṭurayh b. Ismā'il, however, was a poet of the Umayyads. He was related to al-Walīd b. Yazīd through his maternal aunt (al-Walīd's mother was a Thaqafī) and he later became the pānegyrist of al-Saffāh and al-Manṣūr.<sup>332</sup> Although he is not directly useful for our interests, his life does serve as a good example of the importance of such cognate links in gaining favor at court; it also gives us a sense of the ability of such elite members, since they were only distant relatives of the Umayyads, to shift loyalties with the success of the 'Abbāsīd revolution. So Ṭurayh serves as a figure parallel to the Ḥumayd, who enjoyed similar favors with the early Umayyads due to his impressive lineage. Due to his marriage, his children, like their cousins, the children of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (and others), were also attractive to the 'Abbāsīds.

We do not know much about the five immediate descendants of Ḥumayd and Juwayriya mentioned in the sources. One of them, 'Abd al-Rahmān, was among the notables of the Quraysh and died in Medina.<sup>333</sup> It is likely that most of his children did continue to reside in Medina throughout the Umayyad period and then, like their

<sup>327</sup> NQ, 279–82; IH, 137.

<sup>328</sup> IS, 3: 127; IS, 5: 55, 153; IH, 132, BL (ARA), 5: 113–4, 116–7; NQ, 265f; al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340–2; al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 2: 345; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 12: 323 (here he appears for some reason as al-Himyarī); Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 1: 245. Ibn Hābiḥ, *al-Mubāshḥar*, 378: it is unclear whether he was appointed for Yazīd or Ibn al-Zubayr.

<sup>329</sup> It seems that he had this position in Medina, for the source says that Yazīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was the *kātib* of the *diwān* of Medina for Yazīd and, after him, the post was occupied by Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān.

<sup>330</sup> Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 1: 235.

<sup>331</sup> IS, 5: 153; al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 342; Ibn Hābiḥ, *Mashāhīr*, 206; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 1: 567. His mother appears as a concubine in all these sources. Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt khalfā*, 453, however, states that his mother was Juwayriya.

<sup>332</sup> IS, 5: 55. Ibn Mākūla, *al-Ikmāl*, 6: 25–6.

<sup>333</sup> IS, 5: 153; al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 342; Ibn Hābiḥ, *Mashāhīr*, 206; Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 1: 567.

cousins mentioned above, went out of the Hijāz during the early 'Abbāsīd period. For we learn that Abū al-Ghayth b. al-Mughīra b. Ḥumayd had a *dār* in Medina.<sup>334</sup> His brother Ghurayr b. al-Mughīra had settled in Bin, <sup>335</sup> a village near Medina, close to Sayyāla.<sup>336</sup> In the next generation, his son, Ishāq b. Ghurayr, became a close companion of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd.<sup>337</sup> It seems, however, that he maintained his links with Medina.<sup>338</sup> As he was the son of Hind b. Marwān b. al-Hārith b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh al-Anṣārī, a descendant of the famous leader of the Anṣār at the time of the Prophet, it is likely that he enjoyed enviable respect there. He could also count on the support of his cognates in the region, who remained there in large numbers. Thus he was a good local contact for the 'Abbāsīds. Another son of Hind's, named Muḥammad, was also among the notables of Medina and the collector of the *ṣadaqa* of the Banū Ghurayr in Yayn.<sup>339</sup> His son 'Abd al-Rahmān is also mentioned among the notables of the Quraysh. His brother Ya'qūb, who seems to have been confused in the sources with Muḥammad, is mentioned as the treasurer of Hārūn.<sup>340</sup> And his son Yūsuf was also the treasurer for the caliph.<sup>341</sup>

Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān had also established a link with the Makhzūm through his marriage to Qarība, a daughter of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. Makhzūm. We know nothing about her father, but her grandfather, who must have converted after the death of Abū Ṭālib, was one of the twelve men who died in the siege of al-Ṭā'if.<sup>342</sup> His mother was 'Ātika, a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; and his son 'Abdallāh was the nephew of Umm Salama, a wife of the Prophet.<sup>343</sup> This marriage of Ḥumayd was, therefore, into the Hāshimī circle and very likely had to do with the similar contacts of his mother. Unfortunately, the sources say nothing useful about his children.

Ḥumayd's descendants by his son 'Abd al-Malik are also mentioned as notables among Quraysh. He also fathered children with at least two unnamed concubines. We know nothing besides their names.

Certain patterns should now be apparent. The descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān and Umm Kulthūm carried an enviable lineage. They counted among their prominent ancestors members of the Thaqif, the Hāshim, the Umayya, and the Zuhra and they continued to marry into these groups over several decades. Given this lineage, their general preservation of it, and their extended domicile in the Hijāz during most of the

<sup>334</sup> IH, 133–4; Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 1: 258. This *dār* was a *ṣadaqa* and in the hands of the Banū 'Udhayr (perhaps this is a corruption for Ghurayr, another son of Ḥumayd, on whom see below). The only Banū 'Udhayr mentioned in the sources were the Banū 'Udhayr b. al-Mukhrīd of the Qaḥṭān, but nothing useful about them is known. See Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam qabā'il*, 2: 768.

<sup>335</sup> Perhaps this is the same as 'Yayn' below.

<sup>336</sup> Sam'ānī, *Anṣāb*, 4: 288–9; al-Suyūṭī, *Luhb*, 186; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 1: 296.

<sup>337</sup> Sam'ānī, *Anṣāb*, 4: 288–9; IH, 133–4; *kāna makhḥḥūsan bihim*. NQ, 269–71: he had position and influence with them.

<sup>338</sup> al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 6: 314. For an amusing account of his infatuation with a slave girl of Khayzurān's, see al-Tamūkhī (ARA), *Nishwār*, 6: 27–9.

<sup>339</sup> Sam'ānī, *Anṣāb*, 4: 288–9; IH, 133–4; NQ, 269–71.

<sup>340</sup> Sam'ānī, *Anṣāb*, 4: 288–9; IH, 133–4; Ibn Mākūla, *al-Ikmāl*, 7: 4–5.

<sup>341</sup> Sam'ānī, *Anṣāb*, 4: 288–9; IH, 133–4; NQ, 269–71.

<sup>342</sup> IS, 5: 153; see also Ibn Khayyāt, *Tārīkh khalfā*, 55. Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 3: 8.

<sup>343</sup> Ibn Hama, *al-Ikmāl*, 238.

Umayyad period, they were excellent local contacts for the early part of the first dynasty, which used some of them in official capacities. Sometime after 'Abd al-Malik, the Hijāz began to close upon itself and the Umayyad relationship with the élite of the region began to suffer.<sup>344</sup> Two major exceptions to this rule were Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān and his son Sa'd; both enjoyed a good and gainful relationship with the caliphate. It seems, however, that this relationship did not last till the end.

Perhaps because of their Hijāzī contacts and the wide respect the descendants of this line of 'Abd al-Rahmān commanded in Iraq (doubtless because of their distinguished lineage), they also shone brightly in the 'Abbāsīd period. At this time, certain lines from this marriage came out of the Hijāz and made their homes near the new centers of power in the north. However, given that they had contracted marriages with the local élite of the Hijāz—the Anṣār, Thaqif, the Hāshimites, and the Makhzūm (among others)—they continued to command respect in their traditional homeland as well. Only a few of these contacts proved officially useful in the early Umayyad period. Others were dormant investments that came to mature with the 'Abbāsīd revolution.

## II.ii.2.B. Children of Ghazāl bt. Kisrā

'Abd al-Rahmān and Ghazāl bt. Kisrā<sup>345</sup> had only one child together, named 'Uthmān.<sup>346</sup> He may well have been a Madānī, given that his few descendants mentioned in the sources hail from that region. But he had very likely established Iraqi connections not only through his mother, but also through his marriage to Umm al-Ḥakam al-Ṣuḡhrā bt. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ. She was not only the daughter of the famous Iraqi general, but later was also the wife of Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf, a nephew of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, a figure whose family seems to have straddled both Medina and Iraq during Ibn al-Zubayr's time. Jābir was the governor of Medina for Ibn al-Zubayr and the maternal grandfather of al-Ḥakam b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Makhzūmī, who, at some point, was appointed by one of the governors of Medina over one of the *masā'ir* in the latter city. Jābir's brother Muṣ'ab was the governor of the city before him. When Ibn al-Zubayr appointed the former, he sent the latter off to Baṣra.<sup>347</sup>

Like his father, al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān was a Medinan and, in his footsteps, he had established Iraqi connections through his marriage to a woman who seems to have been a coveted prize in the region. 'Ātika, a daughter of Furāt b. Mu'āwiya al-Bakkā'i, was first married to the famous southerner Yazīd b. al-Muhallab; after his death, she married 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr al-Asadī, the head of the *shurfa* in Iraq for al-Hajjāj. After 'Umar's death, she married al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān, who divorced her apparently because of an ominous dream. She then married al-'Abbās b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh, a descendant of al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Thus her first marriage was into one of the most powerful southern families of the period; her second marriage is a testament to her strong Iraqi connections; and her last marriage was into a powerful Hāshimī family,

<sup>344</sup> The distancing may have resulted from the initiative of either or both sides.

<sup>345</sup> One can guess from her *nasab* that she was of royal Persian descent. She was one of the captives of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ on the Day of Madā'in.

<sup>346</sup> IS, 3: 127; III, 132; BL (A), 5: 113–4. NQ, 269–71. Burri (ARA), *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340.

<sup>347</sup> Ibn Abi Dunyā, *Makārim*, 149; Ibn Habbīb, *al-Muhabbar*, 67–8; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 12: 89, 15: 43, 25: 49; al-Qalqashandī (ARA), *Subh al-'Ashā*, 4: 296.

respected both in the Hijāz and in Baṣra at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>348</sup> That her third husband was al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān says quite a bit about his place in these regions and among these élite.

al-Ḥasan's only known descendant, Yaḥyā, was a Madānī, who transmitted from his distant relative, al-Ash'ath b. Ishāq b. Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ.<sup>349</sup> Thus the Iraqi-Medinan southern connection was maintained in this generation. His son Sa'id was a well-known Baṣran transmitter.<sup>350</sup>

It seems, therefore, that the Iraqi connection that was established with Ghazāl bt. Kisrā was cultivated by these children of 'Abd al-Rahmān from Medina for a few generations until they finally found themselves settled in Iraq. It is very probable of course that they had already done so some time before Sa'id and that their names have simply disappeared from the sources. None of the sources tell us anything about 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, but one of them does state that he had descendants in Baṣra.<sup>351</sup> In this instance, then, it seems that the pull of the cognate line always lurked strongly under the surface of this branch of the Medinan aristocracy. It was successful in attracting 'Abd al-Rahmān's descendants into Iraq after a few generations.

## II.ii.3. Miscellaneous

In this section, I mention (a) the children of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf who were born to identified women, but whose descendants are not known; (b) the children from unnamed concubines; (c) the children from unnamed women, whose descendants are not mentioned in the sources; (d) wives of 'Abd al-Rahmān who seem to have had no children by him.

A good number of 'Abd al-Rahmān's wives in category (a) were born into important religious or tribal élite families. With the exception of one case, each of them is reported to have had only one child with 'Abd al-Rahmān. This means that descendants from these lines must have been fewer in comparison with those from other wives. Perhaps for this reason, none of the children of 'Abd al-Rahmān here left any descendants that the sources record.

### II.ii.3.A. Children by Identified Women

#### II.ii.3.A.1. Links with the Umayyads, the Makhzūm and Thaqif

The only wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān in this category who had more than one child was Bādiya bt. Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu'attib al-Thaqafīyya. She converted on the day of the conquest of al-Ṭā'if and is said to have been one of the most beautiful women of her time. We do not know much about her, other than that she is often cited in the sources regarding the Prophet's judgment about ritual ablution with reference to menstruation. Even with regard to this issue, there is some question in the sources about her identity. Bādiya's father, an important Thaqafī trader, warrior, and diplomat, converted at the conquest of al-Ṭā'if.<sup>352</sup> His mother was a sister of Umayya b. 'Abd

<sup>348</sup> Ishbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 12: 77–8. For al-'Abbās b. 'Ubaydallāh's family, see above.

<sup>349</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Taqrib al-tahdhīb*, 2: 300.

<sup>350</sup> III, 133–4; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarh*, 4: 74; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 9: 249; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-mizān*, 7: 430.

<sup>351</sup> al-Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340. <sup>352</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 48: 141; Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 4: 269; Ibn Hajar, *al-Isāba*, 8: 45; Ishbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 12: 45–9.



Shams. Bādiya had two daughters with 'Abd al-Rahmān—Barīha and Juwayriyya. We know nothing about the former. The latter was married to al-Miswar b. Makhrama (an important Zuhri, whom we have already met several times) and had children with him.<sup>353</sup> In this marriage, then, 'Abd al-Rahmān had established an important Thaqafi and Umayyad link. Unfortunately, this is all one can say about this marriage.

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf had a further Umayyad marital connection through Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uṭba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams. She was the half sister of the caliph Mu'āwīya through their mother Hind. 'Abd al-Rahmān contracted this marriage before Islam and fathered Sālim al-Akbar. The latter died before Islam and had no children.<sup>354</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf was born to Asmā' bt. Salāma of the Banū Tamīm. His brother on his mother's side was 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabi'a b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. 'Abdallāh's father was an early convert and performed at least one of the migrations to Abyssinia, where 'Abdallāh was born. So this was a marriage into an early Islamic Tamīmī family with Makhzūmī links.<sup>355</sup>

We are already familiar with the importance of certain 'Awfids in Egypt. They must have penetrated further west. For the sources also tell us that a son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Sālim al-Aṣghar, who was born to Sahla bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams of the 'Amir b. Lu'ayy, was killed on the day of the conquest of Ifriqiya. Sahla was a very early convert and had participated in both the Abyssinian migrations with her first husband, a son of 'Uṭba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams. She also had links with the Umayyads.<sup>356</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān had yet another early marital bond with the Banū Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams. He was married to Shayba, a daughter of Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams, an important member of the Meccan aristocracy, who died at Badr with the pagans. As their daughter Umm al-Qāsim was born before Islam, this must have been a very early marriage. Shayba's daughter Ramla was born to the caliph 'Uthmān and bore him three children. This marriage was thus a further connection with the Umayyads.<sup>357</sup>

From the foregoing, one can conclude generally that 'Abd al-Rahmān's marriages into the traditional Meccan aristocracy were relatively early and that at least some of them were with early converts; that with the vast majority of them he had only one child; and the fact that no further descendants from these lines are mentioned in the sources suggests again a shift in his interests to the families of the conquest lands. For his later life, one of the few constants from this period was his link with the Umayyads via the family of 'Uthmān.

### II.ii.3.A.b. Further Anṣārī and Iraqi Links

At least three sons of 'Abd al-Rahmān participated in the conquest of Ifriqiya. One has already been mentioned above. The second, 'Abdallāh, was born to a daughter of Abū

<sup>353</sup> IS, 3: 127, 5: 160; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; NQ, 269–71; al-Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 346.

<sup>354</sup> IS, 3: 127, 8: 238; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f. Madelung, *Succession*, 218; 'Uṭba and his son Walid were both killed by 'Alī at Badr.

<sup>355</sup> IS, 3: 127; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f.; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 47: 241. There is some confusion about the identity of Asmā'. See Ibn al-Aṭhār, *Uṣd al-ghaṭba*, 3: 241, 5: 393.

<sup>356</sup> See IS, 3: 127; 3: 403, 406, 272; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f., 138.

<sup>357</sup> IS, 3: 127; 3: 54; IH, 132; NQ, 265f.; Madelung, *Succession*, 364.

al-Hijāl/al-Haysar b. Rāfi' b. Imri' i l-Qays of the 'Abd al-Ashhal of the Aws of the Anṣār. 'Abdallāh was killed as a young warrior on the day of the conquest of Ifriqiya.

The third son of 'Abd al-Rahmān to lose his life in the conquest of Ifriqiya was 'Urwa al-Akbar.<sup>358</sup> He was born to Bahriyya bt. Hānī' b. Qabiṣa b. Mas'ūd b. Abī Rabi'a of the Banū Shaybān. Her father was the leader of all of Rabi'a in the battle of Dhū Qār. His son Kurdūs led part of the Taghlib (probably of Baṣra) on 'Alī's side at Siffin.<sup>359</sup>

'Abd al-Rahmān also married Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm bt. Qāriḍ/Qāriḍ/Qāriḍ b. Khālīd b. 'Ubayd b. Suwayd al-Kināniyya, whose father was a *ḥalīf* of the Banū Zuhra. In addition to having Abū Bakr with 'Abd al-Rahmān, she also had 'Abd al-Rahmān and Qutham with 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās. The last two were killed by Busr b. Abī Arṭāh, the general of Mu'āwīya, when they were very young.<sup>360</sup> This was a further Baṣran link for 'Abd al-Rahmān but, despite its potential, it did not amount to much. We may blame this on two things: it was a link with the side that lost; and its only light was extinguished too early.

As can be expected from a section on miscellanea, the information here is very patchy. However, other than the fact that none of the children from these marriages had surviving descendants (this was the organizing principle of the section) we may notice some minor patterns: (1) a fair number of these marriages were contracted with early converts to Islam; (2) a good number of them were either contracted with or afforded clear links with members of the old aristocracy—the Banū 'Abd Shams (particularly, the Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams), the Makhzūm, and Thaqif; (3) some of these were 'Abd al-Rahmān's earliest marriages; (4) three of these marriages produced sons who lost their lives in the Muslim expansion; (5) two marriages, one among the Anṣār and one among the Iraqis, fall in line with others noted above. It is unclear whether there is a correlation between these minor patterns, on the one hand, and the absence of the names of the descendants from these lines from the historical records, on the other. One can speculate (as indeed one witnesses in a couple of cases) that early marriages produced children who passed away in the treacherous waters of the earliest period of Islamic history. For the descendants from his earliest marriages (which were contracted with the earliest converts) must have faced the greatest persecution. The links with the revolutionary Baṣrans and participation in frontier battles obviously did not work in the favor of descendants. Finally, as suggested above, the failures of these lines probably also had to do with a northern political shift in 'Abd al-Rahmān's interests. This was undoubtedly in keeping with the program of the conquest society of which he was a prominent member.

### II.ii.3.B. Children by Unnamed Concubines

The sources mention that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf had three children by three different unnamed concubines.<sup>361</sup> They were Bilāl, Yahyā, and Sa'd. It is interesting to note that

<sup>358</sup> His mother is given as a concubine at IS, 3: 127; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; al-Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340. Her name is given as Bujayra in Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (ARA), *al-Iṣṭi'āh*, 2: 845. See also al-Safadi (ARA), *al-Wāfi*, 18: 210–3.

<sup>359</sup> See IS, 3: 127; IH, 132; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f.; Madelung, *Succession*, 202, 209.

<sup>360</sup> IS, 3: 127; IH, 132; BL, 5: 113–4; NQ, 265f.; al-Burri, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340, 346.

<sup>361</sup> Four, if one counts 'Urwa b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (see above).

none of them had any surviving descendants. As observed above, 'Abd al-Rahmān did have children by other identified concubines, all of whom were descended from important men. Their descendants, in turn, had successful careers in the early Islamic period. So one may take the failure of the children of these unnamed concubines as corroboration for something noticed through plentiful examples—that social and political anonymity breeds itself.<sup>362</sup>

### II.ii.3.C. Children by Unnamed Women

But there are exceptions to every rule. For the sources report four daughters and one son of 'Abd al-Rahmān born to unnamed women. Two of the daughters, Fakhita and Umm al-Qāsim al-Sughra, married very well. The former was married to Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Damascus, al-Urdunn, and Palestine after Abū 'Ubayda.<sup>363</sup> Umm al-Qāsim al-Sughra was married to Yahyā, a brother of Marwān b. al-Hakam. He was the governor of Medina for 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. A daughter of his, Umm Hukaym/Hakīm, may have been the mother of Mu'āwiya b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. It is also said that she was married instead to 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. But this is unlikely, given that he died in the first year of the *hijra*.<sup>364</sup>

The third daughter also married into the Umayyad family. The sources report that her husband was 'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>365</sup> The fourth married 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>366</sup> His son al-Miswar is said to have died at al-Harra.<sup>367</sup>

For whatever reason, then, three of the four daughters of unnamed women married into the Umayyad family.<sup>368</sup> These are but further links into a family that has already been referred to a number of times in this chapter. Although al-Harra has been mentioned above in this chapter, al-Miswar was the only son of 'Abd al-Rahmān who is said to have participated in it.

### II.ii.3.D. More Wives

The sources mention two other wives of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf: Umm Ḥabīb Ḥabība bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb of the Banū Dūdān b. Asad. Her mother was Umayma bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Finally, another wife of his was Umm Ḥabība bt. Zam'a, sister of Sawda bt. Zam'a, a wife of the Prophet. Thus, with these two women, who seem to have had no children with him, he had a further bond with the family of the Prophet.<sup>369</sup>

<sup>362</sup> IS, 3: 127; BL (ARA), 5: 113–4.

<sup>363</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8; Madelung, *Succession*, 60–1.

<sup>364</sup> Perhaps she married his brother Abīn b. 'Uthmān, who was the governor of Medina after Yahyā b. al-Hakam. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8; IS, 5: 152; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 17: 194, 59: 279, 64: 119; Ibn Hajar, *al-Isāba*, 5: 16; Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Muntazam*, 3: 210 (which reports that 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān died in 4 AH); Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 3: 224.

<sup>365</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67–8.

<sup>366</sup> BL, 5: 116–7; al-Burrī, *al-Jawhara*, 2: 340, 344.

<sup>367</sup> Perhaps they were all born to the same woman and perhaps she (or all of them, if they were born to different women) was an Umayyad.

<sup>368</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 99; IS, 8: 238–9.

### II.iii. Conclusions

One cannot expect categorical conclusions from a prosopographical study in genealogies; nor can one realistically hope for generalizations that cover all cases. One can hope for general patterns and this chapter offers us plenty of them. As mentioned in the opening pages of this chapter, 'Abd al-Rahmān was probably in his early thirties when he accepted Islam. By the standards of the day—and given that he was economically and socially very comfortable—he had married several women of the Meccan old aristocracy by the time of the Revelations. A large number of these marriages were into the Umayyad family, with indirect links to his old companion 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>370</sup> As 'Abd al-Rahmān shifted his sights northward, with the major exception of Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba, he generally began to neglect his earlier marriages and established links with the powerful southern tribes of the conquered regions. This proved fatal to the careers of his children from the earlier marriages.<sup>371</sup>

A very large majority of his children remained concentrated in the Hijaz. Some of them also found a home and elite status in Iraq and Egypt, where they had cognate links. Generally, where it was suitable, their cognate links also afforded them favor with the early Umayyads in the form of official administrative posts. In this fashion, the central government was able to enjoy local support via the agency of the respected elite of the provinces.

The Hijaz was never a friendly place for the Umayyads. Its subversive and independent nature was diplomatically contained by the early Umayyads by the effective method of employing such religious elite. However, with the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr<sup>372</sup>—one of the many revolutionary movements of the period—in which a great number of Hijazī elite of political aspirations participated, the Hijaz started to become increasingly introverted, ever more demanding of independence from the ruling dynasty. A major cause behind the wide support of these revolutionary movements was the legitimacy of the caliphal claims of the same religious elite who had been employed by the government. Thus, once the flood of revolutions subsided, the Umayyads changed their provincial policies.<sup>373</sup>

Sometime in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, the descendants of 'Abd al-Rahmān, like the descendants of other elite studied in this book, were cut loose by the Umayyads. Although they were no longer employed by the government, it is certain that they continued to remain socially and politically pertinent throughout this dark period of

<sup>370</sup> Generally, after 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, Umayyad links were established by female descendants from unknown women.

<sup>371</sup> It would not be unreasonable to wonder whether these marriages did work in favor of his more successful descendants. For, although the descendants from these marriages may have failed the tests of early Islamic history, the marriages themselves may have been useful political and social links for others of the 'Awfid line. As noted, many enjoyed early Umayyad patronage.

<sup>372</sup> Indeed it is incorrect to call it that. It only became his revolt at a later date, with the deaths of the leaders of other interest groups.

<sup>373</sup> Throughout this study, I use 'revolution' in place of 'rebellion' to imply that, in the absence of a consensus on legitimate authority in the early Islamic period, all movements against established powers (and the established powers themselves) were equally legitimate. The word 'rebellion' implies the recognized legitimacy of the established authorities and it appears to me that notions of legitimacy are not clear cut during this early period.



Hijāzī history. For a good number of them suddenly reappeared on the scene about half a century later, after the success of the 'Abbāsīd revolution, the roots of which are known to have been implanted first in the Hijāz. As they assumed official posts, they again became the middlemen of the Hijāz. Quite a few of them also came out of the Hijāz, dragged (happily, one presumes) by their cognate links to regions north of their homeland. Here they gained favor with the new rulers of the Muslim world. The 'Abbāsīds, in turn, could count on their kinship histories for the effective management of a vast empire. But they were shrewd enough not to repeat the mistakes of the Sufyānīds that culminated in the post-Mu'āwīya revolutions and gradually installed a non-religious local élite in the Hijāz that could make few claims to legitimate rule.<sup>374</sup>

<sup>374</sup> See note above.

## CHAPTER III

### The Descendants of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh

#### III.i. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh: A Brief Sketch

The Muslim sources report that Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra was on a trade mission in Syria when he heard a monk foretell the coming of Aḥmad, the last of the prophets of the Arabs. He hurried back to Mecca, where Abū Bakr brought him to Muḥammad, who had recently received his first revelation. Ṭalḥa had no doubts about the truth of his claims and immediately accepted Islam. Although he neither participated in the Abyssinian migrations nor, due to Muḥammad's own discretion, in the battle of Badr, he nevertheless achieved a high rank among the early converts to Islam. After Badr, he participated in all the battles in Muḥammad's lifetime, including Uhud, where he sustained numerous lasting wounds as he heroically shielded the Prophet. It is here that Muḥammad declared, 'Anyone who wants to see a martyr walking the earth should look at Ṭalḥa.'<sup>375</sup> Thus he was singled out as one of the ten Companions to whom Paradise was promised.<sup>376</sup>

Through the Taym b. Murra, Ṭalḥa was agnate kin and one of the closest companions of the first caliph Abū Bakr.<sup>377</sup> Through his agnates, he was also the cousin of the Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb. He was born to al-Sa'ba bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād al-Ḥadramiyya, whose father was a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Harb b. Umayya.<sup>378</sup> Before her hand was given to Ṭalḥa's father, she was married to Abū Sufyān b. Harb, who divorced her for unspecified reasons.<sup>379</sup> al-Sa'ba's mother was 'Ātika bt. Wahb b. 'Abd b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb.<sup>380</sup> We do not know much about her father. Of 'Abd b. Quṣayy, we only know that he was in charge of providing pilgrims with food (*riḥāda*), excluding the Quraysh.<sup>381</sup> We do know that Wahb's grandson, Ṭulayb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb, whose mother was Arwā bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,<sup>382</sup> was among the first *muhājirīn* and that he participated in Badr and

<sup>375</sup> al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 325.

<sup>376</sup> 'Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh' (W. Madelung), *EI2*.

<sup>377</sup> They were called al-Qarīnayn, i.e. the Two Joined Together. For the various reasons behind this name, see IS, 3: 214ff.

<sup>378</sup> BL, 1: 11, 5: 181ff., IK, 124-7, identifies al-Sa'ba's father as 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād b. Akbar of the Ṣadīf, Ibn Hajar, *Majma' al-zawā'id*, 9: 147ff., reports that al-Ḥadramī's name was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amīr b. Rabi'a b. al-Barr b. al-Bakm b. 'Awf b. Mālik b. 'Urayf b. al-Khazraj b. Iyād b. al-Sadīf b. Hadramawt b. Qaḥṭān of the Kinda. He was called al-Ḥadramī only because at some point he was in the Hadramawt, where he murdered 'Amr b. Nāḥid al-Himyari. He then fled to Mecca and became the *ḥalīf* of Harb b. Umayya. I have not found this account in any other source. It appears to be revisionist. *Tuhfah al-kamāl*, 22: 483, states the name as 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād b. Akbar b. Rabi'a of the Qaḥṭān. It adds that the scholars do not disagree that he (or perhaps his son, al-'Alā) was from the Hadramawt. On further variants on 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād's name, see al-Bājī, *al-Ta'dīl*, 3: 1160, *al-Isāba*, 4: 445, reports that it was 'Abdallāh's father who had come to settle in Mecca.

<sup>379</sup> Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 326.

<sup>380</sup> BL, 5: 181ff.; IS, 3: 214ff.

<sup>381</sup> IS, 3: 214ff. *dīna quraysh*. Perhaps on behalf of the Quraysh.

<sup>382</sup> On Arwā, see *al-Isāba*, 8: 8.

fell at al-Yarmūk.<sup>383</sup> al-Ṣa'ba's cognate family was of course sister to the Zuhra b. Kilāb.

al-Ṣa'ba was the sister of al-'Alā b. al-Ḥaḍramī.<sup>384</sup> Their siblings appear to have been landowners and merchants around Mecca in the pre-Islamic period; some of them lost their lives in the early battles against the Muslims.<sup>385</sup> al-'Alā himself was a Companion and was sent as a delegate to al-Mundhir b. Sāwā,<sup>386</sup> the lord of al-Baḥrayn, by the Prophet. When the region fell to the Muslims, he was made its governor, a post he held until 'Umar's time. It is said that the latter then made him governor of Baṣra, but that al-'Alā died before taking office.

Thus through his parents Ṭalḥa had some links with tribes of south Arabia,<sup>387</sup> with the Umayyads, and the Banū Hāshim. He was also related to the Zuhra and the Taym, two important clans we have already studied in preceding chapters. It seems that some members of his family were notables and early converts and that at least one member of the extended family had some sway in eastern Arabia and possibly also in Baṣra.<sup>388</sup> The importance of all these connections will become apparent as we proceed.

Ṭalḥa's status in the early Islamic community was also bolstered by his wealth, which was second only to that of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. The sources report that his properties in Iraq yielded four to five hundred thousand *dīnārs* and that this was but one of the many profitable investments in his hands. In cash alone, he left behind two million two hundred thousand *dīnārs* or *dirhams*.<sup>389</sup> The rest of his wealth was in land, on which he seems to have initiated new enterprises: for example, he is said to have been the first person to have started agricultural work in al-Qumh.<sup>390</sup> Ṭalḥa owned quite a bit of property in Iraq, some of which may have been acquired by means of politically problematic exchanges in Arabia in collusion with the third caliph, a direct descendant of his family's sometime ally. For example, Nashāstāj, very likely a landed estate in Kūfa, is reported to have been given to him by 'Uthmān as the first of the *qaḍā'i* among the *sawāfi* of the region. Whether this land was originally *ḥajr* or *sāfiya* is not discussed in the sources. But if it was the former and the distinction between the two categories was dropped by 'Uthmān, as suggested by the general Kūfan discontent, then the exchange was void.<sup>391</sup> Perhaps

it is to assert the validity of this transaction that reports were also circulated that Ṭalḥa had bought this property from Iraqis living in the Hijaz in exchange for his share in Khaybar or that he had acquired it from 'Uthmān in exchange for property in Ḥaḍramawt. Whatever the case may be, this land was intensely cultivated by him and was highly lucrative.<sup>392</sup> In addition to these investments, Ṭalḥa drew good profit from the Syria-Yemen trade, in which he seems to have been engaged throughout his career. His vast wealth afforded him the opportunity to be extremely generous to the poor, his family, and the wives of the Prophet, especially 'Ā'isha. This earned him the *laqab* al-Fayyād.<sup>393</sup>

His political alliances are a bit difficult to gauge. The sources report that he backed Abū Bakr as the first caliph, though there exist isolated reports that claim that he supported 'Alī. He is said to have protested Abū Bakr's choice of 'Umar as the second caliph. Thereafter, he was a member of the *Shūrā* that brought 'Uthmān to power, although he was very likely away on a trade mission and was, therefore, unable to take an active and direct part in the decision. At the time of the crisis that led to the first civil war, Ṭalḥa is said to have fueled the agitation and rage of the rebels against 'Uthmān. The reason for this is very likely 'Uthmān's promises to abandon his earlier policies of nepotism, from which Ṭalḥa had benefited tremendously in the past.<sup>394</sup> After 'Uthmān's murder, Ṭalḥa was favored for the caliphate by the Egyptians, though the Iraqi support for 'Alī proved to be much greater. He was thus forced to pay homage to 'Alī. Thereafter, he fled to Mecca with al-Zubayr and joined 'Ā'isha for the Camel campaign. It is during this campaign that he lost his life to a treacherous shot fired by Marwān b. al-Ḥakam in retaliation for the murder of 'Uthmān.<sup>395</sup> This happened in 36 AH.<sup>396</sup>

<sup>383</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 5: 285f. A stream near Basra, called Ṭalḥān, belonged to a *mawlā* of Ṭalḥa (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 1: 435); Sinnin is another place near Kūfa with a stream and farmlands that were also sold to Ṭalḥa by 'Uthmān (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, 3: 431).

<sup>384</sup> al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 325; BL, 1: 437, 5: 185–92; IS, 3: 2220f.

<sup>385</sup> In addition to land grants and exchanges mentioned above, 'Uthmān had given Ṭalḥa gifts amounting to two hundred thousand *dīnārs*. See 'Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh', *EI2*. Whether and when 'Uthmān changed his earlier practices is debatable.

<sup>386</sup> 'Ṭalḥa', *EI2*, BL, 243 (B); 5: 192f. Statements regarding Ṭalḥa's opposition to the appointment of 'Alī are usually taken to be true by the sources and the secondary literature categorically despite the existence of reports that state, without mentioning duress, that he was the first to pay homage to him. Thus BL, 205 (B) and al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 327, report that he was the first to pay homage to him (though other reports here also claim that he waited for the reaction of the people before doing so and delivering the keys of the Treasury). It is also reported that he had earlier preferred 'Alī over Abū Bakr. It is imaginable that Ṭalḥa's opposition to 'Alī emerged only after he realized that 'Alī's success was grounded in his Iraqi support. Maintaining this support meant preference for and thus reversion to 'Umar's *sābiqa* policy of fund disbursements. Ṭalḥa had also opposed 'Umar earlier and had backed 'Uthmān only for as long as he stood to gain from his policies. Towards the end, as 'Uthmān considered reinstating 'Umar's meritocracy, Ṭalḥa gradually drifted away from him and became one of his harshest critics. Thus 'Alī's success meant tremendous financial losses for Ṭalḥa. In fact, the latter's vast property in Iraq was confiscated by 'Alī, only to be returned to one of his descendants at a later date. Whatever Ṭalḥa's earlier position on 'Alī might have been, given these details, it is difficult to argue that he could ever have benefited from his success at the time the issue of his succession came to climax. As we will see, it is more likely that when the Ṭalḥids and 'Alids of Iraq later established marital links and joint interest groups the myths of earlier partnerships between their ancestors were created. Having noted this, it is prudent to keep in mind that Ṭalḥa's political attitudes are a minefield. See 'Ṭalḥa', *EI2*, BL, 5: 192f.

<sup>396</sup> al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 327.

<sup>383</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 25: 142. IH, 128–35.

<sup>384</sup> *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 22: 483.

<sup>385</sup> *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 22: 483. Some of al-'Alā's miraculous qualities are also mentioned here.

<sup>386</sup> 'al-Mundhir b. Sāwā' (M.J. Kister), *EI2*.

<sup>387</sup> Ṭalḥa is said to have owned some property in Ḥaḍramawt. See below.

<sup>388</sup> Ṭalḥa and his descendants later profited from the early influence of his family in these regions. As we will see presently, Ṭalḥa had acquired a notorious amount of wealth in Iraq. After him, quite a few of his descendants became wealthy notables in the region and gained key political posts there (IH, 135–40). One of them also appears in the sources as a revered apocalyptic figure of Baṣra. The *Nachlass* of the family in al-Baḥrayn was minimal, but certainly not non-existent. It is suggested in the account of the activities of the Kharijite Abū Fudayk and the counter offensive mounted by Ṭalḥa's sons and his son-in-law, 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh (Sadūsi, *Hadith*, 78). For details, see below.

<sup>389</sup> There are various numbers on offer here. One version reports that he left behind thirty million *dirhams* in immovable property and cash and that the value of his springs amounted to two million two hundred thousand *dirhams* and two hundred thousand *dīnārs*. In addition to this, he had goods. See IS, 3: 2220f.

<sup>390</sup> BL, 5: 191.

<sup>391</sup> See Hinds, 'Kufan Political Alignments', 359 where, however, the distinction between *ḥajr* and *sāfiya* is not mentioned; Madelung, *Succession*, 83. On the problematic history of *sawāfi* lands, see 'Sāfi' (Ann K.S. Lambton), *EI2*.



## III.ii. The Children of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh

Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh's social capital was very diverse and, in this fact, he resembled 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf much more than Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ. As I will note below, his marriage to Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh, for example, allowed him direct and indirect links with Makhzūmīs, Hāshimīs, and Umayyads. Similar social diversity was also part of his own Taymī-Hadramī lineage. In other words, he was close both to the religious elite and the Meccan old aristocracy and such links served as the foundations for the social and political history of his descendants. The contacts of the Ṭalḥids with the tribal elite appear to be rather limited despite the fact that a vast amount of their fortune and support was based in Iraq. This fact, along with the observation that a number of Ṭalḥids migrated northwards from the Hijāz already during the early Umayyad period (something one does not observe for the Sa'dids or 'Awfids until the early 'Abbāsīd period), leads one to conclude that they may have settled as a landowning elite, somewhat isolated from the military-tribal structures of Iraq. Following the pattern of other families studied above, they seem to have severed their main ties with the Umayyads (and to have returned to the Hijāz) some time around the middle of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.

Yet this conclusion is also somewhat confusing in light of the strong kinship ties the Ṭalḥids established with the 'Alīds and the 'Abbāsīds, both of whom had substantial support among southern tribes in Iraq. Unlike the Sa'dids and the 'Awfids, why did the Ṭalḥids not have strong cognate connections with the southern tribes (especially in view of their contacts with the 'Alīds and the 'Abbāsīds)? I think the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the structural roles the Ṭalḥids played in their kinship networks: they appear to be social brokers among their various cognate religious elite kinsfolk and generally do not lie on the peripheral boundaries of the networks, where ties with the tribal elite often seem to exist. In kinship terms this meant that the Ṭalḥids were patrilineally even less endogamous than the families studied above, though they were more 'sociable' across cognate lines. Put another way, relative to the Sa'dids and the 'Awfids, the cognate pull on the Ṭalḥids did not produce distinct matrilineal groups; it only diversified their identity across social segments. This enhanced their social and political prestige in the early 'Abbāsīd period, when a number of Ṭalḥids briefly emerged in prominent political roles.

Ṭalḥa's descendants should be divided along these following six lines that are discussed below: (1) the children of Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh; (2) the children of Su'dā bt. 'Awf; (3) the children of Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā; (4) the children of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abi Bakr; (5) the children of Umm Abān bt. Shayba; and (6) concubines and women whose children left no known progeny.

## III.ii.1. The Children of Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh

Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Šabra b. Murra b. Kabīr b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma hailed from a family known for its early mass conversion to Islam.<sup>397</sup>

<sup>397</sup> Three children of Jaḥsh, 'Abdallāh, 'Ubaydallāh and Abū Aḥmad converted before the Prophet entered al-Aqraḥ's house (IS, 3: 89). See also IS, 4: 102, for further details of early conversions from this group.

Like the maternal grandfather of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, her father was a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of Harb b. Umayya.<sup>398</sup> This was perhaps one common link that had brought the two families together. Ḥanna was born to Umayma bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīb—another common link with Ṭalḥa's family—and was the sister of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, a wife of the Prophet. At least two of her brothers, 'Abdallāh and 'Ubaydallāh, participated in the second Abyssinian Migration, where the latter converted to Christianity. 'Abdallāh, who was Ḥanna's full brother, later returned to Mecca and performed the *ḥijra* with all the members of the Banū Ghanm b. Dūdān. This 'Abdallāh also led the first Muslim raid at Nakhlā.<sup>399</sup> Before Ṭalḥa, Ḥanna was married to Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim, a Companion of the Prophet who participated in Badr and lost his life at Uhud. He was responsible for teaching the Qur'ān to the Medinans and for converting them to the new religion before the *ḥijra*.<sup>400</sup> By Muṣ'ab, Ḥanna bore a daughter named Zaynab, who married the traditionist 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi Umayya b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, a nephew of Umm Salama, a wife of the Prophet.<sup>401</sup>

If the patterns observed in previous chapters serve as any general guide, it is likely that this was Ṭalḥa's first marriage. For the impressive credentials of Ḥanna's family mirror those of the first wives of other Companions we have so far studied: she strengthened Ṭalḥa's links with the Umayyads, the Makhzūm, the Banū Hāshim, and, more specifically, the immediate family of the Prophet. Members of her extended family were also leading early converts from the Meccan aristocracy. In many ways, her family also resembled Ṭalḥa's, especially his cognates, as described above.

Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh had two sons by Ṭalḥa, Muḥammad and 'Imrān. The former was very likely Ṭalḥa's oldest son and was known by the *laqab* al-Sajjād due to his model piety. He is also said to have had the *kunya* of Abū al-Qāsim.<sup>402</sup> Other than reports of his legendary piety, the sources tell us little more than that he carried the banner at the Battle of the Camel and was killed there. He was also mourned by 'Alī as the latter surveyed the corpse-littered field after the battle. Again, it is unclear whether this report is the product of later retrojection. For as we will see, the Ṭalḥids developed some strong associations with the 'Alīds not long after the dust settled at the Battle of the Camel.<sup>403</sup>

Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa fathered three sons and a daughter, all of whom were born to Khawla bt. Manzūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār al-Fazāriyya. Khawla's family had strong connections with the Zubayrids: her sister, Tumāḍir, for example, was the mother of Ḥamza, Khubayb, Ṭāhīr, al-Zubayr, and Ruqayya, all children of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.<sup>404</sup> The four boys are said to have stayed with their maternal grandfather in the desert. There they served him until they came to maturity and rejoined their father.

<sup>398</sup> IS, 8: 241.

<sup>399</sup> IS, 3: 89; BL, 1: 88, 1: 437, 5: 195.

<sup>400</sup> Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, 1: 187, 3: 368.

<sup>401</sup> NQ, 19; *al-Isāba*, 8: 163. For more details on his family, which counted some important administrators among its numbers, see IH, 146–8.

<sup>402</sup> That he was Abū al-Qāsim Muḥammad is debated. It is argued that the Prophet gave him only his name, not his *kunya*. See BL, 5: 195, where it states that he may have been Abū Sulaymān or Abū Ishāq. See also IH, 135–40.

<sup>403</sup> NQ, 281; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 329; Sadūsī, *Hadhf*, 78; IS, 3: 214ff.

<sup>404</sup> Ibn Mākilā, *Ikmāl*, 4: 28. Another sister of hers, Zajla, was also married to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

Manzūr b. Zabbān came to Medina to protest their departure but failed to recover them.<sup>405</sup> After Muḥammad fell and against her father's wishes Khawla herself may have been married to Ibn al-Zubayr. Her father again came to Medina and was able to rally considerable Qaysī support there against the marriage. Thus it was successfully dissolved and Khawla was then married off to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, by whom she was mother of al-Ḥasan al-Madanī.<sup>406</sup>

We do not know much about Khawla's father, except that he was very likely a Kūfan transmitter and that sometime in his later years, he joined the army of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. He is also said to have transmitted from Hishām and al-Walīd b. Yazīd.<sup>407</sup> His grandson Zuhayr b. Muḥarris b. Manzūr was very likely a notable who built on his grandfather's connections, for he was sent as a notable delegate to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>408</sup>

Thus with Khawla's family there was some noticeable ambiguity in political commitments. Her father certainly seems to have been against the Zubayrid cause; yet several of his daughters and his grandchildren were attracted to it. Earlier in his life he very likely had some connections with Kūfa and with the 'Alids of Medina. But later we find him and his grandson in the company of Umayyads. On the basis of these details, we may surmise that Manzūr was on amicable terms with the Zubayrids and Ṭalḥids at some point; that he then turned to the 'Alids after the Battle of the Camel, although some of his children did not; and that later he joined the Umayyads. Some of these political tensions also seem to have been part and parcel of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh's own life<sup>409</sup> and were inherited by Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa's descendants.

Of Muḥammad's four children, Dāwūd, Sulaymān, and Umm al-Qāsim are non-descript.<sup>410</sup> On the other hand, his son Ibrāhīm and his descendants are the most widely discussed of all the Ṭalḥids. Like his relatives, Ibrāhīm was a Madanī with Kūfan links. His cognate links through his aunts and possibly his mother earned him the coveted post of head of the *kharāj* in Kūfa during the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr.<sup>411</sup> It is likely that he held this post until the collapse of the Zubayrid caliphate and that he thereafter returned to his hometown. It was perhaps there that he took up the responsibility of raising the children of his half-brother, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī—a task that he is said to have performed with model fairness and with due attention to his duty as their kinsman.<sup>412</sup>

Around this time also Ibrāhīm gained the favor of al-Hajjāj, who was now installed

<sup>405</sup> Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, 4: 169; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 11: 162. It is reported that their mother might have been of the Banū Dīl b. Bakr. Hamza, Khubayb, and Ṭābit were all Medinan. Manzūr is said to have used them as quasi-slaves ('*abid*).

<sup>406</sup> NQ, 45ff.; Burri, *Jawhara*, 1: 354–5; Ibn Mākūl, *Ikmāl*, 6: 242; al-Fawā'id al-rīdīyya, 1: 22; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 13: 63.

<sup>407</sup> al-Rāzī, *Jarh*, 8: 406; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 60: 360: the person mentioned here (along with his grandson Muḥarris) is Manzūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār b. Manzūr al-Fazīrī. So I am not sure if this is the same person, though there is a good possibility that he is.

<sup>408</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 19: 125.

<sup>409</sup> See above and the further Ṭalḥid-'Alid links discussed below.

<sup>410</sup> IS, 5: 52, 140; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 7: 149.

<sup>411</sup> IH, 135–40; NQ, 283; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 330; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 7: 46ff.; *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 2: 172; al-'Ijlī, *Thiqāt*, 1: 204.

<sup>412</sup> NQ, 284ff. This cognate relation left a lasting legacy for his family. See below.

over the region. This connection brought him to the court of 'Abd al-Malik, where he was honored by the caliph for his good character, and also secretly communicated to him the desire of the Hijāzīs to be rid of al-Hajjāj. This wish was granted him, though his complaints against his companion never reached the latter's ear.<sup>413</sup> It is perhaps at this time that 'Abd al-Malik appointed him *kātib* of the *dīwān* of Medina.

To some extent, then, Ibrāhīm's career seems to ride on the coattails of his maternal grandfather: he had early profitable links with the Zubayrids; he sustained some contacts with what was then the moderate wing of the 'Alids; and, after Ibn al-Zubayr, he gained some favor with the Umayyads.

Some familiar patterns of Umayyad policy now begin to reemerge: it seems that not long after he was given the post of *kātib*, Ibrāhīm was removed in favor of Ibn Khārija al-Anṣārī.<sup>414</sup> Perhaps around this time, 'Abd al-Malik appointed his own maternal uncle, Nāfi' b. 'Alqama, as governor ('*amīl*) of Mecca, and he forcibly took away a portion of Ibrāhīm's property in Mecca and very likely also in Medina.<sup>415</sup> Ibrāhīm then complained to 'Abd al-Malik, who did not judge in his favor; nor did any of the Umayyad caliphs after him. The property was finally restored briefly to his descendants by al-Rashīd. The caliph then confiscated it and it remained in the hands of the 'Abbāsids until it was handed over to the descendants of Nāfi' by al-Ma'mūn. Whether or not the property originally belonged to the Ṭalḥids is a moot point. Whatever the truth of the claims of either side may have been, it is worth noticing that the position of the Umayyads vis-à-vis the Hijāzī religious elite had changed drastically in the latter half of 'Abd al-Malik's reign and that it generally so persisted until the early 'Abbāsīd period. At that time, the religious elite reemerged only to sink again very quickly. These are familiar and, by now, predictable patterns.<sup>416</sup>

<sup>413</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 7: 46ff.; al-Hamawī, *Thamarāt al-awraq*, 261.

<sup>414</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 377f. In previous chapters, we have already come across this pattern of appointments starting in the latter half of 'Abd al-Malik's reign. The caliph seems to have given positions to the descendants of the religious elite early in his career and thereafter largely employed the Anṣār and the Makhzūm. With a few exceptions, the descendants of the religious elite remained on the sidelines until the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period, when they reemerged briefly. Thereafter, they again disappeared in favor of the Anṣār and Makhzūm.

<sup>415</sup> BL, 7: 334–5, 357 (unsuccessful plea before Hishām to return the property); Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 7: 146; NQ, 282–4.

<sup>416</sup> The sources report that when Ibrāhīm registered his usual complaint with Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, the latter threatened to hit him. It is also reported that he had exchanged some harsh words with him. See BL, 5: 197; NQ, 282–4; IB, 149. BL, 7: 390: we are also told that Ibrāhīm's father was probably flogged by Khālid al-Qasrī when he was appointed over Mecca by al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. As his father died in the Battle of the Camel (NQ, 281; BL, 5: 196 and above), this is a likely error for his son or for 'Abdallāh b. Shayba. BL, 5: 18 also reports that his father was flogged because of some words exchanged between him and the governor. Again, this is a likely repetition of the earlier report by Balādhuri, to which he refers here explicitly. There is further evidence regarding the rift between Ibrāhīm and the Umayyads that hints at his political nature and the struggle for power that hastened it: an unnamed daughter of Ibrāhīm was married for some time to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz and had one child by him. The latter divorced her because, presumably despite warnings, Ibrāhīm used to interfere in official judgments over altercations in Medina. When 'Umar was appointed over Medina and Ibrāhīm continued his practice, the former asked the latter's daughter to tell him to desist. After three unsuccessful warnings, 'Umar divorced her. Ibrāhīm then faced further trouble from the new governor, 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri, who was successfully curbed at 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz's request (IH, 135–40; NQ, 284ff.). All this suggests rising contention over power in the post-'Abd al-Malik period.



The sources mention seventeen children of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. With few exceptions, they had strong links with either the Ṭalibids and/or the 'Abbāsids. Nine of these children were born to Umm Ya'qūb bt. Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥa. I will return to discuss her father presently. For now, suffice it to say that he was one of the greatest champions of the Zubayrid cause. Umm Ya'qūb's mother was Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, who had been married earlier to 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far and had several children by him. She then married Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥa and had Ya'qūb and Umm Ya'qūb by him. After Ismā'il divorced her for unknown reasons, she married Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>417</sup> Thus Umm Ya'qūb very likely circulated in the same social and political camps as her cousin and husband, Ibrāhīm, and strengthened his 'Abbāsīd and Ṭalibid bonds.<sup>418</sup> She also added to Ibrāhīm's impressive Zubayrid baggage. Unfortunately, we know nothing about her children, except that two of them—Ya'qūb and Ṣāliḥ—were Qurashī notables and that at least one of these two was Madanī.<sup>419</sup>

A lot more information is available about individuals from the generation of Ibrāhīm's grandchildren onwards. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm may have profited from his parents' 'Abbāsīd connections. For he is credited with recovering from al-Rashid the property once confiscated from his grandfather by Nāfi' b. 'Alqama.<sup>420</sup> And his brother 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā was a Madanī and was appointed over the *shurṭa* of Medina very likely by al-Rashid.<sup>421</sup> The Ṭalibid links were preserved by the descendants of Umm Ya'qūb's son Ya'qūb; for one of them married Ismā'il b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭalib. Her son 'Isā was imprisoned by Abū al-Sāj in Kūfa, where he died during al-Mu'tazz's reign.<sup>422</sup> Finally, a good number of the descendants of one of Umm Ya'qūb's sons, Ṣāliḥ, resided in Medina, some as late as the mid-third century. They must have retained their elite status and local significance, for one of them, Maryam bt. Ṣāliḥ, received a marriage proposal from the *qāḍī* of Medina that was rejected by the Ṭalibids.<sup>423</sup> The reasons are unknown.

This *qāḍī* was very likely 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Makhzūmī, who was appointed over Medina for al-Manṣūr at the time of the revolt of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh. He retained this post as the governors changed guard and may well have been appointed in the same capacity at the time of al-Mahdī.<sup>424</sup> Why the marriage proposal was rejected is unclear, but I am tempted to say that it had something to do with his being a controlling officer at the time of a revolt by an 'Alid, a descendant of

<sup>417</sup> *Akhḥār al-'abbās*, 117–19.

<sup>418</sup> At some point, Umm Ya'qūb was also married to Muḥammad al-Aṣḡar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān (see NQ, 117–19). Although this marriage reinforced her Umayyad cognate connections in name, it is in fact a further testimony to her pro-Ṭalibid inclinations. For Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Madanī was killed by al-Manṣūr on the night he heard news of the rebellion of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, his half-brother through his mother. For more information on her extended and ancestral cognate links, see the last section of this chapter. See also Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 1: 138.

<sup>419</sup> BL, 5: 198; IH, 135–40, 623; al-Burī, *Jawhara*, 2: 330; NQ, 284ff.; Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 2: 227–8; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, 6: 454.

<sup>420</sup> BL, 5: 198–9; IK, 78f.; Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 2: 426–7; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 12: 140; Rāzī, *Jarḥ*, 5: 166.

<sup>421</sup> *Iṣḥānī, Maqātil*, 434.

<sup>422</sup> IH, 135–40; NQ, 284ff.; Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 2: 227–8, 2: 263; Ibn Hibbān, *Thiqāt*, 6: 454; *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 3:94; Waki', 1: 207; Sam'ānī, 4: 70; Ibn al-Qaysarī, *al-Ansāb*, 152; Abū Nu'aym al-Isbahānī, *Tārīkh al-Isbahān*, 2: 87; Rijāl al-pūstī, 239; al-Tafrishī, *Naqd al-rijāl*, 3: 66. See also Shabistari, *Ashbah imām al-qāḍī*, 2: 244.

<sup>424</sup> al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh*, 353.

Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa's half-brother, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. The latter, we remember, was raised by Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥa. Nevertheless, we know that some of Ibrāhīm's descendants fared well with al-Rashīd and that, along the way, several 'Abbāsīd links had been established. Perhaps the relationship of Ibrāhīm's descendants with the new dynasts came to stabilize only by the time of al-Rashīd. (This is a likely conclusion in the light of what is to come in the last chapter.) This may be inferred from al-Manṣūr's track record with the Ṭalibids: he is said to have killed the husband of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥa's daughter, Umm Kulthūm bt. Ibrāhīm. But this is perhaps understandable, for she was married to the Madanī Muḥammad al-Aṣḡar b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who was not only an Umayyad but was also (unsurprisingly) the maternal half brother of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan. Manṣūr is said to have killed him the night news of the latter's revolt reached him.<sup>425</sup> The very early 'Abbāsīd relationship with the descendants of Ibrāhīm was thus likely sullied by their associations with a militant wing of the 'Alids. At the time of al-Manṣūr, only one descendant of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥa was appointed to office: Muḥammad b. 'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm (see below). This Muḥammad had held this same post before under the Umayyads. So the appointment might have been for the sake of continuity of administration and was very likely due to Muḥammad's cognate Makhzūmī links (see below).

The children of Ibrāhīm and Umm Ya'qūb were then largely Medinan and kept close ties with the Ṭalibids and the early 'Abbāsīds, especially starting from the time of al-Rashīd. Like other families studied in this book, they may have been in the good books of the Umayyads up until the middle of 'Abd al-Malik's reign. Thereafter, a clear rift developed.

Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who was the son of a concubine, was married to Subayqa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Her father was a Medinan and a granddaughter of his was married to 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin.<sup>426</sup> We have already come across Subayqa's paternal grandfather (also called Babba), who was chosen by the Baṣrans as their governor after the death of Yazīd and the flight of his governor Ibn Ziyād. He held the post only for a month and later participated in the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath.<sup>427</sup> Subayqa was earlier married to al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib of the Banū Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. I was not able to find information about her husband, but his ancestor, Rabī'a, may have been an early champion of the 'Alid cause.<sup>428</sup> She then married 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan/Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib. After Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm, she married Ismā'il b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far. After the latter's death she remarried Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm and then a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Thus, in addition to being generally a Hāshimī alignment with individuals having anti-Umayyad and probable pro-'Alid leanings, this marriage brought with it more general Ṭalibid links. The family counted Medina and Baṣra as its homes. This is a well-known pattern of ties for Ibrāhīm's family and mirrors also the marital alliances of his ancestors.<sup>429</sup> We do not know where Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm hailed from, but one of his

<sup>425</sup> Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 1: 138.

<sup>426</sup> See Bayhaqī, *Lubāb al-ansāb*, 558.

<sup>427</sup> See 'al-Mahdī' (W. Madelung), *EI2* and 'al-Nawfal' (Ch. Pellat), *EI2*. See also *Taqrīb al-tahdhīb*, 2: 94 and the previous chapter.

<sup>428</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 37, n. 27.

<sup>429</sup> See Ibn Hibbān *al-Muḥabbar*, 445f.; IS, 5:324; NQ, 284ff.



descendants, Abū Ishāq Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, was an *akhbārī* and author who lived in Baghdad and/or Baṣra and died in 271 AH.<sup>430</sup>

Another descendant of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥa, Nūh b. Ibrāhīm, who was born to a concubine, was married to 'Abda bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. 'Abda was earlier married to Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī; and/or 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.<sup>431</sup> Here again old cognate bonds persisted.

Finally, 'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa was the maternal half brother of 'Umar b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam.<sup>432</sup> His mother was Zaynab bt. 'Umar b. Abī Salama al-Makhzūmī, a daughter of the Prophet's stepson.<sup>433</sup> Her father was also the governor of al-Baḥrayn for 'Alī.<sup>434</sup> Zaynab's maternal grandmother was Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, who was also the mother of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad's wife, Umm Ya'qūb. Thus in this marriage, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad had reinforced an old marriage bond and had established a new Makhzūmī link.

Given his connections, we should expect the fates of the children of this 'Imrān to be similar to those of their cousins. A daughter of his, Ḥafsa, was married to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>435</sup> She had Ruqayya al-Ṣughra by him. Ruqayya was married to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>436</sup> but he died before consummating the marriage. She was then married to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>437</sup> She was also married to 'Awn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>438</sup> The 'Abbāsids and 'Alid contacts of this line are obvious.

'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm's son Muḥammad followed in the footsteps of his Makhzūmī cognates and married Asmā' bt. Abī Salama b. 'Umar b. Abī Salama al-Makhzūmī.<sup>439</sup> Perhaps because they preferred their Makhzūmī blood, this line fared better than their

<sup>430</sup> See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 126; Baghdādī, *Hadīṣyat al-'arīfin*, 1: 433 (here he appears as a Tamīmī); Kāhālā, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin*, 5: 42. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm was a transmitter (BL, 5: 195C).

<sup>431</sup> See IH, 52; NQ, 62, 284ff; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbat*, 437ff.: he was married to Umm 'Alī bt. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. For sequences of marriages and variants in names (all of them 'Alids), see also R. 74. Nūh was found at least on one occasion in Medina and was praised by the *qādī* of the city. See Isfahānī, *Aghāni*, 5: 137.

<sup>432</sup> IH, 135–40; BL, 5: 196–8; NQ, 284ff.

<sup>433</sup> *Tārīkh ya'qūbī*, 2: 201. He was the son of Umm Salama, the wife of the Prophet.

<sup>434</sup> *Tārīkh ya'qūbī*, 2: 201. We have already come across Baḥrayn in connection with Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh's maternal uncle. Eastern Arabia hardly ever occurs in the historical records of the descendants of the elite under study in this book, but does make a few appearances in this chapter. This must be more than a coincidence and is suggestive of indirect Ṭalḥid links with the region.

<sup>435</sup> She also married his brother al-Qāsim. Between marrying them, she was also the wife of Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, a somewhat unusual match, but one that was soon dissolved by him. Several other marriages of Ḥafsa's were also dissolved. No explanation is given. See BL, 5: 198. On the line of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, its trouble with the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, and its connections with the 'Alids, see the next chapter.

<sup>436</sup> She is also said to have been married to his father. See BL, 5: 196–8.

<sup>437</sup> This marriage was very likely a means to subdue and reconcile the revolutionary element. See the last chapter on such phenomena.

<sup>438</sup> Given all these marriages, she was called *dhāt al-azwāj*. See IH, 83f.; NQ, 117–19 and, for more marriages and marriage sequences, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbat*, 445–446.

<sup>439</sup> NQ, 284ff.

cousins with the very early 'Abbāsids. For Muḥammad was the *qādī* of Medina for al-Manṣūr, a post he held until his death.<sup>440</sup> His son, Mūsā, held the same post under al-Rashīd.<sup>441</sup> Another son, 'Abdallāh, was the *qādī* of Mecca and Medina during the time of al-Rashīd. He may also have been the *qādī* of Medina for al-Mahdī. Later in his life, 'Abdallāh was invited by al-Rashīd to join him in Baghdad. Thereafter, he was in the caliph's company and died in his presence in 189 AH.<sup>442</sup>

This line of Ibrāhīm's family had thus kept Ṭalḥid and 'Abbāsīd cognate relations similar to those of their cousins.<sup>443</sup> One subsection appears to be deeply connected with the revolutionary elements of the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. Another section was somewhat more successful during the late Umayyad period. It also gained favor with the early 'Abbāsids. Generally Medinans like their cousins, the descendants of this line were also particular favorites of al-Rashīd. At least some of them left the Hijāz at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period.<sup>444</sup>

We do not have as much information about 'Imrān b. Ṭalḥa or his family as we do about his brother Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa. Nevertheless, what little we do come across in the sources accords with the patterns noted above. 'Imrān appears as a Madānī transmitter and a delegate to Mu'āwiya. He is also credited with recovering from 'Alī his father's property in Nashāstaj, perhaps simply because, according to 'Alī, he had only taken over the property so that it should not fall into the wrong hands.<sup>445</sup> 'Imrān was

<sup>440</sup> As I mentioned above, it is possible that Muḥammad was given this post by al-Manṣūr in view of the fact that he had held it before under the Umayyads. In other words, he might simply have been an experienced administrator. But given the generally deteriorating relationship between Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad and his descendants, on the one hand, and the Umayyads, on the other, Muḥammad's earlier appointment by the Umayyads is still a little difficult to explain. Perhaps their Makhzūmī partiality helped, something which, in contrast to their cousins, who preferred Ḥashimis (and, more specifically, Ḥasanids), would have won them the favor of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids (see the previous chapter for the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd patterns and significance of appointments in the Hijāz). It is also possible that 'Imrān's cognate Marwānīd kinship was useful. Perhaps there was also a passing effort on the part of later Umayyads, such as Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, to establish some bonds with this family. As mentioned above, he was briefly married to a sister of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. The impressive links that such a marriage would have procured with his rivals are obvious. IH, 135–40; BL, 5: 196–8; NQ, 284ff.; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 330; IK, 78f.; Ibn al-Jawzi, *Muntazam*, 8: 179f.; Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 3: 687–8; Waki', *Akhbār quḍāt*, 1: 181ff.; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 7: 367.

<sup>441</sup> IH, 135–40.

<sup>442</sup> Sam'ānī, 1: 498ff.; IH, 135–40; BL, 5: 196–8; NQ, 281ff.; IK, 78f.; Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 2: 402–3. 'Abdallāh also owned some springs south of Medina. See Bakrī, *Mu'jam al-'Ajrād* and Hamdānī, *Sifat*, 'Rashad', 170.

<sup>443</sup> The significance of the Ṭalḥid and 'Abbāsīd links will become clear in the last chapter. Here it should simply be noted that, in most cases, 'Abbāsīd contacts in the reign of al-Manṣūr were probably established by the dynasts to subdue the revolutionary elements that constituted the Ḥasanid wing. By the time of al-Rashīd, a number of the Hijāzī elite families had been successfully coaxed into jumping onto the 'Abbāsīd bandwagon. This is reflected not only in the details here, but also in what has been laid down in previous chapters and what is to come in the final chapter.

<sup>444</sup> It is not surprising that the only line to be patronized by al-Manṣūr was also drawn to its Makhzūmī cognates and had fewer contacts with the 'Alids than their cousins. The significance of this will become clear in the last chapter. For now, it is sufficient to be mindful of the fact that most of the 'Abbāsīd patronage for this family dated from the reign of al-Rashīd.

<sup>445</sup> IH, 135–40; BL, 5: 195f.; NQ, 281ff.; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 330; IK, 78f.; IS, 3: 214ff. Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 3: 288; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 43: 507; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 6: 82; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 5: 218. Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 4: 138; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 8: 118; IS, 5: 166.



married to Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. al-Muṭṭalib. Umm Kulthūm was first married to al-Hasan b. 'Alī, by whom she had three sons and a daughter. After he divorced her, she married Abū Mūsā 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Ash'arī. She had three sons by him. 'Imrān was her third husband. After he divorced her, she is said to have returned to Abū Mūsā's home in Kūfa, where she spent her last days.<sup>446</sup> Thus 'Imrān's marriage further secured 'Abbāsīd and 'Alid links during the early Umayyad period.

We know nothing about his descendants except that his son Muḥammad b. 'Imrān married Umm Yahyā bt. Muḥammad b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr and that one of 'Imrān's distant descendants, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ishāq b. Ḥammād b. Mūsā b. 'Imrān b. Talḥa, was probably a Madanī transmitter.<sup>447</sup> Muḥammad b. 'Imrān's marriage obviously meant the reinforcement of old Zubayrid connections and, given 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr's later position with the Umayyads, the marriage may have afforded him some favor with the rulers.<sup>448</sup>

How the son of a man with such seemingly strong 'Alid and 'Abbāsīd bonds in the tradition of his ancestors and cousins managed to come to the Umayyad side is difficult to surmise. Given the chronology of his wife's marriages,<sup>449</sup> it is unlikely that she was married to him before the collapse of Zubayrid rule. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān's mother, a daughter of Awfā b. al-Hārith b. 'Awf b. Abī Hāritha al-Murri, may also be counted in the Umayyad camp, not only because of her Murri lineage,<sup>450</sup> but also because a sister of hers, Mulayka, was married to al-Hakam b. Abī al-'As and had several children by him.<sup>451</sup> Thus it seems that part of 'Imrān b. Talḥa's family looked very similar to his brother's for his generation. Perhaps some time after the collapse of the Zubayrid rule he married two women, one a Zubayrid, another a Murri, both of whom had strong Umayyad connections. He may thus have been pulled into the Umayyad camp and it is perhaps for this reason that, as with other such families, the names of his descendants disappeared with the coming of the 'Abbāsīds.

<sup>446</sup> BL, 5: 196ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 437f.; NQ, 25ff. An alternative chronology of her marriages along with the claim that Abū Mūsā and al-Hasan both died and did not divorce her is found in Ibn Ḥabīb, cited above.

<sup>447</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 4: 138. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 452; *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 32: 455.

<sup>448</sup> On 'Urwa, see 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr' (G. Schoeler), *Et*; see also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 54: 209. Muḥammad b. 'Urwa's mother was a sister of Marwān b. al-Hakam (see Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 54: 211). Umm Yahyā bt. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān was also married to al-Hakam b. Yahyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr; then to Umayyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd; then to al-Hakam b. Yahyā b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'As; then to Muḥammad b. 'Imrān b. Talḥa; then she was remarried to al-Hakam b. Yahyā b. 'Urwa. Then he divorced her (see note 68 for references). All these individuals had some measure of amicable relations with the Umayyads.

<sup>449</sup> See footnote above.  
<sup>450</sup> al-Hārith b. 'Awf was from the Murra-Ghatafan, from which hailed quite a few Umayyad political and military leaders, including the famous Muslim b. 'Uqba. Despite al-Hārith's conversion—which was late and seems to have been in view of the Prophet's certain success—the Murra remained hostile to the Prophet. In terms of his religious status then he is closer to the Umayyads than to the early religious elite. On further kinship relations between the Murra and the Umayyads, see Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 41: 29. See also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 24: 478; 'Murra' (Ella Landau-Tasseron), *Et*.

<sup>451</sup> IS, 5: 166; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 5: 177, note 5. Awfā's daughter had at least four sons by 'Imrān b. Talḥa. See Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 4: 138. On al-Hārith b. 'Awf, the warrior of the Arabs and important pre- and early Islamic leader, see Zirikli, *al-A'im*, 2: 157. For Mulayka bt. Awfā, see BL, 8: 2: 59.

### III.ii.2. The Children of Su'dā bt. 'Awf

Su'dā bt. 'Awf b. Khārja b. Sinān b. Abī Hāritha al-Murri<sup>452</sup> hailed from the same tribe as one of the wives of 'Imrān b. Talḥa we met above. Her father, like his Murri cousin, al-Hārith b. 'Awf, was an important tribal leader and diplomatic peacemaker.<sup>453</sup> As may be expected, her Murri lineage had afforded her good links with the Umayyads.<sup>454</sup> For example, in addition to having two sons by Talḥa, she also bore Salama b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī and al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī.<sup>455</sup> We do not know much about Salama bt. 'Abdallāh's father, but we do know that Salama himself was a Madanī and probably moved to Damascus in the time of Mu'āwīya. Here he fathered a son who was named Ayyūb by the caliph himself. Salama was at one point the head of the *shurfa* of Medina. This was very likely for the Umayyads, for he is said to have come to Medina after having spent some time in Damascus and then to have returned in the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. A granddaughter of Salama, named Umm Salama bt. Ya'qūb b. Salama, married two Umayyads, before she brought herself to the attention of al-Saffāh, who married her. This last marriage was very likely contracted at the end of the Umayyad caliphate, when the alliances of this group seem to have shifted in other quarters as well: for example, Ismā'il b. Ayyūb b. Salama is reported to have come as a delegate to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik to complain about the imprisonment of his father. The latter had found himself in the bad books of the Umayyads when he married Fātima bt. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan. After coming to power, al-Saffāh made Ismā'il b. Ayyūb governor of Mecca. These are all clear signs of shifting alliances.<sup>456</sup> Su'dā's other son, al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, was a Median. He lived in Syria for some time and participated in the Umayyad-Byzantine frontier raids on several occasions with Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik. His family had close kinship links with the Umayyads.<sup>457</sup>

Su'dā's Ṭalhid son Yahyā b. Talḥa very much resembled his cognates. He married one of his half-brother's sisters, Sawda bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith.<sup>458</sup> She had three children by him. Of two we know nothing, but, as can be expected, the third was found in the Umayyad camp: her grandmother's namesake, Su'dā bt. Yahyā, was married to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>459</sup>

<sup>452</sup> NQ, 281.

<sup>453</sup> Like al-Hārith, he was involved in negotiating the peace between Dhubyān and 'Abs in the war of Dāhūs wa-l-Ghabrā'. See 'Murra', *Et*; al-Maydānī, *Majma' al-amthāl*, 2: 56.

<sup>454</sup> For example, her niece, Maryam bt. Lijā' b. 'Awf, was the maternal grandmother of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. See IS, 5: 244. On the Murri-Umayyad connections, see above.

<sup>455</sup> NQ, 327–29.

<sup>456</sup> Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt*, 425; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmāl*, 2: 37; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 8: 375, 10: 98, 22: 81, 70: 242; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ naḥj al-balāgha*, 18: 306–8; BL, 269f.

<sup>457</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 60: 68. The line of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith is worth further exploration. 'Abd al-Rahmān was the only son of al-Hārith so that his line was to continue only through him. He seems to have married the daughter of his half-sister, Umm Hukaym/Hakim bt. al-Hārith, to preserve the dying pedigree. It seems that there was some concern in early Islamic society with preserving this line. The second caliph, for example, is said to have blessed the marriage and to have prayed that the line continue. The family traced its lineage back to Abū Jabl and seems to have been close to the Umayyads and 'Umarīds. To some extent, it also had links with the Zubayrids.

<sup>458</sup> NQ, 305–7.

<sup>459</sup> IS, 5: 164.

There are perhaps some signs of shifting alignments in Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa's marriages to a daughter (perhaps two daughters) of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. But if these are any indications of a pro-'Alid stance, the marriages must have been contracted before Dūmat al-Jandal. Otherwise, Abū Mūsā's lukewarm support for 'Alī and the later appointment of his children during Mu'āwīya's caliphate suggest a reinforcement of Umayyad links.<sup>460</sup> Umm Abān bt. Abī Mūsā bore him his son Ṭalḥa,<sup>461</sup> and his son Ishāq b. Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa is said to have been born to Umm Iyās bt. Abī Mūsā.<sup>462</sup> In keeping with the possible Hashimī leanings of his cognates, Ishāq married his cousin Umm Ya'qūb bt. Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥa, who was at some point married to his cousin Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa. Although he appears in the sources as a member of the army of Mamlāba. 'Abd al-Malik that conducted raids against Byzantium, Ishāq was a respected Imāmī transmitter and a companion of al-Kāzīm.<sup>463</sup> The sources mention that two of his descendants were transmitters.<sup>464</sup> Finally, Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa also had children by several concubines and unnamed women. We have no information for most of them.<sup>465</sup> One son, Salama, appears in an *isnād*.<sup>466</sup> Another, Ṭalḥa b. Yahyā, was a Medinan *faqīh* of mixed reputation, with some association with Kūfa.<sup>467</sup>

Thus, depending on our judgment of Abū Mūsā, it is possible to say that two opposed marital pulls affected Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa. And if the history of his cognates is any general guide, these marital links were formed in keeping with the shifting position of his maternal group. Certainly until the time of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, Yahyā was favorably aligned with the Umayyads. His position may have shifted in the second half of their reign. This is also reflected in his line's marital bonds with the families of their cousins, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa and Ismā'īl b. Ṭalḥa. As we are plagued by incredibly patchy details in this case, made worse by the ambiguity surrounding Abū Mūsā, a case for the continuity of Umayyad networks may just as easily be drawn.

Su'ād's son 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa was a Madanī Qurashī notable and was sent as a delegate to Mu'āwīya, from whom he is also said to have transmitted reports. We do not know

<sup>460</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 336. For a strong claim regarding Abū Mūsā's Umayyad leanings, see Caetani, *Annali*, X, 54.

<sup>461</sup> IS, 5: 164.

<sup>462</sup> al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 331; NQ, 287, claims that his mother was a concubine. This same source states but six lines earlier that Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh fathered a son by Umm Unīs bt. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī. The two sets of shared and similar names (Ishāq and Iyās/Unīs) and the proximity in the list create a likely possibility of confusion. IS, 5: 19, reports that Ṭalḥa b. Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa was the maternal brother of 'Abdallāh b. Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa. These are the likely sources of al-Burri's error. IS, 5: 164 and Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 8: 296, state that his mother was al-Husnā 'al-Khansā' bt. Zabāb b. al-Ahrad b. Maṣār b. 'Adī b. Aws. I have not been able to gather information on her immediate relatives. However, descendants of 'Adī b. Aws consistently appear in the sources as marital relatives of the 'Alids. See, for example, al-Khū'i, *Mu'jam rijāl*, 11: 175; IS, 3: 20, 8: 475; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 69: 119.

<sup>463</sup> IH, 135-40; BL, 5: 181f.; 5: 198f.; NQ, 287; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 331; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat*, 3: 1534ff. (Madani). The Shi'ī sources report some confusion over his identity: Shabistari, *Ashāb imām al-sādiq*, 1: 148, states that this person, whom the Sunni sources mention as a Taymī, was in fact a Tamīmī. The same death date for this person is given in both Shabistari and Ibn al-'Adīm.

<sup>464</sup> IH, 135-40.

<sup>465</sup> Bukhārī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 109.

<sup>466</sup> In different sources, Ṭalḥa b. Yahyā appears either as the son of a concubine or of a daughter of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī. See BL, 5: 201-2; NQ, 287; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 331; Sakḥāwī, *Tulfa*, 2: 266; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 1132.

anything about him thereafter until the time of 'Abd al-Malik when he reappears in the sources as part of a delegation of the descendants of the Hijāzī elite that requested the removal of al-Hajjāj from their homeland. This request was granted by the caliph.<sup>468</sup>

'Isā b. 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa was born to Umm 'Isā bt. 'Iyād b. Nawfal b. 'Adī b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Quṣayy. I have not been able to gather any information on her father and a survey of her family has unfortunately revealed conflicting patterns.<sup>469</sup> However, it is more likely than not that they were anti-Zubayrid and at least incidentally pro-Umayyad in the time of Yazīd.

'Isā b. 'Isā strengthened the bonds that had been established by his grandfather Ṭalḥa and sustained by his uncle 'Imrān b. Ṭalḥa. For he married Rabi'ā bt. al-Mughīra b. al-Hārith, a granddaughter of Ṭalḥa's wife Su'dā bt. 'Awf.<sup>470</sup> As suggested above, this was very likely an Umayyad link.<sup>471</sup> However, in familiar pattern, if there was a knot with the Umayyads, it probably began to unravel soon after 'Abd al-Malik's reign: after 'Isā, Rabi'ā married a prominent neutral, 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and, after him, Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. What effect these changes might have had on her children's lives and careers is unknown, for their names disappeared from the historical register.<sup>472</sup>

Finally, Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa appears in several sources in the company of al-Manṣūr, reciting panegyrics. His son Muḥammad, who was born to a daughter of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, reportedly performed the same function.<sup>473</sup> His daughter, in turn, was a wife of al-Manṣūr and had Sulaymān, Ya'qūb, and 'Isā by him. Sulaymān was given several political posts by al-Rashīd.<sup>474</sup>

Thus it seems that the descendants of this line of Ṭalḥa too either resided in Medina or kept close contacts with it during the Umayyad period. For the early part of that dynasty, they seem generally to have been aligned with the rulers. Thereafter, like their cousins, the children of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, they may have shifted to an anti-Umayyad position and a few of them moved out of the Hijāz closer to the administrative centers of the empire.

<sup>468</sup> So far we have come across several individuals who made this request to 'Abd al-Malik. IH, 135-40; BL, 5: 195ff.; NQ, 281; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 330; IK, 78f.; IS, 3: 214ff.; Sakḥāwī, *Tulfa*, 3: 383; IS, 5: 164.

<sup>469</sup> IS, 5: 164, 185. A daughter of 'Adī b. Nawfal, for example, was married to 'Amr b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who was the harshest critic of his brother 'Abdallāh. His hostility towards him was so notorious that he was appointed over the *shurṭa* of Medina by Yazīd's governor of the city, so that he may curb the growing support for his brother. He was then sent out to engage him in battle. The governor, 'Amr b. Sa'īd b. al-'Ās, was his cognate relative. On the other hand, Umm 'Isā's uncle, 'Ubaydallāh b. Nawfal b. 'Adī, was a Medinan revolutionary who fell at al-Harra. See BL, 5: 68-71.

<sup>470</sup> NQ, 310-12.

<sup>471</sup> In addition to the details above, we might also consider that Rabi'ā's half-sister, amat al-Ḥamid bt. al-Mughīra, was married to al-Ḥakam b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and that her full sister, Umm al-Banīn, married al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf. See NQ, 310-12.

<sup>472</sup> The absence suggests they did not have stellar effects.

<sup>473</sup> BL, 3: 194, 5: 201-4; IH, 135-40.

<sup>474</sup> IH, 19-22, 139; BL, 2: 433, 3: 276, 5: 201-4; NQ, 287, al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 31; Ibn al-Jawzi, *al-Muntaẓam*, 7: 336.



## III.ii.3. The Children of Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra

The father of Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā' is counted among the bedouins of Baṣra and belonged to the Zayd Maṣā' of Tamīm. He was sent as a delegate to the Prophet and is mentioned among his Companions.<sup>475</sup> Khawla's grandfather Ma'bad was a great warrior in the *jāhiliyya* and his brother Hājib was the head of the Tamīm.<sup>476</sup> Their tribe's territory and sphere of influence was in Yamāma and stretched to the Gulf, Baṣra, and al-'Udhayb near Kūfa. It is possible that underlying this Tamīm link were the political activities of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh's maternal uncle al-'Alā', whom we met at the beginning of this chapter. The latter was granted posts in eastern Arabia and Iraq during the early years of Islam.<sup>477</sup>

The sources report Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa as the only son Khawla had by Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh. He was a notable of the Ṭalḥids and had moved to Kūfa at some point after the Battle of the Camel. He gained influence there and in Medina, his hometown, with which he kept close contacts after his move. His political alignments are somewhat difficult to gauge. For in one case, he is mentioned as one of the notables who bore witness against Hujr b. 'Adī in Iraq.<sup>478</sup> If his testimony was not given under duress, he would fall in the Umayyad camp at the end of Mu'āwiya's reign. On the other hand, around the same time, we find him as a member of a regular gathering of Qurashī and Anṣārī notables, called *majlis al-qilāda*, where he is said to have declared indirectly that Mu'āwiya and Marwān were the slaves of the Muhājirūn (perhaps due to their late conversions).<sup>479</sup> Fearing Marwān's retaliation for this comment, Mūsā fled to 'Ā'isha bt. Abī Bakr, his foster maternal aunt,<sup>480</sup> who successfully put Marwān in his place.

Whatever the case may be, it seems that he had some local backing in Iraq, where he was considered by some to be the Mahdī.<sup>481</sup> His primary support came probably from Kūfa, which he fled for Baṣra when al-Mukhtār entered the city. It is possible that he gathered further followers in Baṣra during his residence there, but he returned to Kūfa, presumably after al-Mukhtār's defeat. There he died in 103 AH. As the sources are silent on the details of his support,<sup>482</sup> it is likely that it remained a local religious

<sup>475</sup> *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 4: 156; *Isāba*, 2: 213. His son, 'Awf b. al-Qa'qā', is mentioned as a Companion at *Isāba*, 4: 616. One of his descendants appears as a notable at Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 226-7. Another of his descendants, al-Hilqām b. Nu'aym b. al-Qa'qā' was in the army of Ibn al-Ash'ath and was captured by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 856-7. None of this detail is a clear sign of firm political alignments.

<sup>476</sup> Zirikli, *al-A'lam*, 7: 263. Hājib's importance among Tamīm, his legendary fame, and contacts with the Persian emperor are mentioned in 'Tamīm' (M. Lecker), *ET*.

<sup>477</sup> As we have seen, Ṭalḥa came to acquire quite a bit of property around Baṣra and Kūfa. We have also witnessed the presence of some important Ṭalḥids of later generations in these regions, especially in Baṣra. Other instances are to come. Given Tamīm's contacts with south Arabia, Ṭalḥa's Yemeni genealogy and trade contacts may also have played a vital role in the establishment of the marital link. See 'Tamīm,' *ET*.

<sup>478</sup> *IH*, 139ff.; *BL*, 4: 254, 5: 195ff.; *NQ*, 281; al-Burī, *Jawhara*, 2: 330-1; *IK*, 78f.; *IS*, 3: 214ff.; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat*, 2: 320.

<sup>479</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-munammāq*, 357; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 32: 242.

<sup>480</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-munammāq*, 357.

<sup>481</sup> *IS*, 5: 161: *wa-kāna 'n-nāsu yarawnahū zamānahu huwa 'l-mahdī* (sic).

<sup>482</sup> See also Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 60: 422, 426; *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 29: 84; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 232.

phenomenon and lacked any noteworthy and wide ranging political significance.<sup>483</sup> This view is further corroborated by the careers of some of his children.

Mūsā was married to Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, the niece of his foster mother and maternal aunt. We know her father 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr to have been part of the post-Camel Umayyad camp, but it appears that he had joined the group only to keep his pro-'Alid brother Muḥammad out of harm's way.<sup>484</sup> Umm Ḥukaym's/Hakīm's mother was Qarība bt. Abī Umayya, a sister of Umm Salama, a wife of the Prophet. Thus in this marriage he had established a close link with the family of the Prophet and some lukewarm supporters of the Umayyads.

Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm had five children by Mūsā: Yahyā, Qarība, 'Isā, Muḥammad, and 'Ā'isha.<sup>485</sup> The sources have recorded nothing more than the names of the first two. Of 'Isā, we know only that he was a wealthy Kūfan, celebrated for his generosity, and that at least one of his descendants, Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, was a transmitter.<sup>486</sup>

In contrast, quite a bit of information has come down to us about Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, most of it having to do with his participation in the Umayyad struggle against the Khārijites led by Abū Fudayk and Shabīb. The accounts regarding Muḥammad b. Mūsā, where his brother 'Umar is also mentioned, are very telling of the continuity of the local Iraqi significance of this branch of the Ṭalḥids.<sup>487</sup> We are told that when Abū Fudayk was successful in his campaign in Baḥrayn, 'Abd al-Malik commanded 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'ar to galvanize the Baṣrans and Kūfans against the revolution. It seems that this endeavor was only successful due to some deft diplomatic measures. We learn that 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh returned with 'Abd al-Malik's letter in hand to Kūfa. His first order of business was to wed the famous 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, who obviously was not only the paternal half sister of the Ṭalḥids of the Mūsā line, but also related to Muḥammad b. Mūsā through her mother. For she was the daughter of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr, the sister of Muḥammad's foster mother and foster aunt.<sup>488</sup> Then he immediately appointed Muḥammad b. Mūsā the governor of Baṣra and headed out for the city with his new wife. It is perhaps at this time that 'Abd al-Malik took Muḥammad's full sister 'Ā'isha as his bride.<sup>489</sup>

<sup>483</sup> It has been argued that in the first century of Islam, the notion of Mahdī actually carried heavy political (as opposed to religious) connotations. See, 'al-Mahdī,' *ET*.

<sup>484</sup> See Madelung, *Succession*, 268 and 234 n. 354, where the details suggest that he was in fact critical of Mu'āwiya and Yazīd.

<sup>485</sup> *IH*, 139ff.

<sup>486</sup> *IH*, 135-40; *NQ*, 284ff.; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 25: 70.

<sup>487</sup> I have not come across 'Umar b. Mūsā in any other instance and am not sure if he was Muḥammad's brother. Context suggests that he was.

<sup>488</sup> I will come back to 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa later in this study in the section 'The Children of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr'. There I point out further links through her that might have facilitated the political partnerships discussed here. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'ar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Taym b. Murra was the head of the Taym in his time and was briefly appointed by Ibn al-Zubayr as governor of Baṣra (see Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 11: 443). Thus it is reasonable to assume that he had some local contacts in the region. Thereafter, he was appointed over Fārs by the Zubayrids and was engaged in combating the Khawārij. After the fall of the Zubayrids, he became a close ally of 'Abd al-Malik. As he was himself a Taymī, 'Abd al-Malik might also have entrusted him with the task in view of his tribal affiliation with the Ṭalḥids. See Zirikli, *al-A'lam*, 5: 54 and reference in note below.

<sup>489</sup> *IH*, 135-40; *BL*, 4: 273; *NQ*, 163-65, 284ff.; *IS*, 5: 161. She bore him Abī Bakr, who was killed



It is reported that tens of thousands of Iraqis then set out on the march against Abū Fudayk. Of the army assembled, the right flank, comprising the Kūfāns, was led by Muḥammad b. Mūsā. The Baṣran left flank was commanded by his brother 'Umar b. Mūsā.<sup>490</sup> Abū Fudayk was killed and most of his army was routed at the engagement; some six thousand were killed and eight thousand taken prisoners.<sup>491</sup>

Given these details, the importance of this line of the Ṭalḥids in Iraq can hardly be underestimated. The sons of Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa must have had considerable clout in the region. It is also fair to argue that this generation had come to inherit the regional political primacy of their ancestral Tamīmī cognates. Since the sphere of influence of the latter extended to eastern Arabia, one wonders whether these Ṭalḥids also had pull in that region and were thus considered eminently qualified to lead the expedition. It is of course understood that this generation had also built on the foundation of Ṭalḥa's earlier success in Iraq.

After the victory of the Umayyad army against Abū Fudayk, 'Abd al-Malik appointed Muḥammad b. Mūsā the governor of Sijistān. However, as he was passing through Kūfa, he was redirected by al-Hajjāj to al-Ahwāz to intercept Shabīb al-Kharrījī.<sup>492</sup> Muḥammad lost his life in the engagement.

Although the sources mention the names of some members of the later generations of this Ṭalḥid line, they all appear to be nondescript. For example, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ishāq b. Ḥammād b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa is mentioned as a respected transmitter from Mecca.<sup>493</sup> Another descendant, Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥammād b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, appears to be a Kūfan transmitter of the third century.<sup>494</sup> But that is about it.

It appears then that this line of the Ṭalḥids made good use of their cognate Tamīmī links in establishing a power base in Iraq,<sup>495</sup> so much so that the central authorities, first the Zubayrids and then the Umayyads, made concerted efforts to curry favor with them at crucial moments. As may be surmised from the career of Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, early on their prominence may have derived from a (minor) messianic movement and thus may have been religious at its core. After Mūsā, at least two of his children rose to high political

by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī. Following the well-known pattern, she married 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās after 'Abd al-Malik.

<sup>490</sup> In some sources, 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh appears as a Tamīmī and, in some others, also as 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh. On a previous occasion we did come across a possible descendant of Ṭalḥa from this region who appeared in a Tamīmī guise. Here it is possible that the 'Umar b. Mūsā who participated in the battle was actually 'Umar b. Mūsā b. 'Ubaydallāh. Although I am unable to unravel the knot of onomastic confusion, it may be safe to say that all this points to the closeness of the Tamīmī-Tamīmī alliance in some quarters in Iraq. One wonders also whether 'Umar b. Mūsā was involved in political maneuverings in Baṣra similar to those in which his brother participated in Kūfa. Finally, the reader should also keep in mind the graphic confusion of 'Taym' and 'Tamīm'.

<sup>491</sup> Zirikli, *al-ʿAṣm*, 5: 54; BL, 6: 552; S: 198f; IK, 78f.

<sup>492</sup> BL, 6: 584. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 3: 154, states that he was appointed over Sijistān. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 9: 293. NQ, 284ff. Another report states that 'Abd al-Malik appointed him in some capacity (*qad ista'malahu 'alā shay'in*) in Fārs. When Muḥammad heard that al-Shabīb was passing through the vicinity, he went forth to fight him.

<sup>493</sup> IH, 135–40.

<sup>494</sup> Although their settlement outside the Hijāz seems to have occurred well before that of their cousins, who follow the patterns of the descendants of the other elite studied in this book, the evidence suggests that at least some of them kept contacts with the Hijāz.

<sup>495</sup> *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 4: 81.

station with the Umayyads. One of their sisters was married off to 'Abd al-Malik, and an aunt of theirs, who reinforced strong cognate pull, married the leader of 'Abd al-Malik's expedition against Abū Fudayk. I suspect that the links of this line of the Ṭalḥids with the Umayyads were too tight to be unraveled by the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolution. For with the exception of the typical dynastic realignment of 'Ā'isha bt. Mūsā with 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (which occurred much before the fall of the Umayyads), no hint of a relationship with the 'Abbāsīs is to be gathered from the sources. It is perhaps for this reason that generally the names of the descendants of this distinguished line of the Ṭalḥids have also disappeared.

### III.ii.4. The Children of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr

In the previous section, we already came across some loose Bakrid cognate links through foster parentage that the first generation of one line of Ṭalḥids had established in the early Umayyad period. These links were reinforced in the second generation of that line. If Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh's marriage to Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr was contracted before the relationships of that other line came to crystallize (which is almost certain), it is likely that his marriage to her provided a foundation for the later connections.<sup>496</sup>

Umm Kulthūm's father Abū Bakr and sister 'Ā'isha are too well known to require further comment. Her mother was Ḥabība bt. Khārīja b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr al-Anṣārī of the Banū Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj.<sup>497</sup> Khārīja b. Zayd was a Madanī Companion of the Prophet and was made the brother of Abū Bakr at the time of the famous *mu'akkhāh*. A *ṣayyid* of the Balḥārith, he participated at Badr and lost his life at Uḥud.<sup>498</sup> After Ṭalḥa's death, Umm Kulthūm married 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabi'a al-Makhzūmī, a leader on the Day of al-Harra.<sup>499</sup> The latter's mother was Laylā bt. 'Ujārid b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra, the granddaughter of the chief of the Tamīm we have already come across in connection with the Ṭalḥids.<sup>500</sup> With this marriage, Ṭalḥa had reinforced his Bakrid links and established some important Anṣārī connections. Umm Kulthūm's later marriage to 'Abd al-Raḥmān was probably facilitated by the Tamīmī pull on the Ṭalḥids and by the Anṣārī network, of which both her mother and her second husband were a part. Finally, her second marriage also brought connections with the Makhzūm, but it seems that this Makhzūmī contingent was more closely allied with the Anṣār than with the Umayyads, as was usually the case.

Umm Kulthūm had three children by Ṭalḥa: Yūsuf, Zakariyā, and 'Ā'isha. We do not know much about the first two, except that the latter was celebrated for his generosity.<sup>501</sup>

<sup>496</sup> The kinship and close friendship of Ṭalḥa and Abū Bakr have already been mentioned above. In addition, the political alliance of the two groups at the time of the Battle of the Camel is well known.

<sup>497</sup> NQ, 278ff.

<sup>498</sup> IS, 3: 525; *al-Isbāb*, 2: 190. al-Wāqidī, *Maghāzī*, I: 165, 236–7.

<sup>499</sup> NQ, 278ff.; BL, 5: 179–81, states that she was married to 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a. This is very likely a mistake, as I have not been able to track down any person by this name. The cognate link established with 'Abd al-Raḥmān's family was strengthened with Ya'qub b. Ṭalḥa's marriage to his daughter Umm Ḥumayd, who was born to Umm Kulthūm (IS, 5: 165). See next section. 'Abd al-Raḥmān also established marital links with the Anṣār and the Hasanids. This again suggests the general continuity of a closed network of kinship relations. See IS, 5: 172.

<sup>500</sup> IS, 5: 172. For Ḥājib b. Zurāra, see above.

<sup>501</sup> IK, 78f. IS, 3: 214ff.; IH, 135–40; BL, 5: 195ff.; al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 331.



The sources mention two wives of Zakariyā, Umm Ishāq bt. Jabala b. al-Hārith of the Kinda and al-'Aytal bt. Khālid b. Mālik b. Abūshāh b. Kūz b. Maw'ala of the Tha'laba b. Dūdān.<sup>502</sup> In addition to having two children by the former and two by the latter, Zakariyā also had one daughter, named Umm Hārūn, by a concubine. None of the children from these women seem to have left a mark on history. It is only the descendants of Yahyā b. Zakariyā, the son of al-'Aytal bt. Khālid, who reappear in the 'Abbāsīd period. Otherwise, their historical record is blank even for the Umayyad period.

The reason for their absence from the register may have to do with the fact that, despite their impressive genealogy, neither of the sons of Umm Kulthūm married women of impressive lineage.<sup>503</sup> Only one descendant, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā b. Ṭalḥa, may have gained some political prominence when he was appointed over the *shurṭa* of Kūfa by 'Isā b. Mūsā.<sup>504</sup> His son Ya'qūb was a transmitter.<sup>505</sup> And a descendant of his, Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā b. Ṭalḥa, had a daughter, whose daughter, Umm Shaybān, was a matriarchal figure. A son from this family was appointed *qādī* of Baghdad for al-Mustakfi around 334 AH.<sup>506</sup> Finally, another descendant, Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā b. Ṭalḥa, who died around 232 AH, was a Kūfian transmitter.<sup>507</sup>

That is all the information we have as far as the descendants of Umm Kulthūm's two sons are concerned. Her daughter, the namesake of Umm Kulthūm's sister, the beloved of the Prophet, has already been mentioned in connection with the Umayyad wars against the Khārijites. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar was 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa's last husband. Before him, she had perpetuated her cognate links by marrying 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, whose sister was married to her half-brother Mūsā.<sup>508</sup> He is the only man by whom she had children: Abū Bakr, Ṭalḥa, 'Imrān, 'Abd al-Rahmān, and Nafisa.<sup>509</sup> The internal socio-political maneuverings during the Umayyad wars with the Khārijites, as discussed above, must have afforded the family of 'Ā'isha some close connections with the dynasts. For it is reported that Nafisa married al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, whose father had married her cousin 'Ā'isha bt. Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa.<sup>510</sup> Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān is praised in the sources as a generous notable and his son Muḥammad was at some point the governor (*ʿamīl*) of Mecca. As with other families with Umayyad links, 'Ā'isha's family may have turned towards the 'Abbāsīds when Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh's daughter 'Ā'isha married Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>511</sup> Muḥammad's other children are said to have remained around Medina.<sup>512</sup>

<sup>502</sup> IS, 5: 166.

<sup>503</sup> To the best of my knowledge, neither do we know anything about the two fathers-in-law of Zakariyā nor about their immediate relatives.

<sup>504</sup> IH, 135–40; BL, 5: 198f.; NQ, 287; IK, 78f.

<sup>505</sup> al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 14: 274. His geographical location is not mentioned.

<sup>506</sup> al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 439; the word used here is *qallada*, not *wallā*.

<sup>507</sup> *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 3: 187.

<sup>508</sup> See above.

<sup>509</sup> My source, NQ, 278f., may be corrupt. For, after listing the children, the last of whom is Nafisa, it states, *wa-ummulu 'ā'isha*. This should either be *ummulu* or *ummuluhum*. All sources report that she had Ṭalḥa by him (see BL, 5: 172; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 66; Sakhāwī, *Tuhfa*, 2: 263). The only other source that mentions all these children of 'Ā'isha is Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 7: 227–8.

<sup>510</sup> See the last section above.

<sup>511</sup> This line had strong contacts with the 'Alīds

<sup>512</sup> al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 120. After 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Ā'isha was also married to

This line of Ṭalḥids is a bit more difficult to analyze. We can be fairly certain that their cognate contacts had something to do with those of their cousins discussed in the previous section. In other words, a close network of associations between the children of Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr and of Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā' is evident. We can also be sure that, like them, some of them left Medina for Iraq before the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period. Such an early geographical shift was rare for the families of the elite studied in this book. Generally, the northward movement came on the heels of the 'Abbāsīd success. But this is not to say that they did not maintain contacts with their homeland in the Hijāz.

In contrast to their closest cousins, the children of Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, the descendants of the two sons of Umm Kulthūm have disappeared completely from the historical record for the Umayyad period. They make only a passing appearance during the 'Abbāsīd period. On the other hand, the first two marriages of their sister, 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa, may be taken to be a reflection of the general path followed by this line. Her first marriage brought Medinan and Tamīmī links; the second brought her to Iraq; the third to the Umayyads. The children of the first marriage seem to have benefited from the contacts established through the third marriage. As was commonly the case, some of her descendants may have been absorbed into the 'Abbāsīd fold sometime near the beginning of their rule. But the link was with an 'Abbāsīd line that is known to have had strong 'Alīd sympathies.

### III.ii.5. The Children of Umm Abān bt. Shayba b. 'Abd Shams

Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh had three sons by Umm Abān bt. Shayba b. 'Abd Shams: Ismā'il, Ishāq, and Ya'qūb. Umm Abān's father was a prominent member of the Meccan aristocracy, the uncle of Hind bt. 'Utba, the notoriously vitriolic wife of Abū Sufyān. Shayba and his brother 'Utba were both killed at Badr on the pagan side. A sister of Umm Abān, Ramla, was married to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān after he returned from the Abyssinian migration to Mecca. She then accompanied him to Medina when he performed the *ḥijra*.<sup>513</sup>

The cognates of this line of Ṭalḥids were thus 'Abd Shamsis of the pagan Meccan nobility and had contacts with the Umayyads through the line of Abū 'l-'Ās. The significance of these links was reflected in the careers of the descendants of this line.

Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥa,<sup>514</sup> whose progeny through his only son seems not to have survived past the first generation, was a notable of the Iraqi contingent of his family. Like some of his cousins above, he is said to have borne witness against Hujr b. 'Adī at the time of Ziyād's governorship there.<sup>515</sup> It is a testament to his independent high status in the

Mus'ab b. al-Zuhayr and settled in Basra. She had no children by him. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 441f.; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 124ff.; Sadūsī, *Hadhf*, 70; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, 7: 227–8.

<sup>513</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 364.

<sup>514</sup> BL, 555: 195ff., states that he was born to Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only source to claim this. NQ, 281, says that he was the child of Umm Abān bt. 'Utba b. Rabi'a. The same is mentioned in IS, 3: 214ff. If this is indeed the case, then the marital link brought contacts with the Sufyānids. Whether she was the daughter of 'Utba or of Shayba is not so important to determine, since the genealogy afforded links with the Umayyads—direct, in the former case, indirect, in the latter.

<sup>515</sup> IH, 135–40; BL, 4: 253; 5: 201–4.

The source Kinda and Dūdān.<sup>502</sup>

Zakariyā children of Yahyā b. Otherwise

The reason despite the women of Yahyā b. appointed ter.<sup>505</sup> Anc b. Zakariyā figure. A 334 AH.<sup>50</sup> b. Yahyā t

That is sons are of the Prophet the Khārīj Before him Rāhmān b. man by wī The intern as discuss the dynast whose fatī 'Abd al-Ri was at son links. 'Ā'i b. 'Abdallī Muḥamm

region that, after the coming of the Zubayrids to the region, he is said to have been appointed in some capacity by Muḥ'ab b. al-Zubayr. It seems that the latter sent him on a military mission at the head of four hundred men.<sup>516</sup> The sources mention two children of Ismā'il: Ya'qūb<sup>517</sup> and Umm Ya'qūb.<sup>518</sup> Both were born to Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>519</sup>

Like his brother Ismā'il, Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa<sup>520</sup> is reported to have borne witness against Hujr b. 'Adī. Like him, again, he was a notable of the line of his family settled in Iraq. Ishāq was one of the rare cases among the first generation Medinan elite to have traveled and settled in Iraq and thereafter to have moved further into the eastern provinces of the Empire. For Mu'āwiya appointed him the head of the *kharij* of Khurāsān, a post he shared with Sa'id b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>521</sup>

Like his cousin Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa, who also enjoyed Umayyad favor, Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa married a daughter of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ari called Umm Unās.<sup>522</sup> 'Abdallāh was the only son she bore him.<sup>523</sup> We know nothing about 'Abdallāh, but his son Mūsā was a Madani transmitter.<sup>524</sup> Mūsā's son Ṣāliḥ was counted among both Kūfan and Medinan transmitters. He earned a less than enviable reputation.<sup>525</sup> The sources also report Ṣāliḥ b. Mūsā b. Ishāq and Mu'āwiya b. Ishāq as two Kūfan transmitters from this line.<sup>526</sup> None of his descendants seem to have gained favor with the later Umayyads or with the 'Abbāsids. Some of them seem to have moved back to Medina and others to have remained in Kūfa. At least some maintained contacts with both areas.

Ya'qūb al-Madani was the only son of Ṭalḥa to have lost his life at al-Ḥarra.<sup>527</sup> We

<sup>516</sup> BL, 5: 202; 'aqada l'ahū 'alā arba' mi'a. See also NQ, 284ff.; al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 331; IK, 78f.; IS, 3: 214ff.

<sup>517</sup> We only know that he was counted among the Hijāzīs. See NQ, 27-29; Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 8: 396.

<sup>518</sup> I have discussed her (and her children) above as the wife of Ibrahim b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa.

<sup>519</sup> Although there is no guarantee that the children of a certain line will follow in the footsteps of their relatives, and, although there are plenty of examples that argue against socio-political continuity, Ismā'il's marriage to Lubāba should perhaps not be counted among them. Although his cognates were 'Abd Shamsī, it is very likely that his links with them—and especially with the Banī al-Ḥakam—were established through a neutral or even an anti-Umayyad line. One bit of evidence that hints at the validity of this claim is the marriage of Umm Ya'qūb bt. Ismā'il to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, whose half brother was an 'Alid and whose grandfather is known to have been politically neutral. In other words, Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh's marriage to Umm Abin probably carried more weight with the 'Alid-leaning 'Uthmānids (see next chapter), through Ramlā, than with the pro-Umayyad 'Abd Shamsī. Umm Ya'qūb was also married into a line of Ṭalḥids that boasted a disproportionate number of Ṭalḥid contacts.

<sup>520</sup> IH, 135-40; BL, 4: 253ff.; 555: 195ff.; NQ, 281, first states that he was the son of Umm Abin and then that he was the full brother of Umm Ishāq. The latter's mother was Umm Hurayth Jarbā' of the Tayyī'. It is reported that Mu'āwiya had asked Ishāq for his sister's hand in marriage for his son Yazīd. The failure of this proposal due to some misunderstandings later led to Yazīd's hostility towards Ishāq (see below). See also IS, 3: 214ff.

<sup>521</sup> See al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 331; IK, 78f.; IS, 3: 214ff.; al-Baladhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 3: 509f.; either Ishāq or Aslam b. Zur'a was given the post with Sa'id b. 'Uthmān. Sakḥāwī, *Taḥfā*, 1: 292-3.

<sup>522</sup> Ibn Makūllā, *al-Ismā'il*, 1: 113; IS, 3: 164.

<sup>523</sup> Sakḥāwī, *Taḥfā*, 2: 236; *Tahdīb al-tahdīb*, 10: 315.

<sup>524</sup> Sakḥāwī, *Taḥfā*, 2: 236; Sam'ānī, 4: 70ff.

<sup>525</sup> *Tahdīb al-tahdīb*, 4: 354, 10: 182; IH, 135-40; *Liṣān al-mizān*, 7: 391.

<sup>527</sup> IH, 135-40, BL, 5: 198f.; NQ, 281, al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 331; IK, 78f.; IS, 3: 214ff.

know by name two of his wives, Ja'da bt. al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī and Umm al-Hilāl bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rābi' a b. al-Mughīra. The former had three sons by him. As we know nothing about them, all we can say is that this marriage into the tribal nobility of Iraq is a testament to his high rank in that region. The latter bore him one son, whose impress on history has also been lost.<sup>528</sup> We do not know anything more about Ya'qūb's descendants, except that his great grandson, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf was appointed over the *shurta* of Kūfa by 'Isā b. Mūsā.<sup>529</sup>

Generally speaking, in this line again we witness the old pattern of early Umayyad links and favors, the general disappearance of the line after the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, and a brief reappearance during the early 'Abbāsīd period. The geographical locations of this family were generally Iraq and Medina,<sup>530</sup> with the exceptional appointment of one member of the family in Khurāsān.

### III.ii.6. Miscellaneous

Ṭalḥa had children by two concubines, one unnamed and the other a captive from the Banū Taghlib. The former gave birth to two daughters, al-Ṣa'ba and Maryam. The first was married either to al-Mughīra b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar or to Tammām b. al-Mughīra b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān al-Taymī. Either way, this marriage reinforced the cognate bonds of their cousins through Ṭalḥa's wife, Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā'. After her first marriage, al-Ṣa'ba wed 'Anbasa b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās. This Umayyad connection was perhaps a significant reinforcement for her Ṭalḥid siblings.<sup>531</sup>

The sources report with some hesitation that Maryam bt. Ṭalḥa was also married to 'Anbasa b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās. They add with more certainty that her husband was 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr al-Taymī. Thus, like her full sister, she had strengthened an old cognate bond that had currency among the Umayyads. Maryam gave birth to a son named Ṣāliḥ. In all their marriages, both these daughters directly or indirectly cemented the marriage contacts of their siblings and cousins with the Umayyads.

Ṭalḥa's other concubine, the captive from the Banū Taghlib, also gave birth to a son called Ṣāliḥ. It is said that he left behind no progeny.

Finally, Ṭalḥa was also married to Umm al-Hārith bt. Qasāma b. Ḥanzala b. Wahb b. Qays of the Tayyī'. I have not been able to gather much information on her family, except that she was the aunt of Zaynab bt. Ḥanzala b. Qasāma, a wife of Usāma b. Zayd b. Hāritha. When the latter divorced her, she became the adopted daughter of the Prophet.<sup>532</sup> Umm Ishāq was the only child of Ṭalḥa and Umm al-Hārith. It is reported that Mu'āwiya had asked her brother Ishāq her hand in marriage for his son Yazīd. Ishāq, who was in the good books of the Umayyads, happily accepted the proposal. In the meantime, 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa arrived in Syria and contracted his sister's marriage to

<sup>528</sup> IS, 5: 165.

<sup>529</sup> IH, 135-40; BL, 555: 198f.; NQ, 287; IK, 78f.

<sup>530</sup> The movement into Iraq seems to have occurred already in the Umayyad period. Thereafter a good number of the descendants resettled in the Hijāz, only to return again to Iraq at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period.

<sup>531</sup> BL, 5: 195ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 66; IS, 3: 214ff.; IK, 78f.; IS, 3: 214ff., identifies the Taghlibi captive as al-Far'a bt. 'Alī.

<sup>532</sup> *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 5: 466; *al-Isāba*, 8: 156.



Yazīd, while, back in Medina, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī had been able to convince Ishāq to marry his sister off to him. Hence Umm Ishāq was married off to two men concurrently. When news of this reached Mu'āwīya, he dissolved Yazīd's marriage. The latter held a grudge against Ishāq and, when the Syrian army arrived in Medina, his house was demolished by Muslim b. 'Uqba at the caliph's orders.<sup>533</sup>

Umm Ishāq had five children by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.<sup>534</sup> After al-Ḥasan, she married his brother, al-Ḥusayn, and gave birth to Fātima.<sup>535</sup> She subsequently married 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr. It is also said that before him she was married to Tammām b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Similarly, her daughter Fātima's marriages reinforced what are by now the all too familiar structure of Ṭalhid networks: she first married al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī and then 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān—both links reinforced 'Alid ties.<sup>536</sup>

Either the various husbands of Ṭalhid women from this last section and/or some closely related member of their family have already appeared in this chapter as a cognate link of the Ṭalhids.

### III.iii. Concluding Remarks

The family history of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh resembles more that of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf than that of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās. Like the former, Ṭalḥa had established Makhzūmī, Hāshimī, and Umayyad links through his marriage to Ḥanna bt. Jaḥsh. From her generation, a good number of the members of her family were early converts to Islam; Ḥanna was also the sister of a wife of the Prophet and her brother was married to a daughter of Abū Sufyān. In other words, Ṭalḥa had formed early relationships with both the religious elite and the Meccan aristocracy. In this marriage and in his Taymī-Ḥadramī lineage may be found directly or indirectly the roots of all his later links and the foundations for the socio-political history of his descendants.

The complex internal networks of his various marriages and those of his descendants that have been explored in this chapter guaranteed certain branches of this family enviable and self-renewing socio-political success. In addition, his lineage and first marriage more directly opened up several opportunities to him: the Umayyad contact probably facilitated marriage into the Murra; the Ḥadramī kinship may have led to the marriage into the Tamīm; the Taymī and Umayyad relationships together are perhaps responsible for his marriage into a certain line of the family of Abū Bakr; and the obvious 'Abd Shamsī connection through the family of Shayba b. 'Abd Shams was already implied in the alliance of Ḥanna's family with Harb b. Umayya—an alliance that was duplicated by Ṭalḥa's cognates. After him, in the early Umayyad period, his descendants generally perpetuated the socio-political commitments of their cognates.

In four very important ways, Ṭalḥa's descendants differed from those of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. First, their cognate relationships with families of the conquered societies seem to have been minimal. This is especially surprising in view of the fact that a vast amount of Ṭalḥa's fortune and support was based in Iraq.

<sup>533</sup> NQ, 281.

<sup>534</sup> IH, 38–9.

<sup>535</sup> IH, 41–2.

<sup>536</sup> NQ, 59–62; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, 7: 182ff.; BL, 2: 403–4; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 442.; Sakḥāwī, *Tuhfa*, 2: 396.

Second, although in some quarters the families of Sa'd and 'Abd al-Rahmān had either directly or (more often) indirectly established amicable relations with the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids, overall their kinship links with them were very limited. This is not the case with the family of Ṭalḥa, for the majority of their direct and indirect relationships had some 'Alid or 'Abbāsī stamp.<sup>537</sup> Third, although the families of Sa'd and 'Abd al-Rahmān were internally linked, they did not match the close internal networking of the family of Ṭalḥa that cut across cognate lines. This is not to say that Ṭalḥa's family was more endogamous than Sa'd's or 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf's. On the contrary, in patrilineal terms, it was perhaps less endogamous. But it was horizontally more expansive. In other words, where it was somewhat neglectful of patrilineal ties, it was doubly mindful of the potential of cognate links. Finally, as mentioned in the course of the chapter, the family of Ṭalḥa seems to have contributed more members to our count of the descendants of the elite who left the Hijāz in the Umayyad period than the other two families in question. In sum, it would be reasonable to say that this family was distinguished from the other two in that it preserved a generally closed network of cognate links that took into its fold the 'Alids and some 'Abbāsids and made a few early excursions into Iraq.

However, we must concede that the study of Ṭalḥa's family also contributes to the evidence supporting one major pattern so far noted as regards the other elite families: with minor exceptions, the proofs for which are generally equivocal, this family also established early links with the Umayyads and generally stayed put in the Hijāz. After the time of 'Abd al-Malik—or perhaps in the middle of his reign—the knot with the Umayyads was unraveled in most cases and the descendants of those who had ventured north returned to the Hijāz. The post-'Abd al-Malik Ṭalhid descendants then either fell back upon their 'Alid and some 'Abbāsī cognate links or established such kinship relations for the first time. At the beginning of the 'Abbāsī period, they remerged briefly as prominent participants on the political scene. Then they disappeared again.

<sup>537</sup> The 'Abbāsī contacts in question often point in the direction of a pro-'Alid tendency.

## CHAPTER IV

## The Descendants of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

## IV.1. Introduction

Our sources report on the authority of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān that it was during a trade mission to Syria when, having dozed, he heard a voice call out that Ḥmad had announced himself in Mecca. Thereupon, he turned back on his heels, arrived in the city before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arqam, and immediately accepted the truth of his claims. In this way 'Uthmān became the fourth person to convert to the new religion.<sup>538</sup>

As an early convert, 'Uthmān participated in both the Abyssinian migrations and performed the *hijra* with his wife Ruqayya,<sup>539</sup> a daughter of the Prophet. When she bore him a son named 'Abdallāh, 'Uthmān traded in his well-known *jāhiliyya kunya* of Abū 'Amr for Abū 'Abdallāh.<sup>540</sup> After Ruqayya's death at the time of Badr, he married Umm Kulthūm, another daughter of the Prophet, thus furthering his bonds with the core of the religious elite.<sup>541</sup>

Although he is not known to have been a fierce warrior like 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb nor to have had the diplomatic acumen of Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān was nevertheless a great asset to Muhammad's mission. For one, he was a leading figure of the powerful clan of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams and so one of the first instruments of the penetration of Muhammad's message into this rival group. Then, 'Uthmān was also one of the wealthiest Meccans of his time so that where he failed in his courage and diplomacy, he made up amply with the financial support he extended to the Muslim community.<sup>542</sup> His service to the Prophet as one of the few *kuttāb* at his disposal was also deeply appreciated by the former. For these reasons, he rose quickly in the ranks of the Prophet's Companions. He was a member of the *Shūrā* 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had designated to choose the third caliph and became the political head of the Muslim community in 23 AH.

His religious and political rank and his vast wealth were matched by his impeccable lineage. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams was born to Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabi'a b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams.<sup>543</sup> Hence it appears that he traced his maternal and paternal genealogical roots firmly to the tightly knit enclave of 'Abd

Shamsīs, who have traditionally been described as the great challengers of the clan of Ḥāshim. Given this, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's early and sudden conversion to Islam and his unshakeable devotion to its cause have remained something of a mystery.<sup>544</sup> An explanation may be offered by way of a summary analysis of the nature of 'Uthmān's policy of political appointments and its relation to his genealogy. It is a well known *topos* of the sources that the reign of 'Uthmān was divided into six good and six bad years of government. In his early years, 'Uthmān generally retained the provincial appointees of 'Umar.<sup>545</sup> The charges of nepotism for this period are also generally minimal. The immediate new appointees, many of whom acquired their posts before the end of 'Uthmān's sixth year, were his relatives. And with the exception of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, they claimed their rights on the basis of their direct matrilineal kinships to 'Uthmān (the patrilineal links, which also existed, were some degrees removed): His governor of Kūfa, al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayy, was his uterine brother; 'Abdallāh b. 'Amīr b. Kurayz,<sup>546</sup> his governor of Baṣra and Khurāsān, was his maternal first cousin; his maternal aunt, Arnab bt. Kurayz, bore a son by 'Amīr b. al-Ḥaḍramī. This man, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amīr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, may have been the governor of Baṣra when 'Uthmān was killed.<sup>547</sup> In addition, the caliph's governor of Egypt, 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī al-Sarh, was his milk brother.<sup>548</sup> All this points to the far-reaching significance of 'Uthmān's cognate connections.

That these links were already at play at the time of the birth of the new religion becomes apparent if we shift our attention two generations before 'Uthmān's: his maternal grandmother, al-Baydā bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim, was the paternal aunt of the Prophet. Umayma bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, a sister of al-Baydā, was the mother of Ḥabība bt. Jaḥsh, a wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and another sister of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, a wife of the Prophet. A sister of Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, Ḥamna, was very likely Ṭāla b. 'Ubaydallāh's first wife. Further, a sister of al-Baydā, Arwā bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was a cognate relative of Ṭāla b. 'Ubaydallāh. Finally, Ṭāla b. 'Ubaydallāh was also the maternal kinsman of Arnab bt. Kurayz, whom we mentioned above. These details suggest an underlying current of cognate links that generally ran through the daughters of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and gathered together with the Prophet the men who became the grand religious elite of the early Islamic period. As 'Uthmān was one such individual tied by these cognate links to Ṭāla, 'Abd al-Rahmān, and others, his early conversion

<sup>538</sup> See 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, *EI2*.

<sup>539</sup> He retained Khālīd b. al-'Āṣ b. Ḥishām b. al-Mughīthra al-Makhzūmī in Mecca; 'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī in al-Baḥrayn; Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān in Syria; 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ in Egypt; Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī in Baṣra; Ya'la b. Munayya remained in the Yemen region. See al-Dhahabī, *Tajrid asma' al-sahāba*, 151; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhira*, 1: 77; al-'Umari, *al-Wilāya 'alā l-buldān*, 1: 169; 'Alī, *al-Tanzīm al-ijtimā'iyya wa-l-iqtisādīyya fī al-baṣra*, 141.

<sup>540</sup> *IS*, 5: 7; Ibn Makūla, *al-Ikmāl*, 7: 167; Ibn 'Asākir, 29: 250, 253; 'Abdallāh b. 'Amīr is said to have had many wells and cultivated lands in the Hijāz (see, e.g. Bakrī, *Mu'jam 'Nakhla*, 'Na'mān'; Ibn Hawqal, *Sūrat*, 28; Ishāqī, *Bilād*, 20ff).

<sup>541</sup> Sam'ānī, 5: 61; Ibn 'Asākir, 3: 123; 29: 245; *IS*, 7: 56; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār*, 283.

<sup>542</sup> He had already been appointed over some regions of the Sa'īd Miṣr by 'Umar and was so retained for some time by 'Uthmān. See Amḥazdī, *Tahqīq mawāqif al-sahāba fī al-ṣīma*, 418; *Siyar*, 1: 33; al-Kindī, *Wulāt miṣr*, 33; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ miṣr wa-akhbārūhā*, 173; al-'Umari, *al-Wilāya 'alā l-buldān*, 1: 178.

<sup>538</sup> See 'Uthmān b. 'Affān (G. Levi Della Vida [R.G. Khoury], *EI2*, *IS*, 3: 54).

<sup>539</sup> *BL*, 1: 401; *NQ*, 24f.

<sup>540</sup> *BL*, 4: 451.

<sup>541</sup> His maternal sister Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba was married to Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the adopted son of the Prophet, and then to various other members of the Muslim religious elite, including 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām. See *BL*, 1: 471. Umm Kulthūm and her children by 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf are also discussed in detail above.

<sup>542</sup> *BL*, 1: 366-8. During military expeditions, 'Uthmān was sometimes left behind by the Prophet as the vicegerent of Madina. See *IS*, 3: 55, *BL*, 1: 340.

<sup>543</sup> Sam'ānī, 5: 61; *IS*, 3: 53; 5: 229, 239; 8: 45.



makes as much or as little sense as theirs. Through the daughters of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, this body of elite obviously had pre-Islamic kinship links with the Prophet and thus with one another.<sup>549</sup>

#### IV.ii. The Children of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

By the end of this chapter, the reader will note for the 'Uthmānids two major exceptions to the historical patterns noted so far. First, no 'Uthmānid line was born to an unidentified woman; and second, a number of 'Uthmānids remained attached to the Umayyads (with a very heavy preference for the Marwānids) for the entirety of their reign. I have no explanation for the first observation. The second had two results: these 'Uthmānids secured those posts from the Umayyads that were never accessible to any member of the elite studied above; and these same 'Uthmānids became socially and politically obsolete for the early 'Abbāsids.

Beyond this, many of the earlier patterns recur. For example, of his many marriages (some of which were contracted into the Hijāzī religious elite families), only the later ones into the Meccan old aristocracy and the tribal elite (i.e. not the earlier ones into the religious elite) produced descendants to leave a lasting impress on Islamic history. Descendants from these marriages generally remained within the social and political orbits of their Meccan kinsfolk and were close to the dynasts. The pull of their southern cognates on these 'Uthmānids seems to have been minimal and they remained concentrated in the Hijāz far longer than the descendants of other Companions studied in this book.

Yet a break from the tribal and the Meccan old elite is apparent in the lines of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān. In the generation of his children, one line cultivated close ties with the Zubayrids and Ṭalhids and, two generations later, their descendants reappear in the 'Abbāsīd rosters as judges. Another line had strengthened ties with a revolutionary wing of the 'Alids, with the result that they became targets of 'Abbāsīd repression. But these two cases do not fit the general patterns of 'Uthmānid behavior. Throughout the Umayyad period, this family remained largely attached to the Umayyads and benefited from its dual agnate and cognate dynastic lineage. As might be expected, this earlier prosperity did not last into the 'Abbāsīd period.

Turning to his descendants, the sources report that 'Uthmān fathered nine or ten sons;

<sup>549</sup> For a visual summary of the details above, see Appendix: The Daughters of Ḥāshim. The consequences of the possibility that the information presented above was a later genealogical invention are intriguing. For one, forgery would suggest a move towards assigning Ḥāshimī lineage to the highest-ranking members of the elite. Being a Qurāshī seems not to have sufficed, but why these Companions, recognized already for their unmatched elite status, had to be taken into the Ḥāshimī fold is unclear. (On the incomparable place of Ḥāshimites in the social hierarchy from the earliest Islamic period, see Madelung, 'Hāshimīyāt'.) Then, as far as the principles of genealogical realignments are concerned, it is noteworthy that matrilineal (as opposed to the expected patrilineal) grafting played a central role for these most important cases. This, in turn, would imply one or all of three things: (1) there was little room to manipulate patrilineal descent (it had been codified); (2) matrilineal descent could yield noble status; and (3) a more skeptical approach should be adopted regarding information about women in genealogical sources. But all this is conditional upon the truth-value of the information above and there seems to be no obvious reason to assign falsity to it. I discussed some of these points in the Introduction.

he also had twelve daughters.<sup>550</sup> The number of his sons may indeed have been nine, for the only source to mention his son al-Mughīra also claims that the latter was born to Asmā' bt. Abī Jahl b. Hishām.<sup>551</sup> Asmā' was also the mother of Fāṭima bt. al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams b. al-Mughīra, whose father was among the *ashraf* of the Quraysh and the paternal cousin of Abū Jahl. This Fāṭima was also married to 'Uthmān and had several children by him.<sup>552</sup> One is therefore faced with three possibilities: (1) 'Uthmān was married both to Asmā' and her daughter Fāṭima and had children by both. The marriage with Asmā' was very likely contracted after 11 AH, when al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams fell at Yamāma.<sup>553</sup> Whether 'Uthmān married the mother or the daughter first cannot be determined nor can it be resolved whether he was married to both at the same time. (2) 'Uthmān had contracted an earlier marriage with Asmā' and divorced her after having a son by her. This son very likely died at a young age as neither the names of his descendants nor reports about him have survived in the sources.<sup>554</sup> Asmā' then married al-Walīd and bore him Fāṭima and 'Uthmān later married this Fāṭima and had several children by her. (3) The unique report is false. All three interpretations are possible, except that the first ought to be ruled out on the basis of Qur'ān IV, 23. For the possibility of a simultaneous marriage to a mother and her daughter and of a marriage to the latter, if she grew up in her foster father's care, is not licit according to the verses cited above.<sup>555</sup> The second explanation would work fairly well, as it fits with the traditional account of the social conditions in Mecca at the time of Abū Ṭālib's death. For it is at this time that the Banū Makhzūm led the boycott against the Prophet that resulted in the dissolution of several marriages between the Muḥammadian camp, on the one hand, and the camp of the Meccan old guard, on the other. The relationship with the latter was resumed generally after the Conquest of Mecca, when al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams, among others, converted. This scenario also implies that Fāṭima was not in 'Uthmān's care and was therefore legal for him as a spouse, according to some interpretations of the Law.<sup>556</sup> Given that the report is unique and that the name of al-Mughīra b. 'Uthmān has disappeared from the sources, the third possibility is just as likely.<sup>557</sup>

<sup>550</sup> Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 140–1 (nine); al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 194 (ten). I was able to count up to ten sons and twelve daughters. A summary account of his wives and children, along with variants, is found at Ibn Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 535ff.; Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, 3: 444ff.

<sup>551</sup> BL, 4: 600–3. See Madelung, *Succession*, 363.

<sup>552</sup> IS, 5: 151; 5: 172; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 5: 90. No source mentions that al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams divorced Asmā'.

<sup>553</sup> *Uṣd al-ghāba*, 5: 90. Cf. NQ, 330, where he is said to have fallen at al-'Aqrābā'.

<sup>554</sup> See Madelung, *Succession*, 363, n. 38.5

<sup>555</sup> See also Smith, *Kinship*, 195–6; 201.

<sup>556</sup> See Qur'ān, IV, 23. The sources report that, for the majority of scholars, even this condition, i.e. of not being in the custody of the step-father, is not sufficient for allowing the marriage between the latter and his step-daughter. The majority of scholars explain away the condition (of being or not being in the father's custody) as nothing more than a general description of the step-daughter in most cases. In other words, the scholars argue that this is not a real condition and is to be taken instead as a state of the daughter in most cases, not a legally pertinent expective quality. On the other hand, some scholars did maintain that a real condition has been posited in the Scripture and that a man may marry his step-daughter not in his custody. See, e.g. Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, 7: 473; Ibn Hazm, *al-Muḥallā*, 9: 527, 529; al-Tūsī, *al-Khilāf*, 4: 304.

<sup>557</sup> NQ, 310–12, where Asmā' is mentioned as a wife of al-Walīd, also fails to suggest any marriage to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

Whatever the correct account may be, it seems very likely that the marriage to Fāṭima was a further effort on 'Uthmān's part to perpetuate his links with the Makhzūm. The extent of the continuity of her contacts with the last group is indicated in her later marriage to a Makhzūm notable, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabi' a. b. al-Mughīra, a leader of the Ḥarra revolt with strong Anṣārī connections.<sup>558</sup> Thus, to be precise, though 'Uthmān certainly could not think so far ahead in the future, this was a link for his descendants with a new kind of Makhzūm, one that was beginning to assert itself, along with the Anṣār, as the new Hijāzī provincial elite.<sup>559</sup>

The second interpretation also fits well with the circumstances of 'Uthmān's marriage to the Prophet's daughter Ruqayya. The latter had earlier been the wife of 'Uṭba b. Abī Lahab, who divorced her at the time of the revelation of '*tabbat yadū abi lahab*'. Thereafter, as the loyalties were reshuffled, 'Uthmān married her and had 'Abdallāh al-Akbar by her.<sup>560</sup> After her death at the time of Badr, he married the Prophet's daughter Umm Kulthūm. Like her sister, she was earlier married to a son of Abū Lahab and was divorced by him presumably due to his father's pressure. She did not have any children by either of her husbands.<sup>561</sup> 'Uthmān also had one son named 'Abd al-Malik by Umm al-Banīn b. 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn.<sup>562</sup> He passed away at a young age and left no progeny. Other than the fact that 'Uyayna was a powerful chief of the Fazāra, the significance of this marriage remains unclear.<sup>563</sup> Barring the last marriage, all the ones mentioned so far reinforced Ḥāshimī and Makhzūmī links. Most, if not all, of these marriages were contracted before the Prophet's death and probably in the following order: Asmā', Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima. The order implies early contact with the Makhzūm, a period of respite and then a return to the Meccan old aristocracy towards the end of the Prophet's life. After the latter's death, 'Uthmān did not court any Ḥāshimī women.

With the exception of the line through Fāṭima al-Makhzūmiyya, none of the children from the aforementioned marriages left any mark on Islamic history; nor did any of them beget children to survive after them. However, 'Uthmān did leave a long line of

<sup>558</sup> IS, 5: 172: 'Abd al-Rahmān was also married to two women of the Anṣār.

<sup>559</sup> By the middle of 'Abd al-Malik's reign, such Makhzūm-Anṣār connections had resulted in the establishment of a new local hegemony in the Hijaz, one that came to replace the descendants of the early Islamic religious elite in provincial micromanagement. See the chapter on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf; IS, 5: 172f.

<sup>560</sup> BL, 1: 401; NQ, 24f. 'Abdallāh, who is reported to have died in 4 AH at the age of 6, is also said to have been the son of Fakhita bt. Ghazwān b. Jabir b. Nuṣayb of the Qays b. 'Aylān. This Fakhita, the sister of 'Uṭba b. Ghazwān, the conqueror and governor of Baṣra for 'Umar, is also generally mentioned as the mother of 'Abdallāh al-Asghar (see al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdādī*, 1: 166; 'Uṭba b. Ghazwān' (C.E. Bosworth), *ELI*). The lines of both passed away. As with 'Abdallāh al-Akbar, the sources report that 'Abdallāh al-Asghar's mother was Ruqayya. So there is an obvious confusion in the sources over this matter. See IH, 14-6, 82-4; IS, 3: 54; BL, 4: 600-3; NQ, 104; al-Qalqashandī, 140-1; al-Burī, *Jawhara*, 2: 194. Ibn Ḥabīb also claims that 'Abdallāh al-Akbar was married to Umm al-Hakam bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. This must be a mistake. Ibn Ḥabīb also reports that 'Abdallāh al-Asghar was married to Umm al-Qaysim al-Ṣughra bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. At some point, the latter was also married to Yalyā b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ b. Umayya. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 67f.

<sup>561</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 365.

<sup>562</sup> Another son named 'Uṭba is also reported. See Madelung, *Succession*, 369.

<sup>563</sup> 'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn' (M. Lecker), *ELI*, 2: 160; 4: 246.

descendants by his marriages to four women: (1) Fāṭima bt. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmiyya; (2) Ramla bt. Shayba of the 'Abd Shams; (3) Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab al-Azdiyya; and (4) Nā'ila bt. al-Furāṣa al-Kalbiyya. The descendants from these marriages, which have been listed in their likely chronological order, will be studied in the remainder of the chapter.

#### IV.ii.1. The Descendants of Fāṭima bt. al-Walīd

Fāṭima, who has been mentioned above in the context of 'Uthmān's marriage to her mother, had two daughters and two sons by him. She hailed from a Makhzūmī family of the Meccan old guard that was generally loyal to the Umayyads. As has been mentioned in the previous chapters, this family, along with other sectors of the Makhzūm, briefly established kinship and political links with the Zubayrids some time around the counter caliphate of the latter. Thus, Fāṭima's brother 'Umāra and her nephew 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Walīd were both granted official posts by Ibn al-Zubayr in Yemen.<sup>564</sup> Some such slight Zubayrid inclinations are apparent in the lives of a few of Fāṭima's descendants. (After 'Abd al-Malik had reestablished Umayyad supremacy, the Makhzūm (along with the Anṣār) became their new middlemen in the Hijāz.)

In keeping with the patterns of this family to be noted in this chapter, both of Fāṭima's daughters, Umm 'Uthmān and Umm Sa'id, were married off to 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd of the Banū Umayya. The former was married during her father's caliphate.<sup>565</sup> Both daughters bore 'Abdallāh children.

Fāṭima's son al-Walīd,<sup>566</sup> who has a bad reputation in the sources as a drinking companion of al-Walīd b. 'Uṭba, was married to Umm 'Uthmān bt. Marwān b. al-Hakam, the full sister of Marwān's sons 'Abd al-'Azīz and 'Abd al-Rahmān.<sup>567</sup> al-Walīd also married 'Abd al-Malik's full sister Umm 'Amr bt. Marwān, a woman born to 'Ā'isha bt. Mu'āwiya b. al-Mughīra b. Abī al-'Āṣ, i.e. into the clan of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>568</sup> Finally, the sources report that he also married 'Ā'isha bt. al-Zubayr.<sup>569</sup> Thus, one notices again an early link with the Umayyads and a shift, along with the Makhzūm, towards the Zubayrids.

Indeed it is only through a child of 'Ā'isha bt. al-Zubayr that al-Walīd's line survived.<sup>570</sup> A son of theirs named 'Abdallāh, living at the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, used to invoke curses on 'Alī, claiming that the latter was the murderer of both

<sup>564</sup> IS, 3: 54; BL, 4: 600-3; NQ, 104f., 329f.; Ishāqī, *al-Aghānī*, 6: 162-4; NQ, 333ff. That the nephew was appointed as the governor of Yemen is generally attested in the sources. As for the brother's appointment to the same post, there is a unique report in BL, 5: 267.

<sup>565</sup> NQ, 104ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55; IS, 3: 54; BL, 4: 600-3 (here Umm Sa'id is not mentioned among the daughters of Fāṭima).

<sup>566</sup> See IS, 3: 54; IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 612-4; NQ, 104ff.; al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 140-1.

<sup>567</sup> BL, 4: 62.

<sup>568</sup> NQ, 161ff.; Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 20: 42, n. 1 (quoting Ibn Hishām, *Sira*), IS, 5: 36. 'Abd al-Husayn al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 9: 328: Mu'āwiya was a pagan killed by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (or, alternatively, Zayd b. Ḥāritha and 'Ammār b. Yāsir) at the orders of the Prophet. This occurred after he had been given a respite at the intercession of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. His descendants survived only through the line of his daughter 'Ā'isha. See Ibn Abī al-Hadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāgha*, 15: 47.

<sup>569</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55f.

<sup>570</sup> IH, 84-6.



'Uthmān and al-Zubayr.<sup>571</sup> The Zubayrid-'Uthmānid link will also be suggested in the lines of Bukayr b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān below. Like that line, records of the descendants of this line have disappeared from the sources (though some names are of course preserved in transmission chains).<sup>572</sup> But their later descendants reemerged in the early 'Abbāsid period: Abū Marwān Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Khālid b. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walid b. 'Uthmān was an esteemed *ḥadīth* scholar and was appointed *qāḍī* of Mecca for al-Mu'taṣim and al-Wāthiq.<sup>573</sup> And a daughter of 'Uthmān b. al-Zubayr b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walid b. 'Uthmān bore a son named 'Abd al-Jabbār to Sa'id b. Sulaymān b. Nawfal of the Makhrama b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā. This 'Abd al-Jabbār was appointed *qāḍī* and governor of Madīna when al-Ma'mūn was installed in Khurāsān. He died in the days of al-Mu'taṣim.<sup>574</sup> What contribution the Zubayrid contact, if any, made to the fortunes of this line is hard to determine. Nevertheless, the resemblance of this line to that of Bukayr and 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān (to be discussed below), both in terms of kinship and sociopolitical vicissitudes, is worthy of notice.

Most descendants of this line that are mentioned in the sources seem to have remained in the Hijaz well into the first half of the third century.<sup>575</sup> This is in marked contrast to the descendants of other elite studied in this book, a good number of whom left the Hijaz usually to settle in northern centers of power with the success of the 'Abbāsid revolution.

Finally, Faṭīma's son Sa'id, a renowned general,<sup>576</sup> is said to have come before Mu'āwīya to argue for his right to succeed him to the caliphate. Before his appearance at court, Sa'id was settled in Madīna, where the women, children, and slaves (there is no mention of men) manifested their strong support for his bid.<sup>577</sup> When news of Yazīd's appointment as heir apparent reached Sa'id, he argued with the caliph both on the basis of his lineage and his own merit for his superior right to Yazīd's. Mu'āwīya acknowledged his claims<sup>578</sup> and then added that he could use men like Sa'id to set matters in Iraq aright.<sup>579</sup> He thus sent him to Ziyād, who, in turn, directed him towards Khurāsān at Mu'āwīya's instruction as its new governor. Once there, Sa'id launched a campaign against Samarqand and conquered it (though not before losing an eye in one of the battles) in 56 AH.<sup>580</sup> When Sa'id's growing power and success<sup>581</sup> and legitimist claim became a concern for the dynasty, Mu'āwīya removed him from the post in

<sup>571</sup> BL, 612-4.

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<sup>573</sup> IH, 84-6.

<sup>574</sup> NQ, 427-31.

<sup>575</sup> An exception is 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'id b. 'Abdallāh, who was married to Sa'id b. Abī Sufyān b. Harb b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān. The latter was settled in Syria. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 21: 97. Likewise a much later descendant, Sa'id b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. al-Walid b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walid b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was settled in Syria. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 21: 172.

<sup>576</sup> Sam'āni, 2: 218; he led an army to Marw.

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57 AH.<sup>582</sup> He then returned to Madīna<sup>583</sup> with a group of Sogdian slaves and employed them to work on his land.<sup>584</sup> It is either one of these slaves or an entire group that assassinated him.<sup>585</sup>

The sources mention only three children of Sa'id, two born to a daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Harb and one to an unidentified woman.<sup>586</sup> Of the children born to Abū Sufyān's daughter, 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'id married 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān (thus perpetuating her immediate cognate link); we know nothing about her son Muḥammad.<sup>587</sup> Umm Sa'id, Sa'id's daughter by an unnamed woman, may well have been much younger than her siblings, given that her first marriage was contracted with Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. (The latter was a generation younger than 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwīya.) Her second and third marriages with al-'Abbās b. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz respectively are further indications of her age. Thus, it is safe to say that along the course of Umayyad rule Sa'id's line had shifted from the Sufyānid to the Marwānid side (the two choices were not mutually exclusive).

With a few possible exceptions, Faṭīma's children remained close to the Umayyads in kinship (and presumably in loyalty) throughout their reign. The only descendants from this line to reappear in the 'Abbāsid period counted Zubayrids among their cognates. The record of this same line has gaps for the latter half of the Umayyad period. This is all reminiscent of the line of Bukayr b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān that we will study below. What contribution the Makhzūmī lineage made to their attachment to the Zubayrids and what this latter attachment, in turn, determined of their contacts with the 'Abbāsids is unclear. One can speculate that with the Zubayrids they had been absorbed into the machinery of the anti-Umayyad resistance of the Hijāzī élite. This machinery, as suggested above and will be witnessed below in a study of the family of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, was sustained by the centripetal force of the Ḥasanid revolutionary nucleus in the Hijāz.

#### IV.ii.2. The Descendants of Ramla bt. Shayba

Ramla's father Shayba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams was a member of the pre-Islamic

<sup>582</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 21: 223. The governor before Sa'id, 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, was reinstated. Ya'qūbi, *Tārīkh*, 2: 237, reports the previous governor as 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād.

<sup>583</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 21: 223; he returned to Madīna after Mu'āwīya's death.

<sup>584</sup> They are reported to have been working with shovels (*masābiḥ*) and there is mention of an enclosed palm grove or other agricultural land (*ḥā'it*). See BL, 4: 612-4. See also Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 116, where it is mentioned that Sa'id had them working his land.

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<sup>587</sup> NQ, 119-21; IH, 84-6.

<sup>588</sup> IS, 3: 51. On the deaths of three members of the Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams at Badr, see Isḥāqī, *Aghāni*, 4: 34.



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<sup>586</sup> Identified as Ramla at IS, 5: 153. This is a rare instance of an 'Uthmānid taking a daughter of the ruling house to wife. Given that she was of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān's generation (perhaps its younger member), one might guess that the marriage was contracted early — perhaps even during 'Uthmān's caliphate. This, in turn, suggests that 'Uthmān married Faṭīma al-Makhzūmīya fairly early and, interestingly, this is in keeping with 'Uthmān's early Makhzūmī links mentioned at the beginning of the chapter. (This certainly problematizes the suggestion that 'Uthmān married Faṭīma's mother some while before Faṭīma.) Also, it seems that Sa'id's younger brothers generally tended to incline towards the Marwānids, not the Sufyānids, the possible rare exception being 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, who, along with some of his descendants, embraced both groups.

<sup>587</sup> NQ, 119-21; IH, 84-6.

<sup>588</sup> IS, 3: 51. On the deaths of three members of the Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams at Badr, see Isḥāqī, *Aghāni*, 4: 34.



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Meccan aristocracy and died on the side of the pagans on the Day of Badr.<sup>588</sup> Some members of the younger generation of his family had already passed into the ranks of the Islamic elite during the early period of Muhammad's prophetic mission.<sup>589</sup> His family may also be considered a hinge that linked these early religious elite families to the Umayyads.<sup>590</sup>

Ramla had three daughters (and no sons) by 'Uthmān; all of them married into the clan of 'Abd Shams. Umm Abān bt. 'Uthmān, who was married to the caliph Marwān b. al-Hakam, bore the latter six sons and one daughter.<sup>591</sup> Of the male progeny, those who left records in the sources were all residents of early Islamic Syria (conceived as a conglomeration of several districts). Two, perhaps three, of them had official posts from 'Abd al-Malik: 'Ubaydallāh b. Marwān was entrusted by him with raiding the crown lands on the Byzantine frontier.<sup>592</sup> He was also 'Abd al-Malik's governor in Balqā', a district between Syria and Wādī al-Qurā'.<sup>593</sup> 'Uthmān b. Marwān was very likely the governor of Urdunn for 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>594</sup> These siblings of 'Abd al-Malik were thus fully absorbed into the Umayyad dynastic circles.

Umm 'Amr bt. 'Uthmān married Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās, a figure who has already appeared with 'Uthmānid connections several times in the course of this study. She bore him Dāwūd, Sulaymān, 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiya, and Āmina.<sup>595</sup> Their daughter was married to Khālid b. Yazid al-Sufyānī, who divorced her, it is said, due to her bad temperament.<sup>596</sup> Not much more is known about these children, other than that 'Uthmān b. Sa'id's descendants had made Kūfa their home.<sup>597</sup>

Finally, 'Āsiha bt. 'Uthmān was married to al-Hārith b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Ās and had 'Uthmān and Abī Bakr by him.<sup>598</sup> The latter was married to Ramla bt. Marwān b. al-Hakam (who was mentioned above).<sup>599</sup> As several of al-Hārith b. al-Hakam's descendants fared well during the Umayyad period, it is reasonable to say that this link perpetuated the existing close relations between the dynasts and this line.<sup>600</sup>

A brief period of inclination towards the enemies of the Umayyads may be deduced

<sup>588</sup> See the chapter on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf. Ramla herself may have been among the early women converts who left their homeland and religion and embraced Muhammad's message. If past patterns are any indication, this suggests that she was one of 'Uthmān's early wives. On the hint that she was indeed among such converts, see IS, 8: 239, where it states that she converted and paid homage to the Prophet (this seems to be an independent act). Ibn Hibbān, *Tahqīq*, 3: 131, where it mentions that she was a Companion (this and the fact that she was Shayba's daughter suggest that she was of the Prophet's generation and was thus probably married early to 'Uthmān); and BL, 4: 601, where it states that she was among the *muhājirāt*. All this suggests that she was an older woman, who left her family, arrived in Medina, and converted. It was probably upon arrival in Medina that she married 'Uthmān. Or she was already married to 'Uthmān, converted early and performed the *hijra* with him. Both scenarios suggest an early marriage.

<sup>589</sup> See the chapter on 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.

<sup>590</sup> BL, 4: 600-3, 826 (only three of her sons are mentioned here); NQ, 104ff., 160ff.; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Muhabbab*, 55; IS, 5: 36 (mentions seven children).

<sup>591</sup> See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 38: 115.

<sup>592</sup> The sources mention an Abū 'Uthmān b. Marwān in this post, but none of 'Abd al-Malik's governors of the region was so named. See Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 67: 77.

<sup>593</sup> III, 80-2 (mentions only four children); BL, 4: 600-3; NQ, 104ff., 130-32; Ibn Hibbān, *al-Muhabbab*, 55; IS, 5: 30.

<sup>594</sup> IK, 46.

<sup>595</sup> III, 108-111.

<sup>596</sup> See IS, 8: 475 and al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh*, 256, 274, 282, for some details on the fortunes of their descendants.

<sup>597</sup> BL, 4: 365-7.

<sup>598</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 10: 123.

via a stretched interpretation of 'Ā'isha bnt. 'Uthmān's protection of 'Alī b. al-Husayn during Muslim b. 'Uqba's campaign in the Hijaz. As 'Alī is generally recognized as a quietist and as Muslim had strict instructions from Yazid not to harm him, this episode is little proof of a shift in her loyalties. Again, perhaps a changed attitude can be detected in her marriage to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr after al-Hārith's death. She had a son named Bakr by him, though he has left no useful record in the sources. The marriage was short, as the two had only this one son (if the report can be trusted) and 'Abdallāh divorced her soon thereafter.<sup>601</sup> Given these details, it is reasonable to say that the line of 'Ā'isha bt. 'Uthmān also remained pro-Umayyad for most, if not all, of its history.

The details of the lives of the descendants of Ramla bt. Shayba lead one to the fair guess that the line was strongly pro-Umayyad and that it remained within the circles of the 'Abd Shams throughout the Umayyad period.

### IV.ii.3. The Descendants of Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab

Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab b. 'Amr b. Hūmama b. al-Hārith b. Rifā'a b. Sa'd b. Tha'laba b. Lu'ayy b. 'Amir b. Ghanam b. Duḥmān b. Munhib b. Daws, a woman of the southern Azd, had four sons and one daughter by 'Uthmān. Of all his descendants, this line enjoyed the greatest success and longevity.<sup>602</sup> Umm 'Amr's grandfather 'Amr was a celebrated leader of the Azd and used to reside as judge over their disputes.<sup>603</sup> Her father, a confederate (*halif*) of the Banū Umayya, converted to Islam at the head of seventy-five men in the presence of the Prophet.<sup>604</sup> He had also settled in Medina for some time before he left for Syria, presumably during the period of the conquests there.<sup>605</sup> He fell at the Battle of Yarmūk between 13 and 16 AH.<sup>606</sup> Umm 'Amr's brothers Jundab and Junaydib died at Siffin, fighting on Mu'āwiya's side.<sup>607</sup> Although little more can be said about them, it is clear that at least for two generations this family was closely tied to the Umayyads.

Given 'Uthmān's strong connections with the Makhzūm and the 'Abd Shams, it is not surprising that the only daughter from this marriage, Maryam, was married successively to Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Umayya,<sup>608</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām al-

<sup>601</sup> BL, 4: 321-323, 4: 600-3, 4.2: 399.

<sup>602</sup> Umm 'Amr was left in the custody of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb by her father with a request to find a suitable match for her. The account of the circumstances of her marriage, where 'Uthmān also intimates that he is old and wishes a son, is found in al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 1: 153-4. See also Ibn 'Asākir, 46: 295.

<sup>603</sup> al-Iṣbahānī, 1: 615.

<sup>604</sup> al-Iṣbahānī, 3: 424.

<sup>605</sup> al-Iṣbahānī, 1: 614.

<sup>606</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, 11: 303; 11: 316-7, Jundab b. 'Amr may have fallen at al-Ajnādāyn (Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 11: 313).

<sup>607</sup> al-Iṣbahānī, 1: 629.

<sup>608</sup> This is very likely Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās, i.e. the grandson. See below.

<sup>609</sup> After 'Umar's death, 'Uthmān had proposed to his daughter Fātima. But her brother argued for the prior rights of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to whom she was then married. This Fātima's mother, Umm Hakim bt. al-Hārith b. Hishām, was a sister of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith. Thus, here again we have an instance of 'Uthmān's effort to reestablish ties with the Makhzūm, particularly the family of Abū Jahl. See Madelung, *Succession*, 367, and the sources mentioned there.

<sup>610</sup> There is some dispute regarding the accuracy of the information presented. For example, NQ, 111-14, does not mention Sa'id b. al-'Ās as her husband. Ibn Hibbān, *al-Muhabbab*, 55, also neglects to mention him and adds that her marriage to 'Abd al-Malik is denied by the *qawm* of 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd al-Umayy. They claim that 'Abd Malik married Umm 'Uthmān bt. 'Uthmān, who was

Makhzūmī, a nephew of Abū Jahl;<sup>609</sup> and 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>610</sup> These three marriages reflect generally the personal and political lives of her siblings and their descendants.

Four of her brothers and their many descendants have been mentioned in the sources. Of these, her brothers 'Umar and 'Amr are often confused with each other.<sup>611</sup> 'Umar was a Madanī notable and died around 80 AH. He was the oldest son of 'Uthmān to have left descendants.<sup>612</sup>

His daughter Umm Ayyūb was married to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān and bore him al-Hakam b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>613</sup> But the relationship of this group with the dynasty is somewhat complex so that this marriage is not necessarily a good and full measure of the nature of its contacts. For example, Zayd b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān's marriage to the famous Sukayna bt. al-Husayn in itself suggests an inclination towards the 'Alids, but the details of the events that subsequently transpired may indicate loyalty to the Umayyads.<sup>614</sup> The marriage was very likely contracted during the reign of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. In keeping with what appears to be a general policy of reconciliation with the Hijāzī elite, Sulaymān had earlier sent a failed proposal to Sukayna. Thus, when he heard about Zayd's marriage, he ordered the latter to divorce her. He complied.<sup>615</sup> Zayd's children are a testament to this line's commitment to the Umayyad

born to Fātima bt. al-Walid. Before Umm 'Amr, 'Uthmān was married to a sister of 'Abdallāh b. Khālid, but she died without bearing him any children. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid was also the husband of Umm 'Uthmān. Ibn Habbāb also mentions 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Harith as 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām. See also BL, 4: 600–3; NQ, 111–14. If Maryam was indeed married to the nephew of Abū Jahl, this further corroborates our earlier observation that 'Uthmān made a concerted effort to mend bonds with this group after the Conquest (see, for example, the account of his marriage to Asmā' bt. Abī Jahl and to her daughter Fātima above).

<sup>609</sup> *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 7: 423, explicitly mentions the confusion of the sources. Several other details, including the reports that one or the other was married to Ramla bt. Mu'āwiya, are also to be found dispersed in the literature. See, for example, al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 3: 304–5. There is no less confusion about his son 'Abdallāh, who is also mentioned as 'Abd al-Rahmān. He was a Madanī and died in 96 AH during the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 907–8.

<sup>610</sup> IH, 83f; BL, 4: 600–3; NQ, 104ff; al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāya*, 140–1; IS, 3: 54; BL, 4: 600–3; that he was the oldest to have left descendants is said of 'Amr. The same is mentioned at NQ, 104ff; al-Burrī, *Jawhara*, 2: 194.

<sup>611</sup> See IH, 84–6, which states that al-Hakam died a young man and then suggests that this claim of the genealogists is not sound, given that verses in praise of him have survived and that such verses are only recited for an 'āqil and bāligh and one from whom a reward is expected. BL, 4: 473, gives the name as Umm Ayyūb bt. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān.

<sup>612</sup> NQ, 59–62; given as Zayd b. 'Amr.

<sup>613</sup> Cf. 'Sukayna bt. al-Husayn' (A. Arazī), *EJ2*, BL, 4: 600–3. But NQ, 119–21, also claims that Sukayna inherited from Zayd upon his death. It is unclear why Sukayna would have rejected the Umayyad caliph for Zayd (other than that it had to do with some personal preferences) and why Sulaymān would have opposed this marriage (other than as a matter of pride). Earlier, 'Abd al-Malik had opposed Sukayna's marriage to al-Aqbagh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān. This occurred very likely in the second half of his reign. If the person in question is in fact Zayd b. 'Amr, then the marriage is a little easier to explain, given 'Amr's rather ambiguous relationship with the Umayyad dynasts and his possible connections with the Zubayrids: it is reported, for example, that 'Uthmān had written his testament in favor of al-Zubayr until the time that 'Amr should reach maturity (see NQ, 104ff; Madlung, *Succession*, 88). Sukayna was herself married to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and later to a staunch Madinan supporter of his, 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh. On Sukayna, see the previous chapters.

cause. Three of them, 'Uthmān, 'Umar, and Zayd, fell with the Banū Umayya on the Day of Nahr Abī Furfus.<sup>616</sup> Thus, what the short marriage to Sukayna meant is difficult to determine.

Again, two generations later we find a similar ambiguity in 'Ā'isha bt. 'Umar b. 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān's marriage to Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Madanī. The latter's father, called al-Bāhir for his beauty, was a full brother of al-Bāqir and had been appointed over the *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet and 'Alī.<sup>617</sup> This marriage meant inclusion into the powerful and innermost circles of a Husaynid branch. Yet one notices that 'Ā'isha's maternal line did not trace itself into the 'Alid circles (something that would generally be expected for an outsider to marry so high among the Husaynids): her mother descended from 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad.<sup>618</sup> Her husband Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, who was born to a concubine, was also married to a descendant of Abū Bakr al-Siddiq; and she counted the Makhzūm among her cognates. No other marriage of Ishāq is listed in the sources and this indicates that, although he was an 'Alid, he did remain strongly attached to non-'Alid circles. One may safely say that 'Umar and his line drifted between the Meccan old aristocracy and a branch of the Husaynids and remained in the Hijāz,<sup>619</sup> at least until the end of the Umayyad period. However, they did not leave for us enough information to determine their political and social inclination with any measure of certainty.

'Umar's brother 'Amr b. 'Uthmān's political position is also somewhat difficult to gauge. Married to Ramla bt. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, he presumably had good relations with her father for some time during his rule.<sup>620</sup> He was found, for example, in his close company on the way to Pilgrimage. But that there was perhaps some tension in their relationship is indicated by the caliph's comment to him that had the 'Alids killed Mu'āwiya the 'Uthmānids would not have prospered.<sup>621</sup> The comment's aim was to emphasize to 'Amr his real place in the political hierarchy. That their relations might have been strained is also indicated by reports of 'Amr's conversations with Marwān b. al-Hakam, who reminded him that the Umayyads were in power only due to the blood of 'Amr's father and that he should therefore take back what was rightfully his.<sup>622</sup>

However, his latent opposition to Mu'āwiya did not mean that 'Amr was thus automatically accepted with open arms by the Hijāzī religious aristocracy. He was identified

<sup>616</sup> IH, 84–6; NQ, 119–21; Ibn 'Asākir, 9: 310; the battle occurred in 132 AH near Palestine between the contingents of the 'Abbāsī 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī and the Umayyads. Details of the events are discussed at Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, 7: 303ff.

<sup>617</sup> *Rijāl* *ṭūṣī*, 162, 276; al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam rijāl*, 11: 282; NQ, 65–7.

<sup>618</sup> 'al-'Umarī, *al-Majdī*, 143; NQ, 65–7.

<sup>619</sup> Another descendant, 'Abdallāh or 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umar, was a Madanī and died in 96 AH. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 907–8.

<sup>620</sup> This is in marked contrast to his father 'Uthmān, who, although he courted the Umayyads, did not establish any bonds with the Sufyānids. The only exception seems to be the marriage of his daughter Umm al-Banīn to 'Abdallāh b. Yazid b. Abī Sufyān (IS, 3: 54). But this is contested by NQ, 111–14, where it is explicitly mentioned that she did not marry at all. al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 3: 304–5, reports that Ramla was married to 'Umar b. 'Uthmān. The report is rare and is typical of the confusion in the sources between the two brothers.

<sup>621</sup> IS, 3: 54; IH, 83f; BL, 4: 58–61.

<sup>622</sup> BL, 4: 45–7: I offer these reports with hesitation as there is little one can do to verify or refute them. See also NQ, 108–111.



as an Umayyad and was expelled from Madina with the rest of his kinsmen at the time of Harra. But when the group met Muslim b. 'Uqba's army, 'Amr refused to compromise the strategic advantage of the Madinans.<sup>623</sup> The sources also report that around the time of these affairs he became notorious for shifting positions to the winning side: he was sometimes a Madinan, sometimes a Syrian.<sup>624</sup> For this fickleness, he was humiliated by Yazid when the latter came to power. However, it also cannot be said that his interests and loyalty lay clearly with the Ḥakamids. For when Marwān came to the throne, 'Amr refused to go to Syria to pay homage to him.<sup>625</sup> There was perhaps some close relationship developing with the Ḥakamids during the reign of Mu'āwīya as indicated in the report about his conversations with Marwān (if it can be taken at face value) and in his marriage to Marwān's niece Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ.<sup>626</sup> However, given 'Amr's own ambitions to the caliphate,<sup>627</sup> these connections very likely became temporarily lukewarm once the reins of the caliphate fell into the hands of his cousins. After the rise of the Marwānids, 'Amr spent his days in the Hijaz and died in Minā.

Ramlā bt. Mu'āwīya bore 'Amr b. 'Uthmān two sons named 'Uthmān and Khālid. The former, very likely 'Uthmān al-Akbar, is said to have left no descendants. The few reports about him are fairly negative and mention that his *laqab* was *khirā' al-zanj*.<sup>628</sup> On the other hand, his brother Khālid was a respected notable and left several descendants, many of whom perpetuated their kinship ties indirectly with the Sufyānids and directly with the Marwānids.<sup>629</sup> For example, Khālid had two children, a daughter

<sup>623</sup> BL, 4: 321–3. But compare the reports that 'Amr never left Madina and fought on the side of the Madinans: BL, 4: 600–3; Madelung, *Succession*, 89 n. 49.

<sup>624</sup> BL, 4: 329–31.

<sup>625</sup> BL, 4: 600–3.

<sup>626</sup> NQ, 169–72. As 'Amr was born in the reign of 'Umar (Madelung, *Succession*, 88) and since 'Uthmān had come to align himself with Marwān, it is possible that this marriage was already contracted during 'Uthmān's caliphate. Ibn 'Asākir, 69: 154 reports Umm Kulthūm as the wife of 'Umar b. 'Uthmān.

<sup>627</sup> See Madelung, *Succession*, 89.

<sup>628</sup> IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 600ff.; NQ, 108–111, gives the name as 'Uthmān al-Aṣghar and adds on the next page that his mother was of the Banī Murra b. 'Awf. The 'Uthmān al-Aṣghar on this page is also called *khirā' al-zanj*, who left no descendants. His mother is given as 'Ammāra b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Awf b. Abī Ḥāritha al-Murri. There is thus some confusion in the sources.

<sup>629</sup> It appears that after 'Amr, his descendants were generally able to mend their relationships with the Marwānids. Likewise, some early efforts at the normalization of Sufyānid-Marwānid relationships are also reflected in the sources. For example, Yazid b. Mu'āwīya's daughter 'Ātika was married to 'Abd al-Malik and it is reported in NQ, 160–63 that upon designating Sulaymān as the heir apparent (presumably the meaning is that he designated him to be the heir after al-Walid), 'Abd al-Malik had Sulaymān take the oath to designate one of the children of 'Ātika and one of these, Yazid, did become caliph; and Yazid b. Mu'āwīya's daughter Umm Yazid was married to al-Aṣghar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān. Likewise, 'Abd al-Malik's daughter 'Āisha was married to Yazid b. Mu'āwīya (reported as Khālid b. Yazid b. Mu'āwīya in NQ, 160–63, which, given the chronological patterns here, is more likely). See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 58. It is interesting to note, however, that no daughter of Marwān married a Sufyānid. Most of his daughters were married instead to the children of his brother al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam and to those of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. This suggests some clear patterns of consolidation between the children of Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya (some minor exceptions, such as 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, do exist), on the one hand, and a rift between them and the Sufyānids, on the other. The details above suggest that these patterns had already begun to take shape during 'Uthmān's caliphate (if not earlier). Efforts were made to repair the rift sometime in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. One further clue at mending relationships comes through Khālid b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān below.

named Ramlā and a son named Sa'id, by Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ.<sup>630</sup> Umm 'Uthmān's father was a favorite of 'Uthmān and was appointed the governor of Kūfa by the latter in 29 AH.<sup>631</sup> He was wounded while defending 'Uthmān during the *waq'at al-dār*, but thereafter shied away from politics for a number of years, participating neither at the Battle of the Camel nor at Siffin. But in 49 AH he was appointed by Mu'āwīya as governor of Madina, a post he held until 54 AH. Thereafter, he settled on his estate outside Madina and died there in 59 AH.<sup>632</sup>

Some further internal connections with the Sufyānids are noticeable: Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id's mother was a daughter of Jarir b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajālī, whose loyalties very likely lay with the Sufyānids. Likewise, her brother Yahyā was married to Umm 'Amr bt. 'Umar b. Jarir b. 'Abdallāh al-Bajālī. These connections might have facilitated Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id's second marriage to 'Abdallāh al-Aṣwār b. Yazid (see below). In other words, Sa'id b. Khālid b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān's family was patrilineally Marwānid and matrilineally on good terms with the Sufyānids.<sup>633</sup>

Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id perpetuated these links in her second marriage to 'Abdallāh al-Aṣwār b. Yazid b. Mu'āwīya during what appears to have been a period of Marwānid-Sufyānid reconciliation.<sup>634</sup> This 'Abdallāh, by whom she had Abū Sufyān and Abū 'Uṭba,<sup>635</sup> was also the father-in-law of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>636</sup> Further, his son Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazid, noted among the valiant warriors of the Umayyads, was a resident in the Damascus area and was dispatched by al-Walid b. Yazid to challenge the army of Yazid b. al-Walid. Ziyād, however, did not follow orders and, after a series of episodes in Hims and Damascus, where he was twice captured and released, arrived in Qinnasrīn. Here and at Halab he declared himself to be the caliph and was recognized as 'al-Sufyānī' by thousands of followers at the time of al-Ṣaffāh.<sup>637</sup> After his defeat, he eventually escaped to Madina, where he was killed in 133 AH.<sup>638</sup> The account of these events suggests that, like his father, Ziyād was a close companion of the Marwānids until he saw in the chaotic events of the twilight of the Umayyad period a chance to stake his own claim. Earlier goodwill with the Marwānids is also suggested in his sister Umm Yazid's marriage to Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>639</sup>

Sa'id b. Khālid b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān<sup>640</sup> had been born into a family that had generally participated in the restoration of Sufyānid-Marwānid relations starting in 'Abd al-

<sup>630</sup> BL, 4: 365ff.

<sup>631</sup> 'Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ' (C.E. Bosworth), *EI2*, gives 'Uthmān's governor of Kūfa and later Mu'āwīya's governor of Madina as Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, i.e. the grandfather. But Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāhīr*, 109, gives the grandson's death date as 58 AH, the same as that which is given for the grandfather in *EI2*. Likewise, IS, 5: 155, claims that it was the grandson who was appointed by Mu'āwīya. See also Ibn Ḥibbān, *Thiqāt*, 4: 276. Ibn 'Asākir, 21: 108, states explicitly that al-ʿĀṣ b. Sa'id died a pagan on the Day of Badr and that Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ, the grandfather, died before the advent of Islam.

<sup>632</sup> 'Sa'id b. al-ʿĀṣ', *EI2*.

<sup>633</sup> See IS, 5: 238; BL, 4: 600–3; Ibn 'Asākir, 21: 55.

<sup>634</sup> The hostility between the two sides needs further exploration. It is mentioned at Athamina, 'Sources', 251.

<sup>635</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, 66: 272 does not mention her son Abū Abān, reported at BL, 4: 365–7, where Abū Sufyān is not mentioned.

<sup>636</sup> BL, 7: 310.

<sup>637</sup> On the origins and transformation of Traditions related to al-Sufyānī, see Madelung, 'Sufyānī'.

<sup>638</sup> BL, 4: 368; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-jalāl*, 9: 3927.

<sup>639</sup> Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-jalāl*, 9: 3927ff.

<sup>640</sup> al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 3: 468; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ*, 4: 15.



Malik's reign. He was married to Umm 'Amr b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, a full sister of 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>641</sup> Sa'id b. Khālid was among the wealthiest people of his time and used to divide his time between Syria and Madina. The only child through whom his father's progeny survived, Sa'id married off two of his daughters successively to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and al-Walid b. Yazid.<sup>642</sup> The first was named Umm 'Uthmān and bore Hishām a son named Sa'id.<sup>643</sup> After Hishām, she married al-Ḥakam b. al-Walid b. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik and, after a brief marriage with Bakkar b. Salama of the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, she wed Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān.<sup>644</sup> The daughter who married al-Walid was named Umm 'Abd al-Malik; she bore him a son named Sa'id.<sup>645</sup> Sa'id b. Khālid's grandson Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Malik was married to Ramla b. Umayya b. 'Amr b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. He very likely continued to be a supporter of the Umayyads, given the reports that he was imprisoned by al-Ma'mūn along with a child of his.<sup>646</sup>

The continuous contacts of this family with the Umayyad dynasts are obvious. They seem to have perpetuated connections with both Madina and Syria. The link with the Sufyanids already existed in the marriage of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān to Mu'āwīya's daughter Ramla. It was indirectly strengthened in Khālid b. 'Amr's marriage to Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id b. al-'Ās. In 'Abd al-Malik's generation, the family solidified links with the Marwanids and perpetuated them well into the reign of al-Walid b. Yazid. Given their lineage, social contacts, and what appears to have been a period of Sufyanid-Marwanid reconciliation, it is likely that they served as ambassadors between the two houses.

'Amr b. 'Uthmān also had a son named 'Umar by a concubine.<sup>647</sup> Although no details about 'Umar himself have survived, his son 'Abdallāh al-'Arjī, who was born to Āmina bt. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, is recognized as one of the best poets of the Umayyads and a successor to 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a.<sup>648</sup> His name suggests that he was settled in al-

<sup>641</sup> BL, 4:2-65; Ibn 'Asākir, 45:336.

<sup>642</sup> IH, 84-6; BL, 4:603f; NQ, 108-111; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 1:194ff.; Ibn Hibbān, *Mashāhir*, 207.

<sup>643</sup> BL, 7:310, which also mentions that this son may have been born to an *umm walad*.

<sup>644</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 445-446. This Muḥammad, who will be discussed below, used to drop by the house of Sa'id b. Khālid during his dispatches to the Umayyads and used to be showered with hefty sums of money on each visit (see Ibn 'Asākir, 53:381).

<sup>645</sup> See IH, 91-3; Ibn 'Asākir, 21:316. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Akhbār al-nisā'*, 69, reports that al-Walid divorced her and proposed to her sister Salmā due to her great beauty. Their father did not agree to this. This episode probably took place before he became caliph. It is possible that al-Walid was able to marry her after he became caliph after overcoming some legal debacle, alluded to cryptically in the sources. The story of al-Walid's infatuation is heavily elaborated in the sources and has a soap operatic quality. See Judd, 'Narratives,' 213-4.

<sup>646</sup> IH, 84-6; NQ, 108-111.

<sup>647</sup> IH, 83f; BL, 4:606-8; NQ, 111-14.

<sup>648</sup> BL, 4:606-8; NQ, 116-19; Ibn 'Asākir, 31:223; Sam'ānī, 4:177. He is given as 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān in al-Burri, 274 on the authority of Ibn Qutayba's *Ma'ārif*; the same source reports on the authority of Abū l-Faraj al-Isḥāqī and Abū 'Alī al-Qāfi that his name was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. In al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 2:77 (edition A), he appears as 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and at al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 2:51 (edition B) as 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, with the account that this was a mistake on the part of the author (Abū al-'Abbās) and that the correct name should read 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān. I have already noted the confusion over 'Umar and 'Amr in the accounts of the children of 'Uthmān. It is likely that these differences are the product of the confusion around the identities of 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, as discussed above.

<sup>649</sup> See Bakri, *Mu'jam*, 'al-'Arjī'. See also Sam'ānī, 4:177; BL, 606-8.

'Arj, a lush area among the territories of the Banū Aslam south of Madina.<sup>649</sup> It appears from his participation in the campaigns of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik that at least until the last days of Sulaymān's reign he was on good terms with the dynasty. By the reign of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, however, the relationship had turned sour. For it is during this time that al-'Arjī was punished for drinking wine and was imprisoned by the caliph's governor of Madina, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī.<sup>650</sup> The sources give two possible reasons for his arrest: that he had lampooned the governor in a poem; and that he was suspected of the murder of his own *mawlā*.<sup>651</sup> He died in prison, beaten and humiliated.

That there were some political reasons for his imprisonment is suggested by the fact that the only children of al-'Arjī to have descended from an identified woman counted the Zubayrids among their cognates. His sons Zayd and 'Umar were both born to 'Uthayma bt. Bukayr b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, whose mother was Sukayna bt. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. That Bukayr b. 'Amr had come to shift away from the Umayyads in favor of the Zubayrids is also indicated in his daughter Umm 'Uthmān's marriage to 'Āmir b. Hamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. When news of this marriage reached Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, the same man who imprisoned al-'Arjī, he protested to Bukayr for refusing his Syrian cousins, the descendants of al-Ḥakam b. Abī l-'Ās. Bukayr responded, 'The hand of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr was in ours on the Day of the House.'<sup>652</sup> Thus, it is reasonable to say that the imprisonment of al-'Arjī, who descended from the same line as Bukayr<sup>653</sup> and had married his Zubayrid daughter, had something to do with his political sympathies.<sup>654</sup> The lines of Bukayr b. 'Amr and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Amr both continued to reside in and around Madina, were on amicable terms with the Umayyads during the reign of Sulaymān, and seem to have inclined towards the Zubayrids sometime around the time of Hishām, much to the protest of the Umayyads. In this, they were not very different from some politically pertinent lines of the elite studied here; the rift with the Umayyads that had begun in the second half of 'Abd al-Malik's reign had become fairly abysmal by the time Hishām ascended the throne.

<sup>650</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'il is also reported as the governor of Mecca for Hishām. He was the son of his maternal uncle. See BL, 4:606-8.

<sup>651</sup> BL, 4:606-8. It is also reported that it was rather Ismā'il b. Hishām b. Ismā'il who imprisoned him.

<sup>652</sup> BL, 4:618-20.

<sup>653</sup> In light of his only identifiable marriage, we may also guess that he is correctly identified as a descendant of 'Amr and not 'Umar b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.

<sup>654</sup> It is also worth noting that the most complete report of al-'Arjī's imprisonment is related on the authorities of Umm Sulaymān, a client of Sukayna bt. Muṣ'ab, and Zabiyya, a client of Fātima bt. 'Umar b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. See Ibn 'Asākir, 31:226. If we concede an error in Ibn 'Asākir, 31:230 (reading 'Uthayma for Sukayna in line 6) then it appears that 'Uthayma and Umm 'Uthmān were identical and that Bukayr's daughter was first married to al-'Arjī and then to 'Āmir b. Hamza. Whatever the case may be, it is obvious that Bukayr fell in the camp of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr (given his only identified marriage to Sukayna) and that al-'Arjī had likewise done so in his marriage to Bukayr's daughter. See also NQ, 111f. al-'Arjī's son 'Umar lost his life at Qudayd in 131 AH, presumably fighting on the side of the Madinans against Abū Hamza al-Kharrī. The sources also mention a great number of names of the Zubayrids who lost their lives at this massacre. See IH, 84-6; NQ, 116-19; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1056-7; al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh khalfā*, 315-6; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh*, 8:12-3.

<sup>655</sup> IH, 83f; BL, 4:600-3, 4:618-20; NQ, 111-14.



Like his cousin al-'Arjī, al-Mughīra b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān was a recognized poet.<sup>655</sup> We do not know anything more than that he was born to a concubine and that he left behind several descendants. Some of the patterns observed above in the lines of Bukayr b. 'Amr and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar repeat themselves in the fortunes of al-Mughīra's descendants. His granddaughter Kubaysha bt. 'Uthmān b. al-Mughīra, for example, was married to the Zubayrid Khubayb b. Thābit.<sup>656</sup> Khubayb's son Mughīra was a close<sup>657</sup> companion of al-Mahdī, al-Hādī, and al-Rashīd. He was also appointed by al-Mahdī over an administrative subdivision of Madina and over the distribution of its stipends.<sup>658</sup> al-Mahdī also granted him a spring in Idam, a famous *wādī* north of Madina.<sup>659</sup> Khubayb's son al-Zubayr was among the notables of the Quraysh and was sent as a Madinan delegate to al-Mahdī, from whom he received handsome sums of money.<sup>660</sup> All this suggests that this 'Uthmānid line maintained its position in Madina and that it established relations with the 'Abbāsids starting in the time of al-Mahdī through the agency of the Zubayrids.<sup>661</sup>

This conclusion is further substantiated in 'Ā'isha bt. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra's marriage to al-Rashīd and, after him, briefly to Mansūr b. al-Mahdī.<sup>662</sup> It is also supported by her full brother Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's appointment as the governor of Mecca by al-Rashīd.<sup>663</sup> The foregoing details, the fact that none of al-Mughīra's descendants left any marks on Umayyad history, and the sharp contrast of the preservation of their names in the post-Mahdī period<sup>664</sup> leads us to conclude that this branch, like its two cousins discussed above, had turned to the Zubayrids some time in the middle of the Umayyad period. Around this time, the Zubayrids had also established similar contacts with the Ṭālibids, who, in turn, much like the Zuhri families studied above, had direct and indirect ties with the 'Alids.<sup>665</sup> Like so many Hijāzī elite families studied before, they joined the revolutionary cause and ultimately benefited from its success.

However, it is possible that this line came to terms with the 'Abbāsīd victory fairly late in the game. For the sources report that six of the children of 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra were born to Ḥafsa, a daughter of the notorious Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Dībājī, who was neither on good terms with the Umayyads nor with the early

<sup>655</sup> IB, 164; al-'Isāmī, *Samī' al-nujūm al-'awālī*, 4: 157.

<sup>656</sup> NQ, 242.

<sup>657</sup> Hamdānī, 171, 176; Bakrī, *Mu'jam*, 'Taymā', 'Idam'.

<sup>658</sup> NQ, 242; IB, 157.

<sup>659</sup> Or perhaps along with them as a general 'Abbāsīd policy of rewarding the elite who had been attracted to the anti-Umayyad revolutionary machine. As we shall see in the last chapter, the elite had to be lured away from the militant Ḥasanid branch after the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.

<sup>660</sup> IH, 87-8; NQ, 116-119.

<sup>661</sup> The names of several late descendants of this line are preserved in the sources: 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra (IH, 83f.); 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra (al-Baghādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 10: 345); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra (IH, 83f.), etc.

<sup>662</sup> Ibn Ḥazm must have noticed this problem of the 'Abbāsīd appointment of Dībājī's cognate descendants. So he is quick to point out that al-Mahdī was married to Ḥafsa's paternal aunt. As no dates are available, two possibilities come to mind: either al-Mahdī contracted this marriage with reconciliation in mind, i.e. he established a further indirect bond with this revolutionary group and sought thereby to facilitate the rapprochement; or the marriage was contracted before the events surrounding al-Dībājī and it was an existing contact exploitable for political ends. See IH, 83f. On al-Dībājī, see below.

<sup>657</sup> NQ, 242; *khāṣṣ*.

'Abbāsīds.<sup>666</sup> Indeed it is likely that 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id's children generally came under the 'Abbāsīd canopy starting only in the reign of al-Mahdī, and that the aim of the newly established close relationship between him and these children was indirect reconciliation with the rival Dībājī group.<sup>667</sup>

al-Dībājī's father 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān was born to Ḥafsa bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>668</sup> Ḥafsa's mother was Ṣafīyya bt. Abī 'Ubayd, a sister of al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī.<sup>669</sup> Thus, a trace of revolutionary activity in favor of the Ṭālibids was perhaps already present in Dībājī's cognate lineage. Ṣafīyya's mother, in turn, was 'Ātika bt. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īs b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr himself generally perpetuated his connections with the dynasty through the family of Asīd b. Abī l-'Īs, i.e. through his maternal great grandmother. In doing so, he may have followed the precedent of his grandfather 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who had at some point also married off his daughter Umm Sa'id to 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.<sup>670</sup>

'Abdallāh b. 'Amr married a daughter of 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd, who bore him four daughters and two sons.<sup>671</sup> Details about only one of these daughters have come down to us: his descendant Umm 'Abdallāh bt. 'Abdallāh was married to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and had a son named 'Abd al-Rahmān by him; after al-Walīd's death, she married Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>672</sup> A similar Umayyad contact is suggested in 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr's son Umayya's appointment over the *sadaqāt* of Ṭayyī' and Asad at the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad. He also led a failed raid against the Ṭayyī' when the latter refused to pay their dues. Umayya lost his life at Qudayd, presumably on the side of the Madinans.<sup>673</sup> His brother 'Abd al-'Azīz, the commander of a contingent at Qudayd, where he also lost his life, was the governor of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if for Yazīd b. al-Walīd.<sup>674</sup> Thus, almost all the children through this marriage had successfully carried the favor of the ruling house.

'Abdallāh b. 'Amr also married Umm 'Amr bt. Abān b. 'Uthmān, a daughter of his uncle, who was a favorite of the Umayyads.<sup>675</sup> Among their children, the sources name Sa'da, who was married to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and had 'Abdallāh and 'Ā'isha by him.<sup>676</sup> If this Sa'da is the same as Umm 'Amr's daughter Umm Sa'id, she was also married to Yazīd's brother Hishām after the former's death.<sup>677</sup> The foregoing details again amply demonstrate the close contacts of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr's descendants with

<sup>666</sup> See below and the next chapter.

<sup>667</sup> BL, 4: 600-3; IS, 5: 201; IH, 83.

<sup>668</sup> IS, 5: 471. al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh*, 165: 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd was briefly appointed the governor of Kūfa in 53 AH by Mu'āwiya. al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh*, 205: his son Khālid b. 'Abdallāh was appointed over Basra by 'Abd al-Malik in 72 AH after the defeat of Ibn al-Zubayr. al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh*, 238, 251: in 98 AH 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh was appointed governor of Mūsīm; he was also appointed the governor of Mecca by 'Umar II. See also Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār*, 225; BL, 4: 462-78.

<sup>669</sup> NQ, 111-114.

<sup>670</sup> BL, 4: 603-6; 7: 58f.; NQ, 114f.

<sup>671</sup> IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 622; NQ, 114f.; Ibn 'Asākir, 9: 299.

<sup>672</sup> BL, 4: 603-6; IH, 84-6; NQ, 114f.

<sup>673</sup> IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 606-8; NQ, 114f., 250. 'Abd al-'Azīz is also reported as the governor of Mecca at the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad. His son 'Abd al-Jabbār was killed with his father at Qudayd (IH, 83f.; NQ, 114f.); his daughter 'Izza bt. 'Abd al-'Azīz married al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and then Bakkr b. 'Abd al-Malik (NQ, 114f.).

<sup>674</sup> See below.

<sup>675</sup> IH, 84-6, 91-3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 243; Ibn Quṭayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 205; BL, 4: 603-6; 7: 199, 7: 295; NQ, 114f.

<sup>676</sup> BL, 4: 604ff.; NQ, 166-69.



the Umayyad rulers throughout their occupation of the throne.

'Abdallāh b. 'Amr was also married to Asmā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī. Throughout his life, 'Abd al-Rahmān had been a supporter of 'Uthmān and, after the latter's death, a vocal opponent of 'Alī.<sup>678</sup> As mentioned above, he was also married to Maryam al-Kubrā bt. 'Uthmān and, as we will see below, his family also had close connections with the line of Abūn b. 'Uthmān. That the links with the line of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān were firm is indicated further in the fact that Umm 'Amr bt. Abūn, the aforementioned wife of 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, was a granddaughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith (she was born to his daughter). Finally, for the analysis to follow, it is also worth noting that Asmā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān was born to the Zubayrid Umm al-Ḥasan bt. al-Zubayr b. 'Awām.

Asmā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān had two daughters and one son by 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr. Her daughter Ḥafsa was married to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam; and her daughter 'Ā'isha had two sons by Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>679</sup> Thus, through Asmā' this line had successfully managed to maintain the favor of the Umayyad caliphs.

Yet a break from the Umayyads noticed above in the lines of Bukayr b. 'Amr, al-Mughīra b. 'Amr, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Amr now manifests itself again in the fragmentary details of the life of Asmā's son Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr. The sources report that when Khālid, a notable of the Quraysh, was sent as a delegate to Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, the latter asked for his sister's hand in marriage. Khālid responded that his father had placed twenty thousand *dīnārs* as the standard *mahr* for the women of his house. If Yazīd could not provide this, the marriage was not possible. The caliph was offended, 'You do not think us your equal except on condition of the sum? If some other Qurashī had proposed to her, you would have let this happen for less.' Khālid responded that this was perhaps the case, given that his sister would be a queen among other Qurashīs, but a slave to Umayyad royalty. He now firmly refused the marriage and returned to Madīna. The response cost Khālid considerable humiliation and ultimately his life. For Yazīd immediately sent a messenger to his governor in Madīna and ordered him to appoint someone who would take Khālid every day to Shabība b. Naṣṣā in order that he be taught the Qur'ān in the company of young boys. Thereafter, Yazīd commanded his governor to have Khālid beaten in the street. The order was carried out and Khālid, whose wounds must have been severe, fell sick and died shortly thereafter.<sup>680</sup>

Until Yazīd's time, Khālid must have maintained an enviable position with the Umayyad dynasts. For much like some of his cousins studied above, he was married into the powerful family of 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd.<sup>681</sup> And like some others, he had also established some links with his cognate cousins, the Zubayrids.<sup>682</sup>

<sup>678</sup> See Madelung, *Succession*, 147, 172, 182, 284, 339, 347.

<sup>679</sup> IH, 84-6; NQ, 111f., 163-65; BL, 4: 603-6; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 243.

<sup>680</sup> IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 603ff., 7: 191; NQ, 111-14; 305-7.

<sup>681</sup> NQ, 114f.; IH, 83f. He was married to Ramlā bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. Her father was the governor of Mecca for 'Abd al-Malik. See al-Iṣbahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 1: 113.

<sup>682</sup> The Zubayrids and the line of 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd figure prominently among the cognates of the 'Uthmānids. The link between the two is unclear to me. It is worth noting that this phenomenon of marriages into these two families is even more striking in Khālid's marriage to Asmā' bt. 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr, who was also married at some point to Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd. See IH, 83f.; NQ, 114f.

Unfortunately, the significance of these contacts cannot be determined, given that details of only three of his descendants can be recovered from the sources: 'Abdallāh b. Khālid, a Madīnan who left no surviving progeny, was killed with his cousins at Qudayd; Ruqayya bt. 'Amr b. Khālid, a daughter of Fāṭima bt. 'Uthmān b. 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr, was married for an undetermined period to al-Mahdī; and 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. 'Amr b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr was a transmitter in Mecca and *qādī* of that city at the time of al-Mu'tamid.<sup>683</sup> Although no firm conclusions can be drawn from these scanty details, perhaps it is reasonable to suggest that the general silence of the sources, in contrast to the relatively ample information we have about some other lines of the 'Uthmānids during the Umayyad period, is an indication that Khālid's family had fallen out of favor. His granddaughter's marriage to al-Mahdī reminds us of the usual pattern of the brief re-emergence of the elite at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period (the 'Abbāsīds do not seem to have embraced them immediately). The concomitant contact with the Zubayrids, by now a recognized pattern, is also worthy of attention.

Of Khālid's father, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, one may safely say that, although his cognate links suggest some pro-'Alid inclination, he was firmly lodged into the Umayyad enclave. He was also on amicable terms with some important quarters of the Banū Makhzūm, with whom he developed marital bonds. Through one of these marriages to the Makhzūm, he gained distant Zubayrid in-laws, a link that was perpetuated in turn through his son Khālid. The latter also lost Umayyad favor and his life at the time of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik; thereafter, the sources have nothing to report other than the names of three of his descendants, two of whom had gained favor with the post-Manṣūr 'Abbāsīds. The trajectory of the political inclinations of this line running through three generations is marked by an emerging shift in the third generation from the Umayyads to the 'Abbāsīds in the last thirty years of the rule of the former. It seems that during this time Zubayrid contacts also solidified. The line generally remained settled in the Hijāz.

'Abdallāh b. 'Amr's social contacts and the political fortune of his descendants are nicely summed up in his marriage to Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, a woman born to Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh. This Umm Ishāq, whom we have come across in a previous chapter, was first married to al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī and had also earlier caught the eye of the caliph Mu'āwiya for his son Yazīd. Whether it was due to deliberate planning or an error in communication, her brother married her off instead to the 'Alid. This incident is said to have generated considerable animosity between Yazīd and her brother Ishāq. After al-Ḥasan's death, his brother al-Ḥusayn married her at the recommendation of the former and she bore him Fāṭima. This Fāṭima was herself first married to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, an 'Alid born to Khawla bt. Manẓūr al-Fazāriyya, whom we have come across also in connection with the Ṭalḥids. Khawla and her sister Tumāḍir also seem to have had strong ties with the Zubayrids.<sup>684</sup> Like her mother, Fāṭima had also refused a proposal from a high ranking Umayyad official, a Madīnan governor of Yazīd

<sup>683</sup> IH, 83f.; NQ, 111f.

<sup>684</sup> See the previous chapter; Madelung, *Succession*, 382-3.

<sup>685</sup> BL, 197f. (B). As seen above, Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik's proposal to another 'Uthmānid was also turned down by Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr. It seems that both refusals came during his caliphate and thus in the span of four short years. This also suggests that 'Abdallāh contracted this marriage later in life. And this, in turn, fits well with the changing political position of his family, as observed above, and of some families of his brothers around this time.



b. 'Abd al-Malik, and had thus made herself vulnerable to his hostility.<sup>685</sup> Thus, in this marriage to Fāṭima, 'Abdallāh had embraced a loaded baggage of anti-Umayyad Hijāzī elite — Ṭalḥids, Zubayrids, and Hasanid and Husaynid 'Alids.

The most prominent child from this marriage was named Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Dībāj, a man who inclined towards his cognate half-siblings, the Ḥasanid revolutionaries Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan. It is unclear what kind of relationship Muḥammad had cultivated with the Umayyads or what his cognate kinship contributed in this regard.<sup>686</sup> One indication of friendly relations between them is suggested by his missions as a delegate to their governors. However, such missions perhaps highlight more his own standing among the local elite than his relationship with the dynasts. In addition, the account of his dispatch is tempered by an indirect explanation that he used to participate as an envoy for the sake of the substantial monetary benefits that his trips afforded him.<sup>687</sup> In other words, the trips do not indicate friendship with the dynasts.

A further hint at friendly Umayyad contact is found in the marriage of his daughter Ruqayya to Muḥammad b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>688</sup> The sources say nothing about the circumstances under which this marriage was contracted. But it is worth noting that Hishām had earlier asked for the hand of al-Dībāj's niece, the daughter of his full brother al-Qāsim, for his son, al-Qāsim placed some heavy financial conditions on this marriage, but none of them were met by the caliph and the relationship between the two houses deteriorated. When al-Qāsim died, Hishām not only married the former's wife, but also wed his son to a daughter of his. Both were then carried off to Syria before the helpless and wailing Madinans.<sup>689</sup> Although here too a marriage existed, the details suggest that it was contracted under duress and that in this case good contact with the Umayyads cannot necessarily be gauged in terms of marital links.

None of this is mentioned with respect to al-Dībāj's aforementioned daughter Ruqayya, though her lineage suggests that the marriage may have been contracted under pressure: she was born to Umm Kulthūm bt. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, whose mother, Umm Ya'qūb al-Ṭalḥiyya, used to circulate in 'Abbāsī and Ṭalḥid circles; further, Umm Ya'qūb's father was an avowed pro-Zubayrid. Whether Ruqayya's marriage took place under duress or not is a moot point; what deserves more attention is the fact that it was a socially multivalent Hijāzī contact for the Umayyads. Best of all, it was afforded via the agency of an Umayyad who placed his loyalties with his cognate cousins, a revolutionary branch of 'Alids. The various contacts were already firmly present in Muḥammad's matrilineal genealogy, as explained above. Perhaps the Umayyads were simply interested in reaping the fruits of this politically and socially useful line.<sup>690</sup>

<sup>686</sup> But see the next chapter for episodes suggesting the strained relationship between al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and 'Abd al-Malik and what might loosely be called a Hasanid-Zubayrid-Ṭalḥid enclave at this time.

<sup>687</sup> NQ, 108–111. That the monetary gifts he received were the real reason for his trips (instead of friendly terms) is suggested indirectly in an episode where he is scolded by a cousin for visiting the governors. He explains that each time he visits, a gift of one thousand *ḍinārs* is presented to him. Presumably, this was Muḥammad's way of explaining his uncharacteristic behavior.

<sup>688</sup> IH, 83f.; NQ, 116–19.

<sup>689</sup> IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 603ff., 7: 327; NQ, 114f.

<sup>690</sup> IH, 83f.; NQ, 116–19. Umm Kulthūm was born to Umm Ya'qūb bt. Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥa, whose mother was Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. See the previous chapter for details. al-Dībāj's full sister

How strong an influence his intricate cognate lineage exerted on al-Dībāj can be gauged from the fact that his only other known wife was also a Ṭalḥid and her only known daughter, al-Ruqayya al-Sughrā, was married to al-Dībāj's nephew, the revolutionary Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.<sup>691</sup> This marriage sparked reasonable concern in al-Manṣūr, who had al-Dībāj captured and decapitated when Ibrāhīm's brother, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, declared himself in Medina.<sup>692</sup>

Let us now turn to another branch. Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab's son Abān b. 'Uthmān, who participated in the Battle of the Camel with 'Ā'isha, was 'Abd al-Malik's governor of Madina.<sup>693</sup> He held this post at the time of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya's death and, according to custom, led his funeral prayers. It is reported that 'Abd al-Malik allowed this to happen only because it was considered preferable for the governor to assume this rule. Otherwise, his family would not have agreed to this.<sup>694</sup> The sources thus indicate a tension between the two households.<sup>695</sup>

Two of Abān's wives have been identified by the sources. The marriage with the first, Umm Sa'id bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, should be no surprise. For we have already come across several examples of this 'Uthmānid line's efforts at establishing links with this family.<sup>696</sup> Umm Sa'id had two sons and a daughter by Abān, but no useful information about them has survived.<sup>697</sup> One of her sons, named

Ruqayya was married to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and died in childbirth. See IH, 84–6; NQ, 114f.; BL, 4: 603–6.

<sup>691</sup> IH, 83f.; NQ, 116–19. It is reported that Ibrāhīm died before consummating the marriage. Ruqayya is then said to have taken another husband, who is variously given in the sources as Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās or Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās. This marriage was perhaps contracted by the 'Abbāsids in a conciliatory effort after Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's revolt. See the next chapter.

<sup>692</sup> Sam'āni, 2: 522; IH, 83f. See BL, 4: 603–6, where he appears as Muḥammad al-Asghar b. 'Abdallāh; here it is also said that he married his daughter off either to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī or to his brother Ibrāhīm. BL, 2: 414, also reports that Manṣūr had al-Dībāj punished for refusing to give up Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh's place of hiding. See NQ, 114f.

<sup>693</sup> BL, 4: 600ff.; BL, 4: 393; 'Abd al-Malik appointed him the governor of Mecca after Yahyā b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Ās.

<sup>694</sup> BL, 4: 606; BL, 2: 573. In the latter source another account is mentioned wherein it is Abū Ḥashim who leads the prayer.

<sup>695</sup> It is also possible that Abū Ḥashim's remark echoed the general popular view of Abān: he was notorious for taking bribes and for committing the Great Sins. According to one report, when his father-in-law 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far asked for his permission to be sent as a delegate to 'Abd al-Malik, he first demanded a certain slave girl of his and, when she was not delivered, secured a young boy from him. See BL, 6: 18–20; 951. See Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat*, 140–1 and al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 195, where he is also mentioned as a *faḥīh*.

<sup>696</sup> Abān's full sister Maryam was married to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith and his nephew 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr was married to Asmā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān. A very clear example, both of the complex links among the lines of Abān, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith and of the importance of cognate links, is indicated in the following genealogical details and onomastics: Umm Sa'id bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith married Abān b. 'Uthmān and had Umm 'Amr by him; this Umm 'Amr married 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr and bore him a daughter named Umm Sa'id. This is a typical example of onomastics coming full circle to the cognate lineage; the genealogical connections are, of course, obvious.

<sup>697</sup> IH, 84–6; BL, 4: 618–20; al-Burri, *Jawhara*, 2: 195–6; NQ, 119–21, 305–7.



'Abd al-Rahmān (al-Madanī)<sup>698</sup> after his maternal grandfather, married his cognate cousin Ḥanna bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith, thus perpetuating this long-standing cognate connection. She had one son and one daughter by him.<sup>699</sup> Unfortunately, we know nothing about them except that the son, who was named 'Uthmān, was a resident of Madīna.<sup>700</sup> The names of several descendants of Abān (usually up to two generations after him) have been preserved in the sources. However, no useful information about them is available.<sup>701</sup>

Abān b. 'Uthmān also married Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>702</sup> at a time, it seems, when the Ja'farid-'Alid land disputes in the Hijāz had not yet led to a rift between the two groups. This means that the marriage was into a pro-'Alid camp (other details to follow suggest the same). This is surprising given the enviable position Abān had with the Umayyads and his less than stellar reputation with the 'Alids and Hijāzīs in general. And with the exception of some descendants of his brother 'Amr (as noted above), the marriage also does not fit the general 'Uthmānid marital program that tended to incline quite heavily towards the 'Abd Shams.

The details surrounding the figure of Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Abdallāh reveal not only why Abān might have wanted this marriage but also the sociopolitical program of the Sufyānids with respect to the Hijāz. The sources report that Umm Kulthūm was married, in the following order, to 'Abd al-Malik, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and Abān b. 'Uthmān. The sources report that 'Abd al-Malik divorced her and that when al-Ḥajjāj married her, the latter was severely scolded by him and promptly also divorced her. As it is also mentioned that al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad married her after Mu'āwiya's proposal for his son was turned down by the Ṭālibids, the chronology of marriages offered above does not make sense. For 'Abd al-Malik's action against al-Ḥajjāj implies that the latter was already in his service, but Mu'āwiya and Yazīd had both long disappeared from the scene by then. To this argument is added the claim of the sources that 'Abd al-Malik did not marry her at all and that both he and 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh were married to her sister. One source also reports the marriages in the following order: al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, al-Ḥajjāj, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. In view of the argument above and what is to follow, this may be a more likely chronology (though Abān is missing from the list).<sup>703</sup>

Our sources state that sometime during his reign, Mu'āwiya sent a proposal to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far asking for his daughter's hand for his son Yazīd.<sup>704</sup> 'Abdallāh

deferred in this matter to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's judgment. The latter rejected the proposal, put on the table via the proxy of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, and married Umm Kulthūm instead to al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far, assigning Bughaybigħa as her dower. What interest did Mu'āwiya have in establishing a marital link with this family?<sup>705</sup>

The clue comes from a few reports that seem to relate to the abovementioned episode. In the context of a discussion about whether a man may inherit from his wife and then divorce her, it is stated that Abān married a daughter of 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān as a second wife to Umm Kulthūm, presumably because the latter refused to sell her inheritance to him. He then divorced her.<sup>706</sup> Thus, it appears that the marriage had something to do with inheriting or acquiring Ṭālibid land in the Hijāz. (Land was already mentioned in the account of Mu'āwiya's failed proposal.)

Furthermore, the sources report a debate between al-Walīd b. Yazīd and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan over a property called al-Nu'ayni'a.<sup>707</sup> It is in the course of this debate that Mu'āwiya's failed proposal is mentioned; and in this context it is added that Nu'ayni'a, a *ṣadaqa* of 'Alī, remained with al-Ḥusayn until his death. It then fell into the hands of Yazīd; then, during the caliphate of Ibn al-Zubayr, it was returned to the 'Alids; then, 'Abd al-Malik gave it to the family of Mu'āwiya. Thereafter, 'Umar II returned it to the 'Alids; then Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik gave it back to the family of Mu'āwiya. Again, it seems that the Umayyads were heavily vested in the enterprise of acquiring Ṭālibid lands in the Hijāz (and usually lands that had some existing or prior *ṣadaqa* designation).<sup>708</sup>

Bughaybigħa, which was also a *ṣadaqa* of 'Alī to his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, remained in the hands of the Ja'farites after its transfer to Umm Kulthūm until the time of al-Ma'mūn. The latter is said to have compensated them for it and to have returned it to its original state as *ṣadaqat 'alī*.

Finally, Bughaybigħa is usually mentioned along with another famous *ṣadaqa* of 'Alī, called 'Ayn Abī Nayzar. The sources report that Mu'āwiya had tried to buy this from al-Ḥusayn, who refused the very handsome sum of two hundred thousand *ḍīnārs*, claiming that the land was inviolable *ṣadaqa* from his father.

It seems, therefore, that Ṭālibid property in the Hijāz, especially property designated at some point as *ṣadaqa*, was of special interest to the Sufyānids (Umayyads). Given the details of the marriage proposal to Umm Kulthūm and what has been recorded of

'Abdallāh's relationship with the Umayyads deteriorated completely during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik.

<sup>698</sup> Marwān was very upset when al-Ḥusayn rejected him and claimed that the caliph had only wanted to bring the two houses together. al-Ḥusayn responded that this defection (*ghadr*) had not come from him but from the Umayyads. And he reminded Marwān of the time he had proposed to 'A'isha bt. 'Uthmān (whose possible 'Alid inclination will be mentioned below), but Marwān chose to marry her off instead to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. Earlier, al-Ḥusayn had intimated to Umm Kulthūm that Ṭālibid daughters do not marry outsiders. It is therefore hard to determine whether al-Ḥusayn made his decision in view of a general Ṭālibid policy or the evolving sociopolitical situation or both. See BL, 4: 142ff.

<sup>698</sup> al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 5: 254; Ibn 'Asākir, 43: 47.

<sup>699</sup> IH, 84–6; NQ, 119–21.

<sup>700</sup> al-Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh*, 6: 237; al-Rāzi, *al-Jarh*, 6: 157.

<sup>701</sup> IH, 84–6. Ibn Hajar, *Inbā'*, 1: 168ff., mentions a descendant of 'Abd al-Rahmān, who was born sixteen generations removed in 777 AH. He settled, at least for some time in Egypt. This is in keeping with a report found in al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāya*, 85–6, 140–1, that some of the descendants of Abān b. 'Uthmān were found in Egypt. BL, 4: 618–20 reports that some of Abān b. 'Uthmān's descendants were in al-Andalus.

<sup>702</sup> Ibn Tayfūr, *Balāghāt al-nisā'*, 104: her mother was Zaynab bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and her mother was Fātima, the daughter of the Prophet. Thus, she was royalty among the religious elite.

<sup>703</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mubabbar*, 439. Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 115–6. al-Ḥajjāj married her after Abān. BL, 4: 618–20. Abān married her after al-Ḥajjāj. al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 1: 408, mentions the rare report that Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya was married to her.

<sup>704</sup> On 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far and the episode to follow, see Madelung, 'Hashimiyyāt', p. 18ff.

<sup>706</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, 59: 247.

<sup>707</sup> This may in fact be a corruption of Bughaybigħa (the two words have identical orthographic seats), but the history of the ownership of Bughaybigħa (as noted below) differs from that of this Nu'ayni'a. If the name was corrupted, this might have to do with its re-identification in view of a contested history. I am currently preparing an article that explores this possibility.

<sup>708</sup> Waki', *Akhbār*, 1: 152ff.



the circumstances of her divorce from Abān, it is reasonable to say that the latter (who was very close to the Umayyads) had contracted this marriage with a view to acquiring Ṭalibid land. The marriage does not indicate sociopolitical inclinations.<sup>709</sup>

Finally, Abān's full brother Khālīd b. 'Uthmān very likely lived in Suqyā, an area north of Madina. The sources state that he inherited the copy of the Qur'ān that 'Uthmān was reading when he was murdered and that after him it was passed on to his descendants. It is also reported that his line passed away.<sup>710</sup>

Some fragmentary information about Khālīd b. 'Uthmān's descendants has come down to us. All of it suggests continued attachment to his paternal kinship group: his daughter Zaynab was married to 'Anbasa b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān and had three children by him, and his grandson Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd was married to Asmā' bt. 'Urwā b. al-Zubayr. The latter was also married to Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān and Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd. She bore three children for the latter.<sup>711</sup> Finally, Khālīd b. 'Uthmān's son Sa'id had two daughters who were married to the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd.<sup>712</sup> These few details point to this line's direct and indirect amicable relations with the Umayyad dynasts. The fact that the names of Khālīd's descendants disappeared completely in the post-Umayyad period may also suggest uncompromising support of their paternal pro-Umayyad kinship group.

With the possible exception of some lines of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, it is reasonable to say that the descendants of Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab generally remained pro-Umayyad for the greater part of the rule of the first dynasty. Some houses from this line cultivated a close (though at times strained) relationship with the Sufyānids and, with the coming of the Marwānids, they may have been considered useful allies in bridging the gap between the two clans. Generally, the pull of the Marwānids was much stronger on this line through a good part of the rule of the first dynasty. Nevertheless, by the third generation, one begins to notice not only that some lines did establish contacts with the Zubayrids—whose own trajectories deserve a fuller exploration than is offered here—but also that they became decidedly anti-Umayyad. By the fifth generation, the descendants of these

<sup>709</sup> Why this area was so important to the Umayyads is not entirely clear from the preliminaries of this book. This is a question I plan to explore further at a future date. Certainly, recently discovered archaeological evidence suggests that Mu'āwīya had a vested interest in Hijāzī construction projects (though, to the best of my knowledge, specific attention to the coastal regions is not recorded); and the ideological significance of the region for 'Abd al-Malik has recently been noted by Robinson, *'Abd al-Malik*, 35, 37–8, 98, (again, to the best of my knowledge, his attention was directed rather to Mecca and not to the western littoral). We also know that the region in question supported a large Ṭalibid and pro-Ṭalibid population (this is also partly borne out by the evidence in the next chapter). Given this, the fact that the holy cities—which were of more direct importance to the caliphs—depended on Egyptian grain passing through the region, and that the agricultural potential of this land was very high by Hijāzī standards, the designs of the Umayyad caliphs over the region do make good sense.

<sup>710</sup> IS, 3: 54; IH, 83f.; BL, 4: 600ff.; NQ, 104ff., 116–19; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif*, 115–6; Sakhāwī, *al-Tuhfa*, 2: 13.

<sup>711</sup> The Zubayrids had cultivated a close relationship with the line of 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd. The latter were generally pro-Umayyad throughout the reign of the first dynasty. We have seen below that association with the Zubayrids seems to have afforded the 'Uthmānids some gains during the 'Abbāsīd period. Unfortunately, this was not the case for Khālīd b. 'Uthmān's line. The exact contours of Zubayrid relations with the Umayyads and 'Abbāsīds deserve further exploration.

<sup>712</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, 7: 240; NQ, 114f.–40; IH, 84–6.

anti-Umayyad lines reappear in the sources as the kin of the new rulers of the Muslim world, the 'Abbāsīds, and a few of them were able to secure political positions.<sup>713</sup> The shift to the anti-Umayyad camp was very likely facilitated by the latent and complex cognate lineages of the descendants of some of the lines studied above. For it was usually these same groups that perpetuated their multivalent cognate links. In many cases, this shift in alliance afforded them a place in the 'Abbāsīd political order. But in some cases, as in that of al-Dībāj, the politics of the cognates motivated them to participate in revolutionary movements against the new ruling house. Most of 'Uthmān's descendants from this line either remained in the Hijāz or maintained some contact with the region until the early 'Abbāsīd period.

#### IV.ii.4. The Descendants of Nā'ila bt. al-Furāḍiyya

Nā'ila, the daughter of a Kalbī notable, was the paternal cousin of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf's wife Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh. She was thus of royal blood and is celebrated in the Muslim sources as the third caliph's loyal wife who boldly stood beside him in his last dreadful hours.<sup>714</sup> 'Uthmān married Nā'ila in 28 AH either through the proxy of his kinsman Sa'id b. al-'Āṣ, who had earlier married her sister Hind, or on the recommendation of Tumāḍir bt. al-Aṣbagh herself.<sup>715</sup>

Whether it was because Nā'ila had come into 'Uthmān's household through Qurashī (perhaps more specifically, Umayyad) contacts or because the Umayyads observed marital rules different from the elite studied so far, none of Nā'ila's children were absorbed into their cognate circles.<sup>716</sup> Nā'ila bore 'Uthmān four or five daughters and

<sup>713</sup> It is worth noting that, unlike the descendants of the elite we have studied so far, no descendant from this line of 'Uthmān was appointed over the *shurta*; nor, with the exceptions of the very late 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. 'Amr b. Khālīd b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr and Abū Marwān Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Khālīd b. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān, was anyone appointed *qāḍī*. Does this suggest that they were locally weak and were thus of little use in the micromanagement of the empire? On the other hand, the 'Uthmānids were appointed governors in the Hijāz, both in the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. However, their numbers in high-ranking posts are generally quite low. This is especially surprising for the Umayyad period given the great number of their marriages into the families of the dynasts.

<sup>714</sup> Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, 3: 323, 7: 98.

<sup>715</sup> The former channel is more amply noted in the sources. See Ishāhānī, *al-Aghānī*, 15: 70–1; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Iqd*, 7: 98.

<sup>716</sup> We have already observed that the children of 'Uthmān's other southern wife, Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab, generally did not marry into the family of their cognates. (There were some exceptions, of course, such as the line of al-Dībāj.) This phenomenon is in marked contrast to the marriages of the children of Sa'id b. Abī Waqqāṣ, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh. The patterns noted of the Umayyads apply also to the 'Alīds and, less so, to the Zubayrids. One may suggest that these patterns had something to do with the principle of *kafa'a*, whereby the women of genealogically higher ranking groups would not marry into lower families. The principle applies exclusively in limiting the husbands that women may take. Thus, few 'Alīd and Umayyad women married below their lineage. The children of Nā'ila are a case in point. Although, at least in theory, Maliki and Shī'i law places little emphasis on this principle (Hanafi law assigns great importance to it, whereas Shāfi'i and Hanbali law considers it as important as the presence of a guardian for contracting marriages), practice relied on it quite heavily: it seems that during the Umayyad period, the 'Uthmānids ranked lower than the Umayyad dynasts. For this same period, they also appear to be higher than the Zubayrids and the 'Alīds. The latter's position is difficult to gauge in relation to the Umayyad dynasts, but they seem to be on



perhaps one son.<sup>717</sup> Their daughter Umm al-Banīn is also reported as the child of a concubine.<sup>718</sup> She is said to have married 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān, though no such son of Yazīd appears elsewhere in the sources.<sup>719</sup>

Of their remaining four daughters, Maryam al-Ṣuḡhrā married the Madanī poet Abū Qatīfā 'Amr b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayy, who was for some time exiled by Ibn al-Zubayr when the latter expelled the Umayyads from the region during his reign.<sup>720</sup> That his line remained generally loyal to the dynasts is indicated by the participation of 'Amr's son Muḥammad (who was not born to Maryam) in the armies of Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik at the time of the suppression of the revolt of Ibn al-Muhallab. During this time, he was appointed over Kūfa.<sup>721</sup> 'Amr probably divorced Maryam, who then married Sa'id b. al-'Ās, her maternal aunt's husband.<sup>722</sup> A daughter of Maryam and Sa'id married Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya.<sup>723</sup>

Maryam al-Ṣuḡhrā's sister Arwā married Khālid b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba. No further detail about them can be found.<sup>724</sup> Umm Khālid bt. 'Uthmān married 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd after he had been married to her sister Umm Sa'id bt. 'Uthmān, who is mentioned below.<sup>725</sup> Finally, Umm Abīn al-Ṣuḡhrā did not marry.<sup>726</sup>

The line from Nā'ila allows a fairly straightforward analysis: it remained attached to three Umayyad lines that we have come across numerous times above — the lines of Abū 'Amr and, less so, of al-'Ās and Abū al-'Īs. Thus, though they did not strengthen bonds with their Kalbī cognates, they perpetuated other well-established Umayyad links.

equal footing with the 'Abbāsids for the early Umayyad period. They are certainly lower than them by the time of the 'Abbāsīd revolution. With the exception of some minor instances of the Talhids marrying 'Abbāsīd and Talhīd daughters, the Talhids, 'Awfids, and Sa'dids all belonged to a lower group. The highest ranks were occupied by the Umayyads, 'Uthmānids, 'Alīds-'Abbāsīds, and Zubayrids, generally in this order. It is also worth reiterating that in the post-'Abd al-Malik period, generally the Umayyads and 'Uthmānids formed one front, whereas the 'Alīds, 'Abbāsīds, Zubayrids, and Talhids formed another. The Sa'dids and 'Awfids seem to have shifted their attention away from the religio-political to the tribal elite, though this attachment to some 'Alīd camps was obvious in previous chapters. This simplified analysis will find elaboration in the next chapter.

<sup>717</sup> Their son 'Anbasa is mentioned in an isolated report. See Madelung, *Succession*, 367; al-Marzubānī, *Mu'jam al-shu'arā'*, 415; however, his grandson al-Mughīra b. Ḥatīm b. 'Anbasa participated with his cousin al-Dībāj (*wa-kharaja ma'ahu*, though in the context the meaning of the phrase is unclear) on the side of the Ḥasanids. This reflects a pro-'Alīd/anti-'Abbāsīd stance, but whether al-Mughīra was pro-'Alīd and anti-Umayyad during the Umayyad period depends on details of the ferment of the rebellion before its climax and on the careers of the ancestors of al-Dībāj and Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Nafīs al-Zakīyya. I have given some detail regarding these matters above and will discuss it further in the last chapter.

<sup>718</sup> See Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 536; Tabārī, *Tārīkh*, 3: 444f.; IS, 3: 54.

<sup>719</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 368.

<sup>720</sup> BL, 4: 600–3; Isḥāqī, *al-Aghānī*, 1: 7–18; NQ, 104f.; Ibn Mākūlā, *Ikmal*, 7: 120; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 46: 446.

<sup>721</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, 930–1; Tabārī, *Tārīkh*, 5: 340.  
<sup>722</sup> IH, 80–2, where the daughter who married Sa'id is not identified. Madelung, *Succession*, 368, suggests that this is Maryam al-Ṣuḡhrā and further hints that this is the case are found at BL, 4: 600–3.  
<sup>723</sup> IH, 111–13.

<sup>724</sup> NQ, 104f.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55.  
<sup>725</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 55; NQ, 104f. In terms of social hierarchy, it seems that the families of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and Khālid b. Asīd were on equal grounds. For daughters of both families were given in marriage to either side.

<sup>726</sup> NQ, 104f.

### IV.iii. Conclusions

'Uthmān b. 'Affān had children by eight free women, all of whom have been identified in the sources. This is in sharp contrast to the other elite ancestral heads studied so far in this book, all of whom had children by anonymous concubines.<sup>727</sup> Before the end of Abū Bakr's caliphate, he had contracted marriages with the following women in the likely order given here: Asmā' bt. Abī Jahl; Ruqayya bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (the Prophet's daughter); Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh (the Prophet's daughter); Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyayna al-Fazārīyya; and Fātima bt. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmiyya. He then married Ramlā bt. Shayba of the 'Abd Shams. 'Uthmān very likely divorced Asmā' at around the same time that the family of Abū Lahab cut its bonds with the Prophet and divorced his daughters. 'Uthmān, in turn, embraced them. His marriage to Fātima was likely aimed at reestablishing links with the Makhzūm after the Conquest of Mecca; and the marriage to Ramlā again indicates a return to his Meccan aristocratic roots. It is interesting to note that only the last two of these six marriages left lasting impressions on history. This is in keeping with the patterns of other elite studied above, few of whose descendants from early marriages into religious elite families have left records in our sources. Like them also, it seems that in the latter part of his life 'Uthmān had shifted his focus to the southern tribes — he contracted late marriages with Umm 'Amr al-Azdiyya and Nā'ila al-Kalbiyya — children from whose daughters prospered in the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. His marital preference was otherwise wholly for the Meccan old aristocracy, to which he returned after Muḥammad's death. Descendants from his last four marriages were generally absorbed into this aristocracy and prospered during the early history of Islam.<sup>728</sup>

Although, with one possible exception, no daughter of 'Uthmān married a Sufyānīd, there is an indication that some of the first generation of 'Uthmānīds did maintain amicable contacts with them ('Amr b. 'Uthmān is a possible example). Thereafter, as with the daughters of 'Uthmān, most of his descendants married heavily into the Makhzūm and all the Umayyad branches except the Sufyānīds for several generations. Most of these descendants, a good number of whom remained associated with the Hijāz well into the first half of the third century, also perpetuated their contacts with the Umayyad dynasty (i.e. the Marwānīds), marrying into it and acquiring high level posts from them. In fact, in contrast to the other religious elite families, 'Uthmānīd descendants were able to secure governorships from the ruling family (well placed descendants of other families studied here usually became heads of the police force, judges, or tax collectors, but never governors).

<sup>727</sup> The only unidentified woman 'Uthmān seems to have married was an unnamed concubine who bore him Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uthmān. Given that the latter's marriage to a Sufyānīd does not correspond to the pattern of 'Uthmān's preference for the Marwānīds for his daughters and the fact that at least one source reports that she did not marry at all, some doubt may be cast on her historicity. Otherwise, this was a rare exception in 'Uthmān's kinship patterns, both in her being the daughter of a concubine and in being a daughter 'Uthmān gave to a Sufyānīd.

<sup>728</sup> It is worth noting that their southern cognate kinship did not make any difference to the careers of 'Uthmānīd descendants. This contrasts with the cognate pull, southern or otherwise, of other elite studied so far. The phenomenon may be explained partly with reference to the principle of *kafā'a* (though why even the men from these lines did not take up southern brides needs explanation).



For some lines of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, a break with the Umayyad dynasts is perceptible, starting usually in their third generation. During this time at least two branches of his line established links directly with the Zubayrids and indirectly with the Ṭalḥids. Descendants of these same branches reappeared in the fifth generation as kinsmen and employees of the 'Abbāsids.<sup>729</sup> In contrast to the Umayyad period, the few posts these 'Uthmānids secured from the 'Abbāsids were never governorships; nor were they made heads of police, as the descendants of other religious élite. Like the latter, their descendants were made judges. This suggests that the 'Abbāsids did not wish to place military power in their hands.

In its second or third generation, yet another line of 'Amr b. 'Uthmān had begun to cultivate Zubayrid, Ṭalḥid, and (especially) 'Alid contacts. Whether this meant a stance for or against the Umayyads is unclear. However, it is certain that the 'Alid pull on this group was strong enough to drag it into its revolutionary wings and result in its subsequent repression by the early 'Abbāsids.

But these are exceptions. The 'Uthmānids otherwise remained overwhelmingly attached to the Umayyads, remained mainly concentrated in the Hijāz, reaped the fruits of their dynastic lineage and associations during the Umayyad period, and left few records of success in the 'Abbāsīd period. Thus, they stand in contrast to the careers of other élite families studied in this book.

<sup>729</sup> The post-'Abd al-Malik 'Alid pull on the religious élite has already been mentioned in previous chapters. The details of the Zubayrid involvement with the early 'Abbāsids is discussed briefly in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

#### *V.i. Introduction*

The personal and public lives of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and his sons al-Hasan, al-Husayn, and Muḥammad have received ample treatment in medieval and modern literature of both a religious and scholarly cast.<sup>730</sup> The sources relevant to the reconstruction of their lives are conflicted on many matters of historical interest and are heavily mired in religious, socio-economic, and political rhetoric. Given this, an introductory section along the patterns of previous chapters would not only be quite superfluous but also historiographically facile. For this reason, this chapter will not deal with the fortunes of these four well-known figures; instead it will focus directly on the shaping of the socio-politics of their families in the early Islamic period. Where the discussion requires, statements about their careers and kinship relations will be made with reference to points of interest relevant to their descendants.

According to our sources, 'Alī was born to Fāṭima bt. Asad b. Ḥāshim, the only child through whom the line of her father is said to have continued.<sup>731</sup> The first Ḥāshimī woman to bear a child by a Ḥāshimī man, Fāṭima reportedly converted to Islam and was a *muhājira*.<sup>732</sup> This identification of 'Alī's mother was of significant interest to 'Alid legitimist arguments deployed during the early 'Abbāsīd period. The numerous examples in the introduction, comparative excursions into the anthropological studies of similar cultures, and the details of previous chapters have established sufficiently the significance of cognate links for sociopolitical ascendancy among the groups studied in this book. In the early 'Abbāsīd period, as the issue of the caliphate was still being debated with vigor,<sup>733</sup> the common line of legitimist argument put forth by the 'Alids was anchored in their descent through the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima ('Alī's wife). But this was not the only Fāṭima in the 'Alid dialectical arsenal. They laid their claim to the leadership of the Muslim community also on their descent from Fāṭima bt. 'Amr al-Madaniyya of the Banū al-Najjār. This was the mother of both 'Abdallāh and Abū Ṭālib, the Prophet's and 'Alī's fathers respectively, and served as a common link between the two lines over and above the similar lineage the 'Abbāsids claimed through al-'Abbās.<sup>734</sup> The fact that this mode of argument on the basis of cognate descent was used

<sup>730</sup> See, for example, Lammens, 'A propos de 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib'; Hasan, 'Essays on the Life and Times of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib' (series of essays); Calmard, 'Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya'; Brakel, *The Story of Muḥammad Hanafīyya*; Sarāwī, 'Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib'; al-Dūlābī, *al-Dhurriyya*; al-Ṭabarānī, *Maqāl*; Hussain, 'Developmental Analysis,' esp. 56-66; 180-98; Madelung, *Succession: EI2* articles on these figures, etc.

<sup>731</sup> NQ, 16; BL, 3: 314; Ibn 'Inaba, 41.

<sup>732</sup> al-Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id*, 157-8.

<sup>733</sup> Sharon, *Black Banners*, 89ff. Bayhaqī, 1: 192. This made 'Abdallāh and Abū Ṭālib full brothers and al-'Abbās only a half brother of the Prophet's father.

<sup>734</sup> Sharon, *Black Banners*, 89ff.

and had to be overcome by 'Abbāsīd propaganda hints further at the political significance of maternal lines. An argument with no political weight would not have been used.

A further proof that cognate lines counted for more than is often assumed is the lists of the names of 'Alid mothers, daughters, and sisters from the first century and a half preserved in 'Alid and non-'Alid genealogies. This is to be contrasted with the relative dearth of such information in these same works for the period that followed, for which usually only the names of the sons (with an emphasis on the *mu'qib* sons of a line) are preserved. The point is clear: if genealogies served legitimist purposes, the notion of legitimacy had begun to shift drastically in favor of exclusive patrilineal claims during the early 'Abbāsīd period. It remains so until our time.<sup>735</sup>

Be that as it may, until the early 'Abbāsīd period, matrilineality still counted for much, not just in practical sociopolitics, as shown throughout this book, but also as an abstract principle of legitimacy and authority. It is perhaps in this context that the Tradition of the Prophet, 'I am the son of 'Ātikas and Fāṭimas, all of them pure and noble women' is to be understood.<sup>736</sup> The sources identify most of the women named 'Ātika in question as being from the Banū Sulaym, who were major political players in the early Islamic period in the lands surrounding Mecca and Medina.<sup>737</sup> The authenticity of the Tradition being irrelevant to the issue under consideration, it is obviously meant to assert kinship links with this powerful tribe.<sup>738</sup> The identified Fāṭimas hail from various groups, among them the Banū al-Najjār, the Makhzūm, and the Azd.<sup>739</sup> All things being equal, these two names seem to allude to membership in the closest orbits of the family of the Prophet. It is perhaps in view of these details that the identification of 'Alī's mother Fāṭima ought to be understood: the assertion that 'Alī was the first man to be born to two Hashimis, one of whom was named Fāṭima, could only bolster the caliphal aspirations of his descendants. This is especially significant in view of the fact that the meaning of al-Hāshimiyya is still debateable.<sup>740</sup> If it meant descent

<sup>735</sup> A further interpretive possibility is that the focus in the very early period was in very fine distinctions involving females, just because the rivals were neck-and-neck in patrilineal terms. In other words, matrilineality had come into the picture only briefly (and was not a longstanding focus of concern) because of the particular legitimist needs of this period. If that is the case, the change was much less drastic. I prefer the first hypothesis in view of the comparative control provided by the genealogical accounts of other families studied in this book. Though records of these families tend to become generally sparse after the first few decades of 'Abbāsīd rule, the extant evidence suggests that a shift towards patrilineality occurred there as well. In other words, in the case of the 'Alids and the other families, there appears to be a clear absence of interest in matrilineality for this later period. This is to be contrasted with a heavy focus on it for all families before this period, i.e. from the *jāhiliyya* into the early 'Abbāsīd decades.

<sup>736</sup> BL, I: 532; al-Bayhaqī, I: 192. <sup>737</sup> Their significance in and around Medina and in the agricultural regions south of the city has been documented in the sources. See, for example, Hamdānī, 171; Yāqūt, 'al-Rumā', 'Sāḥūq', 'Ma'din Banī Sulaym'; Bakrī, 'Sāḥūq', 'Raḡam', 'Batha'āt', 'Suwāriyya', 'Ma'din Banī Sulaym'; Isfahānī, 172; Muḡaddassī, 79; al-Sulamī, 8, 56, 60, 65. The reader should keep in mind the possibility of historical backprojection in these sources; this is especially problematic in the absence of any viable reports against which a source critical method may be adopted. See also Lecker, *Banī Sulaym*, esp. 201–18.

<sup>738</sup> Similar kinship links with the Medinans are suggested in accounts of the life and lineage of the Prophet's grandfather and father. All such kinships were matrilineal. See Ibn 'Inaba, 10–11; al-Bayhaqī, I: 192.

<sup>739</sup> Sharon argues that 'it is certain that the term Hāshimiyya as representing the clan of Hāshim b.

from Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, then no group could lay greater claim to rule than 'Alī's descendants, the purest and earliest of Hāshimis.

## Vii. The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib

In several ways, the kinship patterns of the descendants of 'Alī match those of the descendants of Sa'd, 'Abd al-Rahmān, and Tālha. They can also be contrasted with the general trends noted for the 'Uthmānids. For example, like the former set, socially and politically some of the most notable descendants of 'Alī were born to daughters of southern tribes or to the elite who had a presence and influence in Iraq and northeast Arabia; and unlike the 'Uthmānids, his progeny to the Meccan old aristocracy enjoyed limited prosperity. Yet the 'Alids were an exception to all the families studied in previous chapters in that their successful lines frequently maintained some association with the 'Alid descendants of Fāṭima, the favorite daughter of the Prophet. Ties with this religious royalty guaranteed longevity to the various 'Alid lines born to the tribal elite. The same cannot be said of the vast majority of the Sa'dids, 'Awfids, Tālbids, and 'Uthmānids. But the case is generally the same for those few among them who did remain socially and politically relevant. In other words, any coherent and continuous narrative about the history of the Hijāzī elite that can be extracted from the foregoing details will very likely place the descendants of Fāṭima at the center. Notable elite from various patrilineal and matrilineal contribute to the narrative by being linked to this center.<sup>741</sup>

The story of the 'Alid lines is one I rehearsed in the introduction and then many times and in fragmentary ways through the lens of the non-'Alid elite. Here it would be suitable to lay it out once more and more directly. In the period before the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (or the end of the reign of al-Walid at the latest), the daughters of 'Alī were often taken into the Tālibid and 'Abbāsīd lines, whereas his sons, following in the path of their father, generally contracted marriages into southern tribes and with Kūfan and other Hāshimī families. In this same period and very likely after 'Alī's death and their return to the Hijāz, the 'Alid sons married into the Anṣār and the Hijāzī elite (in families of the old guard and the new notables of Islam). As noted for other families, the 'Alids also established amicable contact with the Umayyads. The next generation of 'Alids, most of whom were married before the end of the reign of al-Walid, maintained close internal social and political ties.

Some time in the middle of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik or by the end of al-Walid's rule (at the latest), the 'Alids came to lead two sociopolitical blocs in the Hijāz; and it is by being incorporated into them that they split and embraced new identities.<sup>742</sup> Certain Ḥasanids were at the head of one bloc and, with the exception of the line from 'Abd Manāf was not widely used before Caliph Maḥdī's reign. This is to be contrasted with Watt's position that the term first referred to the clan and then to the revolutionary machine. This position is supported by Agha, *Revolution*, xxxiv, 100–2, esp. 102. On the special status of Hashimites as the *ahl al-bayt* of Muḡammad already during his lifetime and as serious contenders for the caliphate, see Madelung, 'Hāshimiyyat'. As far as I can tell, Sharon offers no argument for his claim. See Sharon, *Black Banners*, 84, n. 29; 'Hāshimiyya' (B. Lewis), E12.

<sup>741</sup> It is still unclear to me whether or not this fact reflects some metahistorical prejudice.

<sup>742</sup> The economic, military, and administrative reasons underlying these developments are not apparent to me; they need to be explored.



Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, they were joined by the other Ḥasanids and various branches of the Hijāzī religious elite we have come across in the course of this study. This bloc also included a few disenfranchised Ḥusaynids, who descended mainly from the concubines of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and it came out in an open revolutionary movement in 145 AH. In the period following their failure, the Ḥasanids became increasingly endogamous and lost their erstwhile wide base of elite support. Their social and political isolation may also be explained as a result of the 'Abbāsīd strategy to absorb the elite into imperial service and kinship circles.

During the period of the emergence of the first bloc, the Ḥusaynids of the line of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya solidified their contacts with the 'Abbāsīds. The kinship ties between the first two families were further strengthened in the next generation. It may be reasonable to say that it was through the agency of the Hanafīyya that these Ḥusaynids had come to embrace the *da'wa*, not as a pro-'Abbāsīd stance *per se*, but one in favor of the family of the Prophet and against the Umayyads. Yet even as this second bloc was taking shape, a certain line of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn came out in a premature revolutionary movement and split from the center. The result was devastating: these Ḥusaynids did not receive support from their bloc or from the Hijāzī elite. After their failure, they became heavily endogamous and were found frequently in Ḥasanid-led revolutionary movements of the early 'Abbāsīd era. The Ḥusaynids that remained with the center and eventually emerged as the Imāms reasserted their kinship ties with the Hanafīyya and (later) the 'Abbāsīds and, having participated in a long vigil for the revolution, also asserted their legitimist rights to the caliphate at the dawn of the revolution. These complex sociopolitical trajectories of the 'Alids is presented in detail below.

'Alī married between nine and thirteen women and also had children by several concubines.<sup>743</sup> His descendants will be treated along the following cognate lines: (1) Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh; (2) Khawla bt. Ja'far al-Ḥanafīyya; (3) Umm al-Banīn bt. Hīzām al-'Āmirīyya; (4) Ṣahbā' bt. Rabi'a al-Taghlibīyya; (5) identified mothers with limited progeny; and (6) unidentified mothers with limited progeny and concubines.<sup>744</sup> Along the course of the chapter, we will note that 'Alī's very few contacts with the pre-Islamic aristocracy did not bear lasting fruit.<sup>745</sup> Like Sa'd b. Abī

<sup>743</sup> 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EJ2*. See also al-Dimashqī, *al-Jawāhir*, 2: 121–4, where a list of his wives is conveniently provided.

<sup>744</sup> It is reported that 'Alī had proposed to a daughter of Abū Jahl when Fāṭima was still alive. The marriage was forbidden by the Prophet on the grounds that the daughter of the *wali* of God could not be joined with the daughter of the enemy of God. It is also suspected that 'Alī had married her (*wahima bi-nikāhihā*, or perhaps this should be read *wa-hamma bi-nikāhihā*) and then divorced her (whereupon she married 'Atīb b. Asīd b. Abī al-'Īs b. Umayyā). This seems similar to an early marriage of 'Uthmān discussed in the previous chapter. See NQ, 187, 312. At least in one instance the report of his proposal to this woman is mentioned with the Tradition, 'Whoever angers Fāṭima angers me <i.e. the Prophet>.' This same Tradition is sometimes also mentioned in the context of Fāṭima's treatment at the hands of the first two caliphs, with the natural implication of their insincerity towards the Prophet. The use of this Tradition in the first instance, i.e. in conjunction with 'Alī's suggestion of taking a second wife, is perhaps meant to discourage its use in propaganda. If this speculation may be defended, one may also suggest that the entire episode of marriage/contemplation of marriage to Abū Jahl's daughter is invented. See al-Maghribī (al-Qaḍī al-Nu'mān), *Sharḥ*, 3: 31; al-Bartūjardī, *Tarā'if*, 2: 296.

<sup>745</sup> He may have taken a daughter of 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafī as his wife around the time of the

Waqqa's, he established no major alliances with either the new religious elite or the old aristocracy. With the exception of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, and Umāma, his granddaughter, all his marriages were into various Arab tribes, most notably the southern tribes and tribes settled in Iraq and the northeast of Arabia.

### Vii.1. The Descendants of Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad

The Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, who was reportedly 'Alī's only wife while she lived, had two daughters and three sons by him. The sources also report a son named Muḥassin<sup>746</sup> who was either stillborn or died at a very young age; so he left no progeny.<sup>747</sup>

Fāṭima's daughter Zaynab al-Kubrā was first married to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, by whom she had several children. One of these, a woman named Umm Kulthūm, seems to have played a role in confirming both the alliance of the Ja'farids with the Ḥusaynid branch of the 'Alids and the legitimate control of the former over some coveted *ṣadaqa* regions of the 'Alids. She is discussed at length in the previous chapter, where this Ja'farid line's contacts with the Zubayrids through the line of fall of al-Ṭā'if, though this is disputed. The marriage to Umāma bt. Abī al-'Ās b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams should probably be considered to be endogamous: her mother was Zaynab, a daughter of the Prophet.

<sup>746</sup> So vocalized at al-Dimashqī, *al-Jawāhir*, 2: 122, notes. Apparently, this vocalization is preferred on the basis of the account that the three sons of 'Alī were named after the three sons of Aaron, Shubbar/Shabbar/Shabar, Shabir/Shubayr, and Mushabbir/Mushbir. However, the commonly accepted vocalization of the name is Muḥsin.

<sup>747</sup> As mentioned in the Introduction, starting in roughly the mid-third century, 'Alid genealogies came to be the primary legitimist tool of various pseudo-'Alid groups. Given the social backing and economic profit that an 'Alid claim garnered in the various regions of the Islamic *oikoumenē*, genealogists, usually of the 'Alid line, and the *muḡabā'* of various locales took it upon themselves to control the ever-growing epidemic of pseudo-'Alid claims. As other elite lines had generally lost their legitimist credit based on lineage in the early 'Abbāsīd period, their genealogies seem not to have suffered from these problems. In light of this, the claim that Muḥassin, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Umar al-Asghar, 'Uthmān al-Asghar, 'Awn, and Ja'far al-Asghar were added to the 'Alid genealogical lists by an unnamed *shaykh* is worth consideration. Nevertheless, what the addition of Muḥassin's name might have meant for a later generation of pseudo-'Alid claims is unclear, since, to the best of my knowledge, no name of any member of this line has been preserved in the sources. The same can be said of the other alleged children of 'Alī listed in this footnote. The desire to control false 'Alid genealogies is expressed in the following terms by al-Bayhaqī, 1: 338: 'Since the aim of this book is to mention lineages, mentioning those who have progeny and a surviving line is more suitable than mentioning those who have no surviving line. However, we mention those who have no surviving line lest someone trace his lineage to them.' The preservation of the names of lines that passed away makes sense, but inventing their names without trace of issue does not. One possible reason for the invention of such names may be to assert the authenticity of *asānīd* where such otherwise unknown individuals may have occurred as transmitters. However, in almost all cases, these names are not the typical fictive names found in the chains (see Juynboll, *Muslim Tradition*, 137ff.). I have not been able to find these descendants in *asānīd* nor in finding those of them who died at a very young age conceivable. See Introduction; IH, 37–9; BL, 189 (B); al-'Umārī, *al-Majdi*, 12; Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddimat fath al-bārī*, 265 and *Fath al-bārī*, 3: 24, where the question of the identity of a deceased young boy or girl is raised. See also al-Dimashqī, *al-Jawāhir*, 2: 122, notes, where several sources are listed that mention Muḥassin. Muḥassin may also have been invented by the 'Alid propaganda line against 'Umar, who reportedly kicked Fāṭima and caused her to miscarry him. See 'Umārī, 12 and al-Dimashqī, 2: 121.



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Zaynab and 'Abdallāh are also mentioned.<sup>748</sup> Zaynab was also married to Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, by whom she had two sons. It is reported that she was married at some point to Kathīr b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as well.<sup>749</sup>

Like her sister Zaynab al-Kubrā, Umm Kulthūm bt. Fāṭima<sup>750</sup> married into the line of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib. However, her first husband is reported to have been 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>751</sup> by whom she had daughters named Ruqayya and Fāṭima<sup>752</sup> and a son named Zayd, who left no descendants. After 'Umar, she married 'Awn b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib (after the last divorced her sister) in the order given. It is also reported that an Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī was married to Yahyā b. Kathīr b. al-'Abbās, though in this account her mother is reported as a concubine.<sup>753</sup> It is then obvious that, through his daughters by Fāṭima, 'Alī had perpetuated links with the line of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib and 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, and that these same daughters were then very likely absorbed into the 'Abbāsīd fold at some later date.<sup>754</sup> The post-'Abd al-Malik absorption of elite families into 'Abbāsīd and 'Alid lines has already been observed several times in previous chapters; the marriages of 'Alī's daughters were very likely an early manifestation of the formation of their loose coalition that was to culminate several decades later in the revolution that toppled the Umayyads. Additional Ṭālibid and 'Abbāsīd marriages are found among the issue of 'Alī; but, compared to their cousins (especially the Husaynids), the descendants of al-Hasan b. 'Alī established far fewer relationships with them. The significance of this will be discussed below.

#### Vii. I.A. The Hasanid Line

al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is reported to have taken seventy or ninety wives and maintained numerous concubines.<sup>755</sup> Not one of them was a Hāshimite or belonged to the

<sup>748</sup> The relationship of this line of the Ja'farids with the early 'Abbāsids has not been studied, though it merits attention. At least one member, al-Hasan b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, was imprisoned by al-Manṣūr for some time. Several Ja'farids lost their lives with al-Husayn at Karbalā', thus testifying further to their close ties at that time. See BL, 67–8 (B), where Zaynab's children by 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far are also listed.

<sup>749</sup> IH, 38, 69, 123; BL, 67–8 (B), 189 (B); NQ, 41, 82–4, 241; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55ff.

<sup>750</sup> Some doubt has been expressed in various sources about whether Umm Kulthūm was simply the *kunya* of Zaynab or whether Zaynab was Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā and that the Umm Kulthūm in question was Umm Kulthūm al-Sughrā.

<sup>751</sup> al-'Umari, 17, mentions that her marriage to 'Umar was hotly debated. The marriage is mentioned in al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad'*, 5: 76.

<sup>752</sup> She was married to 'Abd al-Ruhmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See BL, 1: 428.

<sup>753</sup> NQ, 26, 38ff., 349. See also IH, 38, 152; BL, 1: 428, 189 (B), 5: 353; al-Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id*, 158; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55ff., 437. In several of these accounts, she occurs as Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā.

<sup>754</sup> Several other daughters of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib also married sequentially into Ṭālibid and 'Abbāsīd lines. See below. After mentioning the marriages of Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā and Zaynab al-Kubrā, al-Maqdisī states that, with the exception of Umm al-Hasan, the rest (*sā'ir*) of the daughters of 'Alī were married to the descendants of 'Aqīl and al-'Abbās, al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-bad'*, 5: 76.

<sup>755</sup> The two numbers are often confused with each other due to their identical *racem*. In most sources, the *discript* reads ninety. It is almost certain that the number of his wives was exaggerated due either to anti-Shī'ite propaganda or, as Madelung suggests, to historiographical elaboration on the use of the term *mulūk* applied to him in the context of a specific divorce. I have been able to count thirteen free

pre-Islamic aristocracy and, of the others, only one (possibly two)<sup>756</sup> hailed from the descendants of the *ahl al-shūrah*.<sup>757</sup> Perhaps one other can be said to have been in the fold of the Prophet's family, though this is very unlikely.<sup>758</sup> His early marriages generally suggest inclination to southern tribes or to families settled in Iraq. This reflects the choices al-Hasan's father made in forming his own alliances. Of al-Hasan's named wives, only the descendants of three women left any lasting impress on Islamic history.

Before launching into a study of his descendants, I will speculate on the shaping of his sociopolitical position suggested in marriages to the named women who did not bear him any children. In the following order, I will then consider his descendants from (1) Umm Bashīr al-Anṣāriyya; (2) Khawla al-Fazāriyya;<sup>759</sup> and (2) unnamed women and concubines. There is some disagreement in the sources about the identity of various

identified wives of his in the sources. Of these, several are identified and supplied with a loose tribal affiliation only in later sources. For example, the mother of Muḥammad b. al-Hasan was not named at IH, 39 but was identified at Bayhaqī, 1: 343 as Salmā of the Banū Ghaym. Likewise, the unidentified mother of Ja'far b. al-Hasan (IH, 39) is listed as Rubāb of the Banū Ma'arib or the Banū Māzin at Bayhaqī, 1: 343. But compare IH, 18, where Muḥammad, Ja'far, and Hamza, all sons of al-Hasan, are said to be born to Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Fadl b. al-'Abbās. Similarly, Fāṭima bt. al-Hasan's mother is given as a concubine at NQ, 50, but is identified as Amatalāh bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr al-Šiddīq at Bayhaqī, 1: 343, where the editor (note 4) says that in most Imāmī biographical works she is said to have been born instead to Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭāliba. To the best of my knowledge, early non-Shī'ite genealogies do not mention Umm Ishāq as her mother. Umm Salama bt. al-Hasan's mother, mentioned as a concubine at NQ, 50, is identified as Rayfa of the Banū Hamdān at Bayhaqī, 1: 344, etc. In total, four women, who were said to have been *ummahāt awlad* and two unidentified women of the earlier sources (with the exception of a rare passing occurrence at IH, 18, where they are identified, but not as in the later sources) were identified in the later Shī'ite genealogies and other works drawing on them. Thus according to my counts, the early sources mention only seven free women whom al-Hasan married. Why the later genealogies developed an interest in naming these women is unclear, especially in view of the fact that generally no claims of surviving progeny are advanced. The inflation of names might simply have to do with the elaboration of the *mulūk* *topos*, as suggested by Madelung, whose count of al-Hasan's wives in unambiguous reports also reaches seven. The order of marriages to these women is unknown and, given Madelung's cogent arguments in favor of his own chronology, I have adopted his for the study here. See Madelung, *Succession*, 380–87. The number 'seventy' is widely known to occur as a literary *topos* in the Near East literature, so that it should perhaps be treated as such here as well. See, e.g., 'Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh' (W. Madelung), *EI2* (seventy companions); 'Fakhkh' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri) and 'Husayn b. 'Alī Ṣābiḥ Fakhkh' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EI2* (seventy pilgrims). A further possibility to consider is the use of 'seventy' and 'ninety' to mean 'a lot'. In other words, these figures are not meant to be taken literally. See e.g. Majlisī, *Bihār*, 24: 308.

<sup>756</sup> A late source identifies Amatalāh bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Bakr as one of his wives and the mother of his daughter Fāṭima (Bayhaqī, 1: 343). Earlier sources do not mention her and claim instead that al-Hasan's daughter Fāṭima was born to a concubine (NQ, 50).

<sup>757</sup> Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, who has already been discussed in previous chapters.

<sup>758</sup> A late source reports that al-Hasan was married to 'Āṣima, a paternal half sister of Hind b. Abī Hala, who was the half brother of Fāṭima through their mother Khadija, the Prophet's wife. See Bayhaqī, 1: 344. Earlier sources report a concubine in her place. The tendency of later 'Alid genealogies to identify concubines and unnamed free women to establish some control over pseudo-genealogical claims has already been mentioned above. Why this particular name or the name of a descendant of Abū Bakr, neither of whom had children with issue, should be interpolated is unclear.

<sup>759</sup> In this section, I will also mention al-Hasan's descendants from Umm Ishāq al-Ṭālibiyya, most of whom did not leave issue.



mothers; in all cases, when no source critical method seems suitable, I give preference to earlier sources over later ones.

*Vii. I.A.a. Named Women with No Descendants*

al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī's earliest marriage was probably contracted with Salmā or Zaynab, a daughter of Imru'u l-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws of the Kalb.<sup>760</sup> The latter was a chief of the Kalb and, upon accepting Islam, was officially given leadership of those Syrian Qud'ā'a who had accepted Islam.<sup>761</sup> It seems that al-Ḥasan fathered no children by this daughter of the Kalbite leader; nor does he seem to have made much political use of this impressive contact. On the other hand, his father was reportedly aided by Imru'u l-Qays during his war with Mu'āwiya.<sup>762</sup>

al-Ḥasan's second marriage was also contracted with a woman of a southern tribe. As with his first marriage, this one was initiated by his father. The contact was very likely established soon after 'Alī's arrival in Kūfa, where he proposed to a daughter of Sa'id b. Qays al-Hamdānī for al-Ḥasan. Sa'id excused himself to seek the advice of his kinsmen on this matter and decided to give his daughter instead to al-Ash'ath b. Qays' son. This was prompted by al-Ash'ath's warning that al-Ḥasan might not treat Sa'id's daughter well and, as he was the grandson of the Prophet and the heir apparent, she would be in the unenviable position of absolute submission to him. Thus, it was better to seek for her someone of a lower status than al-Ḥasan, preferably a paternal cousin. Once the marriage of al-Ash'ath's son had been finalized, al-Ash'ath came to 'Alī and suggested his own daughter Ja'da for al-Ḥasan, pointing out her superior qualities to Sa'id's daughter. The two were then married.<sup>763</sup>

It seems that 'Alī had also established this link almost exclusively with a view to consolidating his social credit among southern tribes. This time, he also wished to enhance his existing clout in Kūfa. As with his first marriage, al-Ḥasan seems to have been indifferent to this alliance and fathered no children by Ja'da. The latter married Ya'qūb b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Madānī and then 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib after al-Ḥasan's death. As al-Ḥasan died in 49–50 AH<sup>764</sup> and Ya'qūb at al-Ḥarra in 63 AH,<sup>765</sup> her second marriage very likely occurred in the last decade of Mu'āwiya's rule. Though little is known of Ya'qūb b. Ṭalḥa, some sources do report that 'Alī had promised him the return of his father's property.<sup>766</sup> This suggests the flowering of amicable relations between the two camps not long after the Battle of the

<sup>760</sup> That this was probably his first marriage is pointed out by Madelung, *Succession*, 380. It is grounded on the likely possibility that Imru'u l-Qays came to 'Umar to convert early on in his reign, at which time al-Ḥasan was probably not much older than nine or ten years. It is on this occasion that 'Alī approached Imru'u l-Qays and proposed establishing in-law relations with him. The latter gave one of his daughters to 'Alī and one each to al-Ḥasan and al-Husayn. It is unclear whether this report is topical, as the two brothers are also said to have married two daughters of Kisrā. See also BL, 194–5 (B).

<sup>761</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 380 and the references there; al-Thaqaṭī, *al-Ghārāt*, 2: 816.

<sup>762</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 263.

<sup>763</sup> BL, 2: 369; al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 3: 293; Ibn 'Asākir, 9: 137–8.

<sup>764</sup> Dates ranging up to 59 AH are also mentioned in the sources. See 'al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EL2*, Madelung, *Succession*, 331.

<sup>765</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 74: 166 (edition B).

<sup>766</sup> See Chapter Three.

Camel. Ya'qūb's full brother Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa had been on good terms with the Umayyads until he earned the hostility of Yazīd by giving his sister Umm Ishāq to al-Ḥasan after promising her to the former.<sup>767</sup> It seems, therefore, that Ja'da had been taken by al-Ḥasan to Medina. Here the relationship between the Ḥasanid 'Alids and at least one line of the Ṭalḥids developed further with the simultaneous distancing of the latter from the Sufyānids. Sometime after al-Ḥasan's death,<sup>768</sup> his widow married Ya'qūb b. Ṭalḥa, whose full brother had already given their sister to al-Ḥasan, preferring him to Yazīd. Ya'qūb's other full brother, Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥa, was a notable in Kūfa and was married to Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>769</sup> These two contacts, along with Ismā'il's line's general inclination towards the 'Alids,<sup>770</sup> very likely facilitated Ja'da's next marriage to an Abbāsī into whose family the daughters of Fātima (the daughter of the Prophet) and 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib had married. This complex network among the 'Alids, Ṭalḥids, and 'Abbāsids, on the one hand, and later 'Abbāsī absorption of certain 'Alid lines and their associates, on the other, has emerged many times over the course of this book. This is by now a recognized pattern of elite consolidation in the Hijāz that has been substantiated by the details of this study.

al-Ḥasan's third marriage that produced no children was contracted with Ḥafṣa bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr after al-Ḥasan's abdication and return to Medina. Her father, who was present at the Battle of the Camel against 'Alī, did not participate at Siffin. And though he was present in Egypt in the army of 'Amr b. al-'Ās when the latter went out against Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, this was only on his sister's urging to protect their brother from harm.<sup>771</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr later challenged Mu'āwiya on several matters, including the caliph's recognition of Ziyād as his half brother and his designation of Yazīd as his heir apparent.<sup>772</sup> So we may gather that though earlier on 'Abd al-Raḥmān had supported the contingent against 'Alī, when the dust settled at the Battle of the Camel, he did not turn to the Umayyads; in fact, he became a harsh critic of their conduct. It was during this time that al-Ḥasan embraced Ḥafṣa, perhaps with an intention of currying favor with a disenfranchised religious aristocracy that had little to gain from the success of the Sufyānids. The same can be said of his marriage to Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭalḥa, who will be discussed below; it is also implicit in the marriages of his widow, Ja'da, as discussed above.<sup>773</sup>

al-Ḥasan's fourth marriage that produced no known issue was to Hind bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Wadd al-Qurashī of the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy. This woman was born to Ḥanfā' bt. Abī Jahl,<sup>774</sup> who, in turn, was born to a daughter of Asīd b. Abī al-'Īs

<sup>767</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>768</sup> Some sources implicate Ja'da in poisoning al-Ḥasan, though this claim, as Madelung suggests, is very likely an elaboration of 'Alid propaganda against al-Ash'ath, who was considered a traitor to the 'Alid cause. See Madelung, *Succession*, 331, n. 51, where reports of others who may have poisoned al-Ḥasan are also noted.

<sup>769</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>770</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>771</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 324 n. 354.

<sup>772</sup> al-Ḥasan divorced Ḥafṣa due to slander spread against her by al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr, who was infatuated with her. The latter similarly slandered her when she married 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When 'Āsim divorced her, al-Mundhir was able to marry Ḥafṣa after much convincing. See BL, 2: 373; Madelung, *Succession*, 382.

<sup>773</sup> She may have been married at some point also to Usāma b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha. See IS, 5: 44.



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b. Umayyā.<sup>775</sup> Though both the patrilineal and matrilineal lines of Hind were firmly embedded in the old aristocracy, several members of her father's side had converted early to Islam. And though, due to this fact, it is difficult to determine her sociopolitical capital with any measure of certainty, her earlier marriages do suggest a protracted and firm alliance with the Makhzūm and Umayyads.

Hind was first married to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Atiāb b. Asīd<sup>776</sup> and then to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Kurayz.<sup>777</sup> 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Atiāb, who had been a member of the delegation sent by 'Uthmān to the Egyptian rebels, was killed at the Battle of the Camel fighting on the side of 'Ā'isha. Although we cannot know what political program he might have followed after this battle, it is certain that, very much like 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, he was a proponent of the claims of the Qurashī nobility against 'Alī at the opening of the *fitna*.<sup>778</sup>

Hind's second husband, 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir, was 'Uthmān's maternal cousin and his governor of Basra and Bahrayn.<sup>779</sup> After 'Uthmān's murder, as the Qurashī side was debating the best course of military action, it was 'Abdallāh who proposed marching to Basra, a city he had only recently had to abandon, where he could count on support against 'Alī. It is very likely that he participated on the side of the Meccans at the Battle of the Camel, where he lost a son. Thereafter, he fled to Syria. Here he joined Mu'āwīya, was present at Siffin, and was later sent by the Umayyad as a messenger to al-Hasan, proposing the terms of a truce that, in a modified form, were accepted by him.<sup>780</sup> Once Mu'āwīya was recognized as caliph, 'Abdallāh was restored to his former position in Basra.<sup>781</sup> Thus for some time until after al-Hasan's abdication, 'Abdallāh was firmly attached to the Umayyads against the Hashimī claimants. His political career

<sup>775</sup> BL, 2: 372; IS, 5: 44. Suhayl b. 'Amr was a *khatib* of the Quraysh and one of its notables (*ahad sādithā*). He was entrusted with conducting the matter of the treaty on the Day of al-Hudaybiya. He converted on the Day of the Conquest (i.e. of Mecca) and died in Syria in 18 AH. Madelung, *Succession*, 44. Suhayl was a severe opponent of Islam until the conquest of Mecca. A known orator, he was allegedly responsible for convincing the Meccans to hold firm to their new religion after Muhammad's death. Perhaps he realized that there was more for Quraysh to gain as leaders in the new order than in independence from it. The Banū 'Amir were traditionally allied with the 'Abd Shams against the Hashim. See al-Mufīd, *al-Iṣṣāḥ*, 135, n. 1 and the references there. al-Nisābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 281f. A number of the children of Suhayl were early converts and at least one daughter, Sabla, had married into a religious elite family. See al-Nisābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3: 277, 281; see also Chapter Two above. Another daughter of his, Umm Kulthūm, was married to the early convert Abū Sabra b. Abī Ruḥm of the 'Amir b. Lu'ayy. The latter was born to a daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hashim and performed both the Abyssinian migrations with his wife. See IS, 3: 403. Suhayl's brother, Hāḍib, embraced Islam before the Prophet entered the house of al-Arqam. See IS, 3: 405. So we may say that though Hind's father himself may have been a late convert of the old Meccan aristocracy, his close family members can generally be counted among the early supporters of Islam. Some of his descendants did maintain kinship links with the Makhzūm. Suhayl's family joined the campaigns in Syria, where he and all of his sons perished (see, e.g. IS, 5: 207, 7: 404, Madelung, *Succession*, 44).

<sup>776</sup> The relationship of the family of Abū Jahl and that of Abū al-'Is b. Umayyā was already hinted at in the contested account of 'Alī's marriage to a daughter of Abū Jahl. When he divorced her, she married 'Atiāb b. Asīd b. 'Īs. Both her lineage and the two marriages suggest continued contacts with the Makhzūm and 'Abd Shams. It is perhaps these connections that were attractive to al-Hasan.

<sup>777</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 44.

<sup>778</sup> His father was the governor of Mecca at the time of Muhammad's death.

<sup>779</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 87, 128 (n. 236), 157, 176, 182 (199), 322.

<sup>780</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 327.

<sup>781</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 119, 176.

seems to have started with the nepotism of his maternal cousin; he then joined 'Ā'isha against 'Alī and later found favor with Mu'āwīya.

However, not long after Mu'āwīya came to the throne, 'Abdallāh seems to have distanced himself from him. When he was removed from his post in 44 AH, Mu'āwīya intended to extract from him the enormous wealth that he had accumulated as governor. 'Abdallāh was saved on Marwān's intercession and seems to have settled in Medina after this incident. Similar dynastic policies towards other Umayyads had generally caused them to band together against the caliph and his family.<sup>782</sup> Therefore, when Mu'āwīya designated Yazīd to be his heir in 56 AH, many Hijāzī Umayyads saw nothing more than the perpetuation of a long deteriorating policy towards them, and paid only reluctant homage to the heir apparent. 'Abdallāh was one such person.<sup>783</sup>

It is perhaps in light of these details—i.e. the general distancing of the Hijāzī elite from the caliphal center and the particular trajectory of 'Abdallāh's political career—that the marriage of al-Hasan to Hind should be understood. Though, to the best of my knowledge, we know nothing more about her family than what has been mentioned above, gauging from her husband's career it is likely that they had settled on a lukewarm anti-Sufyānid position.<sup>784</sup>

Thus when 'Abdallāh divorced Hind bt. Suhayl, al-Hasan may have seen an opportunity to consolidate further his power base in Medina by marrying yet another daughter of the disenfranchised aristocracy.<sup>785</sup> Mu'āwīya probably did perceive the danger in all this and, as with another aforementioned woman who became al-Hasan's wife, asked for Hind's hand in marriage for his son Yazīd, placing Abū Hurayra as his intermediary. At this time, al-Hasan also showed interest in her and Abū Hurayra chose to wed her to al-Hasan. The long term significance of this marriage is unclear, though it is safe to say that it established for al-Hasan a link with segments of the old aristocracy that had begun to retreat to Medina not long after Mu'āwīya's ascension of the throne. This was a shrewd political card to hold on to for the impending issue of al-Hasan's caliphal claims. The marriage occurred at a time when al-Hasan and Mu'āwīya had already reached a settlement on the issue of the caliphate, but also at a time when the internal seams of the old aristocracy and of the religious aristocracy that had stood against 'Alī were beginning to split; at that time loyalties were ripe for reshuffling. It is possible that, as suggested by the marriage patterns analyzed above, this marriage was contracted with a view to consolidating a Hijāzī elite bloc. The fact that Mu'āwīya was again impeded in his aspirations lends further support to this thesis.

On the basis of the foregoing, one may conclude that, during his father's lifetime and very likely at his behest, al-Hasan married one southern woman in Medina and another in Kūfa.<sup>786</sup> During this time, he also married a daughter of 'Uqba b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī, a

<sup>782</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 345 (n. 90).

<sup>783</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 342.

<sup>784</sup> I have demonstrated in the Introduction and in the previous chapters that, in many cases, multi-marriage women like Hind brought with them sociopolitical baggage from former marriage alliances. See also the next footnote.

<sup>785</sup> Marriages to the daughters of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr and Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh suggest the same. Both these families seem to have been disillusioned with Umayyad rule after their return to the Hijāz.

<sup>786</sup> It is possible that sometime in Kūfa and during his father's lifetime, al-Hasan also married Umm Kulthūm, the only child of al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās. He had four children by her, though none of their three



convert at 'Aqaba, and an early settler in Kūfa whom 'Alī wished to attract into his camp.<sup>787</sup> His daughter Umm Bashīr bore him children and will be discussed below in the appropriate section. Given the details above, it appears that, until his father's death, al-Ḥasan's marriages were contracted in the interest of the political maneuverings of his father. All of these marriages were either into southern branches or promised political leverage in Kūfa (or both).

After his father's death, al-Ḥasan apparently adopted a different sociopolitical program. When he returned to Medina, al-Ḥasan married Ḥaṣa and Hind, the daughters of an aristocracy that was growing evermore disillusioned with Umayyad rule. This was a clever political move and was probably aimed at consolidating his power against Mu'āwīya for the later political clashes that he foresaw. And these marriage patterns were repeated in Medina when he took Khawla and Umm Ishāq, two women by whom he fathered children, as his brides. But al-Ḥasan's died early and was not able to test the character of these alliances. Nevertheless, the descendants of these last two women mounted major revolutionary movements in the early 'Abbāsīd period, the earliest one of which, though abortive, was in solidarity with the Medinan elite al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī had tried to attract. The details follow below.

#### Vii. I.A.b. The Descendants of Umm Bashīr al-Anṣāriyya

In Kūfa, al-Ḥasan had acquired a second wife after Ja'da. This marriage, which was probably concluded before the Battle of Šiffin, was to Umm Bashīr bt. Abī Mas'ūd 'Uqba b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba al-Khazrajiyya al-Anṣāriyya.<sup>788</sup> Umm Bashīr's father was a very early Medinan convert who had settled in Kūfa. It is likely that 'Alī proposed to his daughter for his son in order to draw him closer at a time when his support would have been crucial. When 'Alī proceeded to Šiffin, he appointed Abū Mas'ūd the governor of Kūfa, but the latter undermined his master's position and was promptly

sons left issue. After he divorced her, she married Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and had three sons by him. She then married 'Imrān b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh and, after he divorced her, she returned to Abū Mūsā in Kūfa, where she spent her last days. In both her marriages after al-Ḥasan, Umm Kulthūm seems to have remained in 'Alid circles in Kūfa. For this reason and because she returned to Abū Mūsā, it is fair to say that her divorces do not suggest the severing of relationships between these camps. In fact, her children by al-Ḥasan and Abū Mūsā probably brought their two groups closer. Thus in this marriage al-Ḥasan's father had probably intended to draw the 'Abbāsīds closer to his camp at a time when he relied quite heavily on their support. Umm Kulthūm's later marriages probably strengthened al-Ḥasan's existing links in Kūfa and with the Ṭalḥids. See Chapter Three on Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Faḍl, and the Introduction for comments on the possible implications of marriage and divorce.

<sup>787</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 381.

<sup>788</sup> She also appears as Umm Bishr. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 445; NQ, 49; al-'Umārī, 19; Madelung, *Succession*, 381. Before al-Ḥasan, Umm Bashīr was married to Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Nufayl and then to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabi'a al-Makhzūmī. I have not been able to gather information on the former. The latter was married to Umm Kulthūm bt. Abī Bakr; before him, she was married to Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh until his death. Her mother was an Anṣārī woman, whose father was made the brother of Abū Bakr at the famous *mu'akkhāt*. 'Abd al-Rahmān was closely tied to the Anṣār, the Ṭalḥids, and Tamīm and was a leader on the Day of al-Ḥarra. The 'Alid ties to the Makhzūm and Ṭalḥids are by now a recognized theme of their genealogies and the details here merely confirm similar network patterns noted earlier. See Chapter 3; Ibn Hajar, *Fath*, 9: 109; al-Daḥḥāk (Ibn al-'Aṣīm), *al-Āḥād*, 1: 104; IS, 5: 172.

chided by him upon his return from the campaign. Abū Mas'ūd then angrily left for Mecca. For all that 'Alī had established a kinship link with this group, the support he got from one of its most respected leaders was at best lukewarm.<sup>789</sup>

Umm Bashīr had one son (al-Ḥasan's eldest named Zayd) and two daughters by al-Ḥasan.<sup>790</sup> We do not know anything about one of these daughters, but the other, Umm al-Ḥasan Nafisa, was married to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.<sup>791</sup> Her brother Zayd b. al-Ḥasan had likewise turned to the Zubayrids at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr's counter caliphate. Whether the two were drawn to the Zubayrid cause due to the Makhzūmī contacts of their mother is unclear; given the aforementioned absorption of a considerable number of Makhzūmīs into the Zubayrid camp during the time of the second *fitna*, this is not unlikely.

Some late sources report that Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, who had control of the *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet,<sup>792</sup> had refused to pay homage to his uncle al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī; others simply state that he delayed in coming to his aid and that it was only after al-Ḥusayn's murder that he paid allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr in view of his full sister's marriage to him.<sup>793</sup> It is reported that he stayed with Ibn al-Zubayr until the latter was killed. Thereupon, Zayd took his sister and returned to Medina.<sup>794</sup>

Though the causes behind his turn to the Zubayrid coalition may be debated, it is certain that both he and his line had eschewed most 'Alid branches except for rare cases, most of which occur in the fourth generation after him. For that later period, most marriages of this line were endogamous (either within the family of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan or within that of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan). There are certainly rare cases of contacts with the Umayyads (until the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik) and the early 'Abbāsīds, but the later descendants of this line married almost exclusively with Ḥasanīds.<sup>795</sup>

Zayd and his immediate descendants, many of whom remained settled in the Hijāz, seem to have ridden the tide of victorious causes for several decades. For themselves, they generally did not have a personal agenda to promote. Thus after Ibn al-Zubayr's defeat, Zayd gave his daughter Nafisa, who was born to Lubāba bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās,<sup>796</sup>

<sup>789</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 247–8. Abū Mas'ūd is nevertheless counted among the *aṣḥāb* of 'Alī. See Ṭūsī, *al-Khilāf*, 1: 348, n. 4; Ibn Ḥibbān, *Mashāḥir*, 75.

<sup>790</sup> His son Zayd's mother is given as Umm Fajima bt. Abī Mas'ūd at Bukhārī, *Sirr*, 20 and his daughter Umm al-Ḥasan Nafisa's mother is recorded as a concubine at al-'Umārī, 20 and al-Bayhaqī, 1: 344. However, the former reports her as a Khazraji woman on the previous page. These are two late and rare reports.

<sup>791</sup> BL, 2: 403; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55ff.; IB, 97.

<sup>792</sup> Madelung, *Succession*, 230, n. 47. The *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet and 'Alī were a major point of contention between the Ḥasanīds and Ḥusaynīds. The Umayyads seem to have exploited this difference in an effective policy of *divide et impera*. See Ṭabarī, XXVI, 9 and below for a brief discussion.

<sup>793</sup> R, 41; al-Bukhārī, *Sirr*, 20.

<sup>794</sup> al-Bukhārī, *Sirr*, 20.

<sup>795</sup> There are very rare cases of marriages into the line of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, but these occur only in the fourth generation after Zayd b. al-Ḥasan. One exception is the marriage of Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan to an unidentified Ḥusaynīd woman. See 'Umārī, 34.

<sup>796</sup> Nafisa was born to Lubāba bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, who was first married to al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and then to al-Walīd b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Sufyān. Zayd was her third husband. Her father had been a supporter of the 'Alid cause until some days before al-Ḥasan's resignation. At that time, he was bribed by Mu'āwīya and, aware of al-Ḥasan's pacific inclinations, went over to his side. Some sources report that Lubāba remained married to al-'Abbās b. 'Alī until his death at Karbalā'. This is not



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to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. And it was during his reign that Zayd was appointed over the *ṣadaqāt*.<sup>797</sup>

Yet the family's sociopolitical program changed again with the younger members of the next generation. For example, Zayd's son al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, the only man through whom this line is said to have survived, was appointed governor of Medina in 149 AH by al-Manṣūr.<sup>798</sup> Though he is not said to have taken any part in a dispute between Khalīd b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥarith, the governor of Medina for Hishām, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, his appointment of the latter's son and grandson to the post of judge during the tenure of his governorship may indicate a gradual shift in the politics of this line towards the religious elite. This probably occurred towards the very end of the Umayyad period. Perhaps al-Ḥasan's growing power in the Hijaz, now with official sanction, troubled al-Manṣūr, who had him divested of his property and imprisoned towards the end of his reign. It was only after al-Manṣūr's death, when al-Mahdī acceded to the throne, that the latter freed him and restored his wealth. Reportedly, he also drew al-Ḥasan close and was in his company when he died.<sup>799</sup>

The line of al-Ḥasan survived through seven sons, none of whom had any major roles to play in political life.<sup>800</sup> The later descendants of many of these lines participated in revolutionary movements and several of them also appeared as *nuqabā'*, *ru'asā'* and *khuṭabā'* in various locales, though they were mostly in the Caspian region. From what names have come down to us in the sources, it is safe to say that this line remained generally endogamous within the Ḥasanid branch.<sup>801</sup> I will consider a few of these descendants below by way of example.

unreasonable given that there is no indication of a rift between 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās and the 'Alids ('Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās may also have gone to Mu'āwīya when al-Ḥasan abdicated). She married al-Walīd while he was governor of Mecca and Medina. Thus, this must have happened immediately after al-'Abbās' death and before Ibn al-Zubayr's accession to the throne. Lubāba bore al-Walīd a son named al-Qāsim and had a son named 'Ubaydallāh by al-'Abbās. On the latter, see below. See Madelung, *Succession*, 318–21; 325; NQ, 31ff., 79, 133; Ibn Habbī, *al-Muḥabbar*, 441; R, 184. Nafsa's mother appears as Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās at IS, 5: 318. This is very likely an error. A Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās is also mentioned as a wife of Zayd b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī. Though the latter is mentioned in some sources, all such references appear to be clear confusions of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī with his brother al-Husayn and 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās with his brother 'Ubaydallāh.

<sup>797</sup> IS, 5: 318; al-Bukhārī, *Sirr*, 20. I assume that these were the *ṣadaqāt* of the Prophet. Whether he was given this post earlier is unclear.

<sup>798</sup> al-'Umarī, 21; IH, 39. A daughter of his married the first 'Abbasid caliph. See 'al-Ḥasan b. Zayd' (Fr. Buhl), *ETZ*.

<sup>799</sup> IH, 39; NQ, 56–9, 279ff.; Sadūsī, 16; R, 41; al-'Umarī, 21; Bukhārī, *Sirr*, 20; IS, 5: 318; al-Mizānī, *Sharh*, 7: 246; al-Jūzī, *Rijāl*, 179; al-'Uṣfurī, *Tārīkh*, 353; Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 7: 320; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 2: 243. al-Manṣūr also incarcerated al-Ḥasan's son 'Alī, who died in prison. See IH, 39; R, 41, 63ff. It is very likely that he and his brother Zayd had participated in Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's rebellion in 145 AH. If this is correct, al-Manṣūr's appointment of his father in 149 AH and his much later concerns about him are difficult to explain. Perhaps the two brothers worked independently of their father, who is not mentioned as a participant in the movement.

<sup>800</sup> See Ishāqī, *Maqātīl*, 187.

<sup>801</sup> al-'Isāmī, *Samt*, 4: 119. I was able to count up to nine sons and one daughter. This daughter, named Nafsa, was married to Isḥāq b. Ja'far al-Sādiq, on whom see al-'Abṭālī, *Tahdhīb*, 1: 421, 4: 367; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 1: 200; al-Rāzī, *al-Jarh*, 2: 215.

<sup>802</sup> Some rare exceptions were the marriages of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī to a descendant of Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib;

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was born to a concubine, married Umm al-Qāsim bt. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. He had a son named Ibrāhīm by her.<sup>802</sup> We know nothing about him except that he was married into the Ḥasanid branch, to Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's son Muḥammad also married into the Ḥasanid line and fathered three sons (who left issue) by Umm Salama bt. 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.<sup>803</sup>

Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd's brother Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was also born to a concubine, had several descendants, none of whom seems to have had any prominent role in political life in the period under investigation. His grandson, al-Qāsim b. 'Alī, was sent forth with an army by al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il at the beginning of the revolt that culminated in 'Alid hegemony in Ṭabaristān. But this is dated to the year 250 AH. Ismā'il's descendants spread into the northeastern lands of the empire, including Rayy and Ṭabaristān. In the former, his descendants began to appear as *ru'asā'* and *nuqabā'* in the fourth generation after Ismā'il; and in the latter, they established their brief rule in 250 AH.<sup>804</sup>

'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who was born to a woman of the Banū Shaybān, seems to have left no impress on history. His grandson, Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh, revolted with his cognate cousin Abū al-Sarāyā b. Manṣūr al-Shaybānī immediately after the closing of the civil war between al-'Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. When Abū al-Sarāyā was defeated, Muḥammad fled to al-Ahwāz, where he was killed.<sup>805</sup>

Umm al-Maymūna bt. Hamza b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd to Zayd b. Mūsā al-Kārim; Āmina bt. al-Hamza b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan to a descendant of Muḥammad b. 'Alī; and Umm al-Ḥasan bt. Hamza b. al-Qāsim to a descendant of Ja'far al-Sādiq. All these were descendants of al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, on whom see below. See R, 47ff.; al-'Umarī, 21. These marriages fall outside the period under consideration. I have not explored the significance of these links.

<sup>802</sup> IH, 39; R, 66; NQ, 53–6; 'Umarī, 33. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan was embroiled in the disputes between the Husaynids and the Ḥasanids over the *wayṣiya* of 'Alī related to his *ṣadaqāt*. He sided with the Ḥasanids against Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn, the spokesman of the Husaynids. This dispute continued throughout the Umayyad period and its divisive effects are generally reflected in the marriage patterns noted here. Ja'far died in Medina. See below and IH, 41ff.; BL, 2: 404, 452.

<sup>803</sup> R, 66. It is claimed that this Muḥammad's descendants were in Medina, Ṭabaristān, and Nuṣaybīn, though at least one genealogist claims never to have met any of them. A group known as the Banū al-Khaṣṣīs reportedly traced their lineage to Muḥammad, though their eponym traced his lineage both to the Ḥasanids and Husaynids at various times. Members of this group were found in great numbers in and around Fārs. I have not been able to find any information on Umm Salama's father or grandfather; nor have I been able to track down anything on Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. A later descendant of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan, named Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan, rebelled in Medina at the time of al-Mu'tamid. He and his movement, which fall outside the scope of the period covered in this book, have generally been described in the sources as religiously deviant. See IH, 39; al-'Isāmī, *Samt*, 4: 121; al-Sakhawī, *Tuḥfa*, 3: 559.

<sup>804</sup> On his various descendants, see IH, 39–41; R, 68ff.; al-'Isāmī, 4: 120–21; Ishāqī, *Maqātīl*, 445. For a brief overview of the 'Alid takeover of Ṭabaristān, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 3: 285ff.

<sup>805</sup> IH, 37–41; R, 67. The rebellion of Abū al-Sarāyā, who nominally promoted the rights of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabāṭabā'i, will be mentioned below. The claims of several individuals asserting descent from Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh were dismissed by the same genealogists. It is also reported that Bukhārī, who was one of them, reshuffled the genealogy of some *ru'asā'* of Ahwāz from 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan to Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan. See R, 67 and 67, note 3. 'Abū 'l-Sarāyā' (H.A.R. Gibb), *ETZ*; Kennedy, *Prophet*, 150–3.



Another brother, named Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, was born to a black concubine. It is reported that he was among the favorites of al-Rashid and that he used to vilify the Ṭālibids. Presumably he was also a spy for the caliph. The relationship with the caliph, however, deteriorated and Ishāq was incarcerated towards the end of al-Rashid's reign and died in prison. No further information about Ishāq is available; the sources state that several 'Alids were killed by the authorities on the basis of information provided by Ishāq. It is implied that this ultimately angered al-Rashid, though such accounts are probably later 'Abbāsīd propaganda. Ishāq's children spread to various parts of the empire.<sup>806</sup>

Like Ishāq, his brother 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan also died in an 'Abbāsīd prison. However, unlike him, he neither seems to have enjoyed 'Abbāsīd patronage nor was he a pacifist. In 145 AH, 'Alī had participated in the famous revolt of the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, and it was very likely due to this that he was arrested by al-Manṣūr's officials. Few records of his immediate descendants have survived, though at least one of his later descendants rose to the *ri'āsa*.<sup>807</sup>

A few other descendants of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd are mentioned in the sources, but the preceding should suffice in giving us a general sense of the sociopolitical trajectory of this line.<sup>808</sup> At the time of the second civil war when the success of Ibn al-Zubayr seemed imminent, Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī embraced the Zubayrid cause; after the fall of Ibn al-Zubayr, he ingratiated himself with the Umayyads. Towards the end of their rule, his line may have inclined towards the 'Abbāsīds (or perhaps the 'Abbāsīds saw some benefit in drawing them close in their incipient years) so that his only son (al-Ḥasan) whose issue was of any significance for later history enjoyed a protracted governorship in Medina under al-Manṣūr. The existing sociopolitical clout enjoyed in the Hijaz by this line, at least one of whose members had only recently participated in the revolt of their Ḥasanid cousins in the Hijaz and Iraq, may have seemed diplomatically attractive to al-Manṣūr. But the long term official standing of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan in the region may have been equally troubling to him. Towards the end of his rule, he removed al-Ḥasan from his post, stripped him of his wealth and imprisoned him. After al-Manṣūr's death al-Mahdī tried to renew this contact, as did al-Rashid through one of al-Ḥasan's descendants. In time, this relationship turned sour as well. From then on, records of this line fall silent for a couple of generations till the descendants of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan begin to appear as leaders of the 'Alids in various regions outside the Hijaz and at the head of several revolutionary movements. It is worthy of attention that though al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan and his immediate descendants were largely exogamous, not long after the rise of the 'Abbāsīds, almost the entire line descended from Zayd b. al-Ḥasan began to turn to endogamy with the Ḥasanids. This fact sits well with their general political trajectories for the period after 145 AH. A rare

<sup>806</sup> IH, 39–40; R, 41, 67; al-Bayhaqī, I: 414; al-Isāmī, 4: 121.

<sup>807</sup> IH, 39, R, 41, 63ff; Ishāqī, *Maqātil*, 187.

<sup>808</sup> Other than what has already been mentioned here, where the wives or husbands of the descendants of al-Ḥasan b. Zayd are mentioned, they almost always tend to be of Ḥasanid extraction. And as with what has appeared above, his later descendants appear mostly in Tabaristān, Daylam, and the eastern provinces as *muqābā* and *ru'āsa*. Some of them also participated in rebellions, e.g. the descendants of al-Qāsim b. 'Alī (some of whom also found homes in the Hijaz and Egypt) at IH, 37–41; R, 41ff; al-'Umarī, 21–22, 31.

exception to this general rule was al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who reportedly stood by the 'Abbāsīds at the time of the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.<sup>809</sup> Some of his immediate descendants married into the solid and decades-old 'Abbāsīd-Ḥusaynid coalition (see below). Unlike most of its cousins, some segments of this line also remained prominent in the Hijaz.<sup>810</sup> Otherwise, the pattern of increasing Ḥasanid endogamy in Zayd b. al-Ḥasan's line starting in the early 'Abbāsīd period may be a reflection of two related things: the eventual loss of dynastic patronage because of the threat of competing legitimist claims; and the rise of the political solidarity of various Ḥasanid branches that substituted this loss.

### Vii. I.A.C. The Descendants of Khawla al-Fazāriyya

The most prominent line of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib traced itself to Khawla bt. Manẓūr al-Fazāriyya, the daughter of a Fazāri chief whose loyalties are a bit ambiguous. In the third chapter, we speculated that he had inclined first to the Zubayrids and then to the 'Alids sometime after the Battle of the Camel and that, by the end of the Umayyad period, he may have joined the Umayyad entourage. He had contacts both in Kūfa and Medina. When al-Ḥasan married Khawla, her sister Tumādīr had already been married to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr for many years and had given birth to several of his children. Khawla herself was first married to Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh and then, after his death at the Battle of the Camel, she took al-Ḥasan as her husband in Medina.<sup>811</sup> Through Khawla, a powerful complex of kinship links between the Ḥasanids, Ṭalḥids, and Zubayrids had been established. Her son Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa was especially close to his Ḥasanid cousins and also briefly enjoyed Umayyad patronage immediately after the fall of the Zubayrid caliphate. Ibrāhīm's children, most of whom were born to a Ṭalḥid woman with Zubayrid, 'Abbāsīd, and Ṭalḥid contacts, are themselves nondescript. His grandchildren and later descendants, on the other hand, were largely concentrated in Medina and enjoyed early 'Abbāsīd patronage.<sup>812</sup> In his marriage to Khawla, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī had absorbed several wings of the Hijāzī elite to add to his growing count of supporters.<sup>813</sup>

<sup>809</sup> During the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan and nine other anonymous members of the Ṭalḥid house were employed by 'Isā b. Mūsā to convince the masses to lay down their arms. al-Qāsim's is the rare line of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan that also married into Ḥusaynid and 'Abbāsīd circles: his son 'Abd al-Rahmān was married to Sukayna bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; his daughter, in turn, was married to an unnamed 'Abbāsīd; a granddaughter of his, Maymūna bt. Hamza was married to Zayd b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm, etc. See IH, 39–41; R, 41ff; 'Umarī, 21–22, 31; NQ, 71–3; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, 9: 19. In the sixth generation after al-Qāsim, his descendants became rulers in Daylam. Their descendants, in turn, were the notables of Qazwīn and Medina. In view of what will emerge in the course of this chapter, a pro-'Abbāsīd stance of this sub-branch in 145 AH, coupled with 'Abbāsīd and Ḥusaynid (Imāmī) marriage ties is not surprising at all. See the sources in the previous footnote.

<sup>810</sup> See the discussion of the Ḥusaynids below.

<sup>811</sup> Khawla and her Ṭalḥid descendants have been discussed at length in Chapter 3. Some rare accounts relate that after Muḥammad, she was briefly married to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.

<sup>812</sup> All this has been discussed in Chapter 3. Similar 'Abbāsīd patronage was briefly enjoyed by some revolutionary branches of the Ḥasanid 'Alids after the insurrection of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. See below.

<sup>813</sup> Later, against the protest of the 'Abbāsīds, an 'Uthmānid line also gave its daughter to Ibrāhīm



Another brother, It is reported that he Tālibids. Presumably however, deteriorated and died in prison. that several 'Alids, by Ishāq. It is implied probably later 'Abī empire.<sup>806</sup>

Like Ishāq, his b unlike him, he neith In 145 AH, 'Alī has 'Abdallāh b. al-Ha- Manṣūr's officials, at least one of his la

A few other desc preceding should st this line.<sup>808</sup> At the seemed imminent, i of Ibn al-Zubayr, h rule, his line may h some benefit in dra Ḥasan) whose issue norship in Medina Hijāz by this line, a revolt of their Ḥasa attractive to al-Mar Ḥasan in the region rule, he removed al him. After al-Manṣūr through one of al- From then on, reco dants of Zayd b. al outside the Hijāz an attention that thoug largely exogamous descended from Za fact sits well with tl

<sup>806</sup> IH, 39–40; R, 41

<sup>807</sup> IH, 39, R, 41, 63

<sup>808</sup> Other than what dants of al-Ḥasan b. Za with what has appear eastern provinces as nu dants of al-Qāsim b. 'A 41 ff.; al-'Umarī, 21–22

Khawla's son al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī was the head of his family and the *waṣī* of his father, who had entrusted him with the *sadaqa* of 'Alī.<sup>814</sup> This *sadaqa* was a major point of contention between him and his uncle, 'Umar b. 'Alī,<sup>815</sup> who was backed in his claims by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf. The sources relate an instructive anecdote in connection with this *sadaqa*. When al-Ḥasan came to the Umayyad court with his grievances, he complained to Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam about al-Ḥajjāj's push for including 'Umar b. 'Alī in the *sadaqa* of his grandfather. Yahyā, who was aware of 'Abd al-Malik's apprehensiveness about the Ḥasanid influence, promised to help him. When the two of them were in the caliph's company, Yahyā intimated to him that the people of Iraq came every year to al-Ḥasan urging him to take up arms. al-Ḥasan, who was utterly taken aback by this comment, immediately denied this charge and chastised Yahyā for his slander. 'Abd al-Malik did not pursue the matter further, but it seems that the tone for the remainder of their meeting had been set. When the caliph then asked al-Ḥasan about his needs, the latter informed him of his trouble with al-Ḥajjāj. 'Abd al-Malik promptly dispatched a messenger to his governor commanding him to desist. When al-Ḥasan later held private council with Yahyā, the latter explained that the caliph feared al-Ḥasan and that his comment only heightened the caliph's anxieties and gave al-Ḥasan an enviable bargaining position. Had he not done this, 'Abd al-Malik may not have looked after al-Ḥasan's needs.<sup>816</sup>

This anecdote sits well with the patterns of Umayyad policies towards the Hijāz that have been noted in previous chapters. 'Abd al-Malik had made a concerted effort in the earlier part of his reign to reconcile the Hijāzī elite to his rule. At the same time, he remained suspicious of their intentions and kept a resolute eye on them. Compared to the Zubayrids, whom he tried to win back through the agency of the Makhzūm, his anxiety over the Ḥasanids was perhaps much more intense. Though the details of this anecdote may be tendentious due to its bearing on matters of inheritance, still it spells out what was earlier a conclusion on the basis of kinship and appointment patterns—namely, that a powerful sociopolitical bloc had begun to emerge in the latter part of 'Abd al-Malik's reign under the leadership of the Ḥasanids. The passage is also significant in view of our limited knowledge of the sociopolitical concerns of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan fathered eight sons and seven daughters. Three of his daughters circulated in Umayyad dynastic circles. One of these, Ḥammāda bt. al-Ḥasan, was married to Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥarith b. al-Ḥakam and had two sons by him.<sup>817</sup>

b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, one of the most prominent members of this line. See Chapter 4 and below. The significance of the contact with the Zubayrids is demonstrated in an episode in which 'Abd al-Malik ordered his governor of Medina to have the Zubayrids and 'Alids revise their own kinfolk. This seems to be part and parcel of the Umayyad policy of sowing internal dissent among the 'Alids, which escalated in their disputes over the *sadaqa* (see below). The governor was well advised by his sister to have them revise each other instead. When al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was brought before the people, he refused to do so. Likewise, the son of his mother's full sister Ṭunādir (who was married to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr), Ṭābiḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, slandered only the Umayyads. See also NQ, 47ff.

<sup>814</sup> IH, 38; BL, 2, 403.  
<sup>815</sup> This may in fact be 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, but this is unlikely, as his father was still alive at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. See below.  
<sup>816</sup> NQ, 47.

<sup>817</sup> IH, 108ff. Ismā'īl was married to another 'Alid woman, Khadija bt. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. This Ḥasanid line's possible amicable relations with the Umayyads were already noted above.

Ḥammāda's sister Zaynab, a daughter of Fātima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, was a wife of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik during his reign.<sup>818</sup> It is also reported that she was married to Mu'āwiya b. Marwān, 'Abd al-Malik's full brother; this Mu'āwiya was also married to Ramla bt. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.<sup>819</sup> A third daughter of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Umm al-Qāsim, was married to Marwān b. Abān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, whose father's efforts at appropriating 'Alid lands in the Hijāz through marriage were already noted in the previous chapter. After Marwān, Umm al-Qāsim married 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin and then al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>820</sup> The latter was also married to Qasima bt. al-Ḥasan.<sup>821</sup> Zaynab bt. al-Ḥasan's full sister Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Ḥasan was married to Muḥammad al-Bāqir.<sup>822</sup> Of the two remaining daughters of al-Ḥasan, one was married to Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib and then to Ayyūb b. Maslama b. 'Abdallāh al-Makhzūm;<sup>823</sup> the other was married to Ja'far b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr and bore him a daughter named Fātima. This Fātima was married to Muṣ'ab b. Ṭābiḥ b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, whose father had bravely cursed the Umayyads during 'Abd al-Malik's reign, refusing the orders of his governors to denigrate his 'Alid kinsfolk. Fātima had two daughters by Muṣ'ab, both of whom were courted by the Banū Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, on the strength of their kinship ties.<sup>824</sup> It seems that all the marriages of this third generation were probably contracted before the end of al-Walid's reign or shortly thereafter.

Given the absence of dates, it is difficult to make sense of this information in terms of the diachronic development of al-Ḥasan's sociopolitical position. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that al-Ḥasan's daughters did not marry into the Sufyānid branch and that some contact with the Marwānid branch of 'Abd al-Malik's contemporaries was already generated through a daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, named Ramla. It is perhaps during the early period of Marwānid rule that al-Ḥasan perpetuated this link through the marriage of three of his daughters into the Ḥakamid branch. This corresponds well to the earlier observations of Marwānid efforts at establishing a viable relationship with the Hijāzī elite. The remaining contacts suggest a shift towards the Ḥusaynid 'Alids of what later became the Imāmī branch; then towards a revolutionary branch of the Tālibids (i.e. the family of Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh) which briefly integrated a number of 'Abbāsids in the late Umayyad period; and then towards the non-Tālibid allies of the Ḥasanids. (That this was probably the sequence of political inclinations is suggested in the chronology of the marriages of his daughter who took husbands after her marriage

<sup>818</sup> IH, 42; NQ, 51–3. 'Umarī, 36, reports that she was married to 'Abd al-Malik. This is not recorded in any other source.

<sup>819</sup> Ramla was born to Umm Sa'id bt. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi and her half-siblings through her mother were children of 'Uṭba b. Abī Sufyān. Thus, the Umayyad-Thaqafi complex of contacts of this line was fairly longstanding. See IH, 87, 108–11; NQ, 46ff.

<sup>820</sup> IH, 42; NQ, 53 (where al-Husayn b. 'Abdallāh is not mentioned); Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbab, 437.

<sup>821</sup> 'Umarī, 36. It is unclear whether this is an error for Umm al-Qāsim.

<sup>822</sup> IH, 42; NQ, 52.

<sup>823</sup> I have not been able to gather any information on Ayyūb or his father. IH, 42; NQ, 51–3; BL, 2: 425. Three of Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far's sons initially participated in the rebellion of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, but eventually sought amnesty. Muḥammad's father was their maternal uncle.

<sup>824</sup> Two of the children of Sulaymān b. 'Alī were born to Umm al-Ḥasan bt. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. IB, 166; IH, 42; NQ, 51–3.



to a Ḥakamīd.) The relationship with the Marwānids may have become lukewarm not much after al-Walīd's reign (when al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan died), around which time the non-Umayyad marriages were probably contracted.

The most widely discussed branch of the Ḥasanids is that of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. This is also the branch that produced the greatest number of challengers to 'Abbāsīd rule throughout its early history. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan was born to Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn, the daughter of Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭālha b. 'Ubaydallāh, whom the Sufyānids had unsuccessfully courted against al-Ḥasan's marriage proposal to her. After al-Ḥasan, by whom she had several children, Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭālha married his brother al-Ḥusayn. In these two marriages of the Sufyānīd period, the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids seem to have become integrated to some extent.<sup>825</sup> Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn, their only daughter, was also courted by the Sufyānids and, like her mother, she chose an 'Alid instead. During the reign of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, the governor of Medina, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Dahhāk b. Qays al-Fihri, repeatedly pressured her to marry him, but she did not comply.<sup>826</sup> Fāṭima's other husband was 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-Uthmānī by whom she had a son named Muḥammad al-Dihābī. The latter inclined towards his Ḥasanid half-siblings and was implicated in the revolution of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.<sup>827</sup> It is uncertain whether the participation of Umm Ishāq's Ḥasanid sons at Karbalā' shaped the aggressive politics of the later Ḥasanids in any direct way. Nevertheless, this is probable given that Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn was their half sibling and the mother of the greatest revolutionary branch of the Ḥasanids, linking them also to their 'Uthmānīd and Ṭalhid kinsfolk.<sup>828</sup> But other possible reasons for their involvement are discussed below.

Historical information on 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan is generally scanty, though he occurs in the chains of a number of Traditions.<sup>829</sup> Two historiographical forces seem to be at work in reports related to him, the first from al-Balādhuri, where he is generally portrayed as heavily invested in amassing wealth and power through cunning diplomacy; and the second, from Ibn 'Asākir, where the image is softer: he appears generally as a detached pacifist, promoting the rights of Abū Bakr and 'Umar

<sup>825</sup> Her sons Abū Bakr and al-Qāsim, both born to al-Ḥasan, died with al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā'. See IH, 38–9; NQ, 50. BL, 2: 403 mentions both Abū Bakr's and al-Qāsim's mother as a concubine. They also appear as full brothers of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥasan, whose mother is not identified in IH. As all three names appear in close vicinity in both sources, this discrepancy is intriguing. Either IH has deliberately tampered with the information, though the reason for this is not clear, as it does not list any descendants from any of these three men; or, what is more likely, IH and BL were relying on two versions of the same source or divergent sources ultimately derived from the same *Urtxt*.

<sup>826</sup> On Fāṭima and Umm Ishāq, see Chapters Three and Four. See also BL, 195ff. (B), 7: 189; NQ, 59–62, 114.

<sup>827</sup> See Chapter Three on Muḥammad's involvement in the revolutionary movement of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his perpetuation of kinship links with the Ḥasanids through his daughter.

<sup>828</sup> As noted above, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī was born to Khawla bt. Manzur; this contact had linked some Zubayrid and Ṭalhid branches with the Ḥasanid line. Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn brought her own impressive ties with the Ṭalhid, 'Uthmānīd, and Ḥusaynīd into the Ḥasanid fold. The marriage of these two individuals seems to be a main converging point of the Hijāzī elite in their resistance to the Umayyads and later, when the legitimist claims of the Ḥasanids were thwarted, against the 'Abbāsids. As 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan died in 144–45 AH at the age of 75 (or 72, as in Ibn 'Asākir, 27: 369), al-Ḥasan's marriage to Fāṭima must have been contracted during the late Sufyānīd or early Marwānīd period, in the year 73 AH at the latest. (It is more likely that it occurred in the Sufyānīd period, given reports of Yazīd's interest in Fāṭima.)

<sup>829</sup> See Ibn 'Asākir, 27: 364ff.

to the caliphate, condemning the extremist theological doctrines of metempsychosis, and restraining his kinsfolk from aggressive political activity.<sup>830</sup> Both sources agree, however, that he had nominated his son Muḥammad to the caliphate, calling him al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and al-Mahdī, before al-Saffāh acceded to the throne.<sup>831</sup> The movement that was to culminate in the revolution of his two sons had definitely begun during the caliphate of Hishām, if not earlier.<sup>832</sup> Homage was paid to Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh after al-Walīd b. Yazīd was murdered and the *fitna* was imminent. At this time, advised by al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabi' a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib<sup>833</sup> to take aggressive advantage of the opportunity, 'Abdallāh called forth a group from his *ahl al-bayt* and secured the homage to his son in Medina. It is at this time that Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh went into hiding.<sup>834</sup>

<sup>830</sup> Though in the last source, his advice is often simply to be patient and not necessarily that such activity should be banned. He is credited with giving similar advice to his two sons (BL, 2: 408ff., esp. 411). See BL, 2: 404ff.; Ibn 'Asākir, 27: 364ff. The making of 'Abdallāh's image deserves a full study.

<sup>831</sup> It is almost certain, as Elad argues, that the reports about Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh's early claims to rulership were circulated mainly in the 'Abbāsīd period. The objective of most reports quoted by Elad seems to be to undermine an existing Ḥasanid claim and, as such, they may well have come into circulation around the time of the revolt of 145 AH. Elad also categorizes accounts of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's early aspirations to the caliphate as pro-'Alid because of their contents and transmitters. Given these reasons, he intends to cast doubt on their authenticity. I do not consider mere tendentiousness or a late date of circulation, in the absence of other motives, to be signs of an account's falsity. Though such accounts ought to be approached with caution, it is interesting to note, for example, that the reports raise no doubts about the historicity of the Ḥasanid claim (advanced during the Umayyad period) and focus instead on the pre-ordained success of the 'Abbāsids. In other words, the claims of the 'Abbāsids and the Ḥasanids are both acknowledged, but it is argued that only those of the former were pre-determined to amount to political success. It stands to reason that such reports would gain currency precisely at the moment of crisis and sustained disputes over providential legitimacy, but late circulation does not reduce to falsity. See Elad, 'Rebellion', 154ff. and note 79 (where several modern scholars, who accept the reports at face value, are quoted). Furthermore, that support for Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya existed well before the success of the 'Abbāsids may be gauged from the prosopographical details to follow in this chapter. The same conclusion may also be drawn from the revolutionary movement of al-Mughira b. Sa'id in 119 AH. al-Mughira, who had until then been a supporter of al-Baqir, had started to spread propaganda for Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya after al-Baqir's death, claiming that Muḥammad was the Mahdī. At the same time, he had begun to cast accusations of heresy against the followers of al-Baqir. (See Elad, 'Rebellion', 159ff. and the sources cited there.) Some scholars cited by Elad question the authenticity of reports related to the ideological position of al-Mughira and his companion Baynān b. Sam'an.

<sup>832</sup> See BL, 2: 405ff., where two of Muḥammad's supporters mount a failed rebellion against Khālīd al-Qasri in Iraq; Ibn 'Asākir, 27: 367, where 'Abdallāh's sons were missing when he came as a delegate to Hishām. The latter noticed this and 'Abdallāh assured him that their absence was due to their love for the desert, not to any dislike of the caliph. He presented a similar excuse when their absence was noticed by al-Saffāh.

<sup>833</sup> The line of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had married into the family of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān's daughter 'Ātika was married into the Zaydī line; another contact with the Rabi' a b. al-Ḥārith was established by a marriage to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; yet another contact with the family of Muḥammad b. 'Alī existed through a marriage of his son al-Qāsim. A great grandson of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī was married to a descendant of Rabi' a b. al-Ḥārith. All these will be discussed below. al-Faḍl is also discussed by Madelung, 'Hāshimīyyāt', p. 23. On the role of his descendants in early anti-'Abbāsīd movements and their support of the Ḥasanids, see Id., 24. On the Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and their pretensions to the caliphate, see Nagel, *Untersuchungen*, 77ff, 167ff.

<sup>834</sup> BL, 2: 404–8.



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<sup>823</sup> Her so IH, 38-9; N also appear a all three nam deliberately any descend versions of f

<sup>826</sup> On Fā 59-62, 114. <sup>827</sup> See Cī Zakīyya and <sup>828</sup> As not linked some own impress of these two the Umayyad 'Abbāsids. A 369), al-Ḥas Marwānīd p period, given

However, there are other reports which suggest that 'Abdallāh's involvement in politics can be dated to an earlier period. For example, one account states that 'Abdallāh used to frequent 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz to seek his help against the caliph Sulaymān. If the report can be trusted, this probably occurred during the time 'Umar was attached to Sulaymān's court in Damascus. The nature of the intrigue is unclear, though it is likely that it had to do with 'Abdallāh's habitual requests of governors and caliphs to meet his various financial needs.<sup>833</sup> Sulaymān may not have granted 'Abdallāh the favors he had asked of him, whereupon he found a supporter in 'Umar.<sup>836</sup> Upon his accession, 'Umar continued to shower favors upon 'Abdallāh, going so far as to request him not to wait outside his door before his court was in session as he was loath to have a dignitary like him denied permission to enter. On another occasion, after 'Abdallāh's persistent requests for patronage, the caliph reportedly said, 'You will not gain anything for your family better than yourself.' 'Abdallāh then returned to Medina and the caliph followed up on his sweet words with more tangible compliments.<sup>837</sup>

When al-Saffāh came to power, 'Abdallāh visited him and was honored by him with the usual gifts. By then, it was becoming very clear to the authorities that it was only a matter of time before Muḥammad, who had already been given homage, would declare himself in open revolt against the central powers.<sup>838</sup> al-Saffāh took appropriate steps to extradite him from his place of hiding, though he did not succeed. His successor al-Manṣūr resorted to more vigorous tactics and also sent to 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan a spy, who was able to confirm the intentions of the revolutionaries. al-Manṣūr then had 'Abdallāh arrested during his pilgrimage of 140 AH; in 144 AH, when all efforts had failed, he had 'Abdallāh and several members on his family transported to Iraq, where many of them ultimately perished in prison. Among those arrested were Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 'Alī al-Akbar b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 'Abdallāh b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, and Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-

Ḥasan.<sup>839</sup> All these men were from the line of Khawla al-Fazāriyya and, to the best of my knowledge, no Ḥasanid from another branch was imprisoned. The Ḥusaynids were spared and some of them joined the 'Abbāsīd army that al-Manṣūr later sent to Medina under 'Isā b. Mūsā.<sup>840</sup>

When Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh finally started the insurrection in Medina, he counted on the large-scale support of the inhabitants of the city, most of whom initially paid homage to him.<sup>841</sup> The revolutionary movement was coordinated with his brother Ibrāhīm, who declared himself publicly in Baṣra shortly thereafter. The course of the movement and the various causes behind its failure have already been discussed in the literature<sup>842</sup> and, moreover, they fall outside the scope of this chapter. For our purposes,

<sup>839</sup> IH, 41-3; NQ, 51-3; R, 23, 33ff.; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 6: 51; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1111ff.; Ibn 'Inaba, 189 (B); al-Majlisī, *Bihār*, 95: 291; Bukhārī, *Sīr*, 18 n. 1; Marwazī, *Fakhri*, 127.

<sup>840</sup> At the time of the arrests in Medina, the Ḥusaynids were ordered by the authorities to enter the mosque and were then allowed to leave it. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1111. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh had sent his son 'Abdallāh al-Ashtar to India, presumably under the pretense of buying horses, but with the more pressing task of attracting an 'Abbāsīd general with 'Alīd sympathies to his cause. He succeeded in this mission, but shortly afterwards news of his father's death reached him. He was then advised to stay behind in India and to attach himself to one of the local kings. So he did and some four hundred Zaydiyya joined him and found a comfortable life there. The presence of the Zaydiyya may be explained by way of three related points: (1) their position that the imamate belonged to the person who made a military effort; (2) the distancing of the supporters of Zayd b. 'Alī from several Ḥusaynid branches after the failure of the revolt (more on this below); and (3) the contact of the Mu'tazila both with the lines of Zayd b. 'Alī and Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. On the consistent revolutionary support of the Zaydiyya for various Ḥasanid rebellions in the second and third centuries and their cooption of leaders of various 'Alīd branches during their formative period, see 'Zaydiyya' (W. Madelung), *EI2*; Madelung, *Glaubenslehre*, 36, 47-8, 72ff. This is the account in 'Umarī, 39, though according to *Maqātil*, as quoted by 'Umarī, al-Ashtar was exiled to Sind after his father's death and, according to one account in Bayhaqī, 410, al-Ashtar had escaped to Sind, where he was killed by a king and his head was sent to al-Manṣūr. See also Isḥāqī, *Maqātil*, 206 n. 1. From various accounts, it is fair to say that 'Alīd support in Khurāsān and Sind was substantial. It is perhaps for this reason that the head of al-Dībāj al-'Uthmānī, the kinsman and supporter of the Ḥasanids, was sent to these regions by al-Manṣūr with the assertion that it was in fact the head of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. Muḥammad himself claimed to have had this support when he said that there was no place where God was worshipped where *his du'at* had not already gotten homage. It was also perhaps due to his wide-ranging support that al-Manṣūr had great difficulty in finding an appropriate governor for Medina. He recognized that not only provinces like Khurāsān, but some 'Abbāsīds themselves were at least minimally loyal to the revolt. Riḡāḥ al-Murri the Syrian seemed to him to have been the best choice under the circumstances. See BL, 2: 414ff., 2: 430-1. On Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm's expedition to Sind before the outbreak of the revolution, see al-Ṭabarī, *al-Tārīkh*, 6: 241. The Ḥusaynids in the 'Abbāsīd army were Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn and al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd. Other 'Alīds who are said to have headed for Medina are not named. The Ḥusaynid (Imāmī)-'Abbāsīd kinship ties, to be discussed below, must have made them ideal negotiators with the revolutionaries. It also partly explains their general quiescence during the revolution. See Lassner, *Shaping*, 78; BL, 2: 421-2 (where the Ḥusaynid *imāms* are given preference by al-Manṣūr over the Ḥasanids, but his more direct point here is that they were preferable, though born to a concubine). On the quarrels between Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh and his Zaydi supporters, see 'Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad' (F. Omar), *EI2*.

<sup>841</sup> This is not to say that the support was uniform, but the movement certainly included at least some proponents from most major families. Muḥammad had taken Medina without any serious resistance and his supporters are mentioned as the Juhayna, Muzayna, and the people of Medina. Two Zubayrids are also named among his supporters. See BL, 2: 418ff. For those Medinans who opposed the revolution, see Elad, 'Rebellion', 179ff. <sup>842</sup> See Elad, 'Rebellion' and the sources cited there.

<sup>833</sup> 'Abdallāh used to ask the governor to fulfill his needs. When he declined to help, he worked towards having the governor removed (BL, 2: 409). It appears that his powers of persuasion were formidable, given that his wealth had accumulated to 100,000 (*dirhams, dirhams*) when he died. See BL, 2: 409.

<sup>836</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, 27: 366. <sup>837</sup> The Umayyad patronage of 'Abdallāh seems to have been predicated on the dynasts' perception of his underlying intentions and the danger he posed to their rule. That there was some tension in their seemingly amicable relationship is suggested not only in the details above, but also in an episode of 'Abdallāh's clash with an Umayyad in Medina (Ibn 'Asākir, 27: 373) and the oppression he and his brother suffered at the hands of 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān, al-Walīd's governor of Medina. After his removal, al-Walīd extended the olive branch by seeing to their needs (BL, 2: 409). But compare this to Zettersteijn, who seems to claim that 'Abdallāh had the unqualified favors of the Umayyads and al-Saffāh and that he 'owed his misfortune not so much to himself as to his two sons Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm' ('Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan' K.V. Zettersteijn), *EI2*.

<sup>838</sup> al-Saffāh's misgivings are amply quoted in the sources. See, e.g. BL, 2: 408. The caliph is also said to have taken decisive steps in trying to find 'Abdallāh's sons. The latter denied knowing their whereabouts and even spread the rumor that Muḥammad had died. al-Saffāh supplemented his efforts in searching for his sons with bribes for their father, as the Umayyads had done earlier.



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Thus we would note that al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī had married daughters of three of his uncles, Muḥammad, 'Umar, and al-Ḥusayn. He also fathered his son Muḥammad by Ramlā bt. Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl,<sup>844</sup> one of whose daughters may have been married to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>845</sup> The latter's son al-Dībāj was a supporter of his Ḥasanid siblings and has already been mentioned several times. All of al-Ḥasan's marriages very likely occurred before the middle of al-Walīd's reign.

This trend continued in the next generation, for which most marriages were probably contracted around the death of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik or shortly thereafter. For example, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan married a daughter of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and she bore him a daughter named Mulaika.<sup>846</sup> His sons Sulaymān and 'Abdallāh were born to Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.<sup>847</sup> Dāwūd's brother 'Alī was married to 'Ulayya bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.<sup>848</sup> Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan had sons named Ismā'īl, Ishāq, and Ya'qūb by Dabīḥa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī.<sup>849</sup> Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan had a daughter named Umm al-Ḥasan and a son named al-Ḥasan by a woman of the Azd.<sup>850</sup> al-Ḥasan al-Muthallath's sons al-Ḥasan, al-'Abbās, Ṭalḥa, and 'Abdallāh were born either to 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa b. 'Umar al-Taymī or to a descendant of 'Amr b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb.<sup>851</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan's daughters

<sup>843</sup> The wide support for Muḥammad's rebellion in Medina, for example, may be explained partly on the basis of the wider kinship net his Ḥasanid ancestors had cast. After Muḥammad's generation, though cases of exogamy outside the Ḥasanid line do exist, they are rare. For the names of some supporters of the revolution in 145 AH, see Ishāqī, *Maqātil*, 186ff. Having stated this, it is worth considering the fact that a Ḥasanid pool of endogamy had only become possible in the generation of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, i.e. in the generation of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī's grandchildren. Thus, greater intra-Ḥasanid endogamy in later generations might simply be a reflection of the fact that only then were there more Ḥasanids available who were licit to each other. Nevertheless, given that al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī is reported to have had at least seven sons who left children, the possibility of endogamy must already have been substantial during his grandson 'Abdallāh's time. Its complete absence during his generation is striking. On the other hand, the possibility of intra-Ḥusaynid endogamy was available to the Ḥusaynids only minimally in the generation of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's children. This is so because, other than the children of the latter, al-Ḥusayn seems to have had only two other grandchildren who survived (one of whom was a woman).

<sup>844</sup> IS, 5: 319. Sa'īd b. 'Amr was an early convert and witnessed the Battle of Badr. He settled in Kūfa for some time but eventually returned to Medina. He died in al-Aqīq in 50 AH. Some accounts relate that he died in Kūfa. IS, 6: 13; al-Majīshī, *Bihar*, 100: 303 n.1.

<sup>845</sup> Malik, *Muwatta'*, 2: 579.

<sup>846</sup> R, 36 (this may be the same as Umm Kulthūm bt. Zayn al-'Ābidīn below).

<sup>847</sup> R, 34; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1111.

<sup>848</sup> NQ, 53-6.

<sup>849</sup> NQ, 56-9.

<sup>850</sup> NQ, 59-62.

<sup>851</sup> IH, 42-3; NQ, 53-6.

Fāṭima and Umm Salama were both born to Tumādīr bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āṣim b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafiyya.<sup>852</sup> And 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, who despite subversive intent enjoyed Umayyad patronage through several reigns, had several children by Hind bt. Abī 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-Muṭṭalib. She was earlier married to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>853</sup> Thus keeping the possibility of oversight and lacunae in the sources in mind, not a single wife of this line for this generation was Ḥasanid.

Thus from the marriages of the daughters of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, the career of the latter and his son, and the marriage patterns observed in the two preceding paragraphs, it is safe to say that through the generation of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, this line of Ḥasanids was generally exogamous, marrying not only into the Ḥakamids (as with the daughters of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan), but also casting a wide net spreading into the lines of Ḥusaynids, Taymīs, Makhzūmīs, and Thaqafīs. Furthermore, the support of some branches of Zubayrid and 'Uthmānid kinsfolk for these Ḥasanids has already been noted above. It is perhaps in view of these expansive kinship links that the uprising of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, though predicated on 'Alid legitimist claims, can be seen as a general elite sedition. Prominent members of the elite tied by kinship bonds to this Ḥasanid line participated on Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's side.<sup>854</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems that the move towards endogamy was already in the making during the generation of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.<sup>855</sup> For example, Mulaika bt. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was married to Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.<sup>856</sup> Zaynab b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was married to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and her two sisters were also married into the line of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.<sup>857</sup> And Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya himself was married to Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and had several children by her.<sup>858</sup>

<sup>852</sup> NQ, 51-3. This is a cognate link as 'Alī had fathered several children by a daughter of 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd. See below.

<sup>853</sup> BL, 2: 404; Umarī, 37; 'Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh' (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EJ2*, Umarī, 37 gives the mother of his son Idrīs as 'Ātika bt. 'Abd al-Malik al-Makhzūmīya and Ishāqī, *Maqātil*, 137, lists his son Muḥammad's mother as Ramlā bt. Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Zayd. 'Ātika occurs as the mother of 'Isa b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (BL, 2: 404, which is more likely) and the Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh is obviously a mistake for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (above).

<sup>854</sup> As shown above, the groundwork for the wide base of support was already laid by the preceding generations. On the spectrum of support for this revolt, see Lassar, *Shaping*, Chapter 3, note 47 and the references there. When an advisor to al-Manṣūr asked him about Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's following, the caliph said, 'They are the descendants of 'Alī, Ja'far, 'Aqīl, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, the rest of the Quraysh, and the children of the Anṣār' (Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, 3: 299). For the socio-economic motivation for the elite rebellion, for which kinship was only one unifying factor, see Elad, 'Rebellion', 185, where other secondary sources are also cited. The participation of the members of the elite can be explained in terms of the slow process of the socio-economic decline of Medina during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods. The elite who participated in the revolution were perhaps most affected by this deterioration and, as explained here, had begun to solidify their position through kinship bonds no later than the reign of al-Walīd I.

<sup>855</sup> The marriages of this generation should probably be dated to a period starting after the death of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and stretching to the end of the Umayyad rule.

<sup>856</sup> R, 36.

<sup>857</sup> NQ, 53-6.

<sup>858</sup> NQ, 51ff. Several cases of exogamy still existed during this generation, though a number of them make good sense in the larger framework of the sociopolitical trajectory of this line. For example, Muḥammad was also married to Fakhīta bt. Fulayb b. Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr and had



it is worthy of note that a large number of individuals from the line of Khawla al-Fazāriyya had committed themselves to this Ḥasanid cause and had banded together under the banner of the two sons of 'Abdallāh. The movement had started with 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan no later than the reign of Ḥishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. (It had very likely been in the making even before then.) After the movement was crushed, this Ḥasanid line produced several revolutionaries over the next few decades. The unity of this line is reflected in its endogamy starting from the generation of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm. Until this time, a number of marriages had been contracted with various 'Alid branches, the Ṭalḥids, Zubayrids, Umayyads, and other Hijāzī elite. The 'Abbāsids are missing throughout in the lists.<sup>843</sup>

Thus we would note that al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī had married daughters of three of his uncles, Muḥammad, 'Umar, and al-Ḥusayn. He also fathered his son Muḥammad by Ramlā bt. Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl,<sup>844</sup> one of whose daughters may have been married to 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.<sup>845</sup> The latter's son al-Dībāj was a supporter of his Ḥasanid siblings and has already been mentioned several times. All of al-Ḥasan's marriages very likely occurred before the middle of al-Walīd's reign.

This trend continued in the next generation, for which most marriages were probably contracted around the death of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik or shortly thereafter. For example, Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan married a daughter of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and she bore him a daughter named Mulaika.<sup>846</sup> His sons Sulaymān and 'Abdallāh were born to Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.<sup>847</sup> Dāwūd's brother 'Alī was married to 'Ulayya bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.<sup>848</sup> Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan had sons named Ismā'īl, Ishāq, and Ya'qūb by Dabīḥa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī.<sup>849</sup> Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan had a daughter named Umm al-Ḥasan and a son named al-Ḥasan by a woman of the Azd.<sup>850</sup> al-Ḥasan al-Muthallath's sons al-Ḥasan, al-'Abbās, Ṭalḥa, and 'Abdallāh were born either to 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa b. 'Umar al-Taymī or to a descendant of 'Amr b. Malik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb.<sup>851</sup> Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan's daughters

<sup>843</sup> The wide support for Muḥammad's rebellion in Medina, for example, may be explained partly on the basis of the wider kinship net his Ḥasanid ancestors had cast. After Muḥammad's generation, though cases of exogamy outside the Ḥasanid line do exist, they are rare. For the names of some supporters of the revolution in 145 AH, see Ishāqī, *Maqātil*, 186ff. Having stated this, it is worth considering the fact that a Ḥasanid pool of endogamy had only become possible in the generation of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, i.e. in the generation of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī's grandchildren. Thus, greater intra-Ḥasanid endogamy in later generations might simply be a reflection of the fact that only then were there more Ḥasanids available who were licit to each other. Nevertheless, given that al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī is reported to have had at least seven sons who left children, the possibility of endogamy must already have been substantial during his grandson 'Abdallāh's time. Its complete absence during his generation is striking. On the other hand, the possibility of intra-Ḥusaynid endogamy was available to the Ḥusaynids only minimally in the generation of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's children. This is so because, other than the children of the latter, al-Ḥusayn seems to have had only two other grandchildren who survived (one of whom was a woman).

<sup>844</sup> IS, 5: 319. Sa'īd b. 'Amr was an early convert and witnessed the Battle of Badr. He settled in Kūfa for some time but eventually returned to Medina. He died in al-Aqīq in 50 AH. Some accounts relate that he died in Kūfa. IS, 6: 13; al-Majīshī, *Bihar*, 100: 303 n.1.

<sup>845</sup> Malik, *Muwatta'*, 2: 579.

<sup>846</sup> R, 36 (this may be the same as Umm Kulthūm bt. Zayn al-'Ābidīn below).

<sup>847</sup> R, 34; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1111.

<sup>848</sup> NQ, 53-6.

<sup>849</sup> NQ, 56-9.

<sup>850</sup> NQ, 59-62.

<sup>851</sup> IH, 42-3; NQ, 53-6.

Fāṭima and Umm Salama were both born to Tumādīr bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āsim b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafiyya.<sup>852</sup> And 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, who despite subversive intent enjoyed Umayyad patronage through several reigns, had several children by Hind bt. Abī 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-Muṭṭalib. She was earlier married to 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>853</sup> Thus keeping the possibility of oversight and lacunae in the sources in mind, not a single wife of this line for this generation was Ḥasanid.

Thus from the marriages of the daughters of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, the career of the latter and his son, and the marriage patterns observed in the two preceding paragraphs, it is safe to say that through the generation of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, this line of Ḥasanids was generally exogamous, marrying not only into the Ḥakamids (as with the daughters of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan), but also casting a wide net spreading into the lines of Ḥusaynids, Taymīs, Makhzūmīs, and Thaqafīs. Furthermore, the support of some branches of Zubayrid and 'Uthmānid kinsfolk for these Ḥasanids has already been noted above. It is perhaps in view of these expansive kinship links that the uprising of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, though predicated on 'Alid legitimist claims, can be seen as a general elite sedition. Prominent members of the elite tied by kinship bonds to this Ḥasanid line participated on Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's side.<sup>854</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems that the move towards endogamy was already in the making during the generation of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya.<sup>855</sup> For example, Mulaika bt. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was married to Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.<sup>856</sup> Zaynab b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was married to 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and her two sisters were also married into the line of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.<sup>857</sup> And Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya himself was married to Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and had several children by her.<sup>858</sup>

<sup>852</sup> NQ, 51-3. This is a cognate link as 'Alī had fathered several children by a daughter of 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd. See below.

<sup>853</sup> BL, 2: 404; Umarī, 37; Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh (L. Vecchia Vaglieri), *EJ2*, Umarī, 37 gives the mother of his son Idrīs as 'Ātika bt. 'Abd al-Malik al-Makhzūmīya and Ishāqī, *Maqātil*, 137, lists his son Muḥammad's mother as Ramlā bt. Sa'īd b. 'Amr b. Zayd. 'Ātika occurs as the mother of 'Isa b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (BL, 2: 404, which is more likely) and the Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh is obviously a mistake for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan (above).

<sup>854</sup> As shown above, the groundwork for the wide base of support was already laid by the preceding generations. On the spectrum of support for this revolt, see Lassar, *Shaping*, Chapter 3, note 47 and the references there. When an advisor to al-Manṣūr asked him about Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's following, the caliph said, 'They are the descendants of 'Alī, Ja'far, 'Aqīl, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, the rest of the Quraysh, and the children of the Anṣār' (Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, 3: 299). For the socio-economic motivation for the elite rebellion, for which kinship was only one unifying factor, see Elad, 'Rebellion', 185, where other secondary sources are also cited. The participation of the members of the elite can be explained in terms of the slow process of the socio-economic decline of Medina during the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid periods. The elite who participated in the revolution were perhaps most affected by this deterioration and, as explained here, had begun to solidify their position through kinship bonds no later than the reign of al-Walīd I.

<sup>855</sup> The marriages of this generation should probably be dated to a period starting after the death of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and stretching to the end of the Umayyad rule.

<sup>856</sup> R, 36.

<sup>857</sup> NQ, 53-6.

<sup>858</sup> NQ, 51ff. Several cases of exogamy still existed during this generation, though a number of them make good sense in the larger framework of the sociopolitical trajectory of this line. For example, Muḥammad was also married to Fakhīta bt. Fulayb b. Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr and had



Other than a few exceptions, most of which involve absorption into the 'Abbāsīd family,<sup>859</sup> the generations after Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya became largely endogenous. Many members of the family moved out of the Hijaz and eventually spread west as far as al-Andalus and east as far as Khurāsān; and they remained politically marginalized by the 'Abbāsīds, with only a few among them acquiring coveted posts in what appears to be a project of reconciliation after the revolt. On the other hand, as has been observed throughout the book, quite a few of their erstwhile elite cognates did well

his son Talha by her. This marriage is not surprising given the Zubayrid contacts of this line in the two previous generations. (But contrast this with claims that posit them as 'the fiercely anti-'Alid family of al-Zubayr.' One of the anti-'Alids, 'Abdallāh b. Muḥab' b. Thābit, was descended from a cousin and cousin of the Hasanids and will be mentioned below. This account relates to the period of al-Rashid. See 'Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan, *ETI* 2. See NQ, 53–6. 'Umarī, 39, citing Bukhārī, claims that Talha's mother was a Muḥammadiyya (presumably from the line of Muḥammad b. 'Alī) woman. See also Ibn 'Inaba (B), 105. Likewise, Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan had a son by Khadija bt. Ibrāhīm b. Talha b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī. Her father Ibrāhīm was among the Medinan supporters of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, though, like many leaders of the Quraysh in Medina, al-Manṣūr had written to him to sway him away from the revolution. The letter was intercepted and he was imprisoned by Muḥammad. See al-Tabarī, *ETI* 6: 206. The 'Abbāsīds had bought off quite a few people or made proposals to do so during the 'Alid military movements. In 140 AH, al-Manṣūr distributed stipends in Medina when he felt the revolution was imminent; Yahyā al-Barmakī bribed the local king in Daylam during the uprising of Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan (the latter himself received substantial gifts of conciliation), and the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd efforts at plying Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's father with gifts have already been mentioned. See, e.g. BL, 2: 449ff. Talha b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh was married to Fātima bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib. This Fātima, to whom the above-mentioned Ibrāhīm was born, was earlier married to Hamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr. The Talibid-Taymī-Zubayrid network of the generation before al-Nafs al-Zakiyya is apparent. Here also are mentioned the kinship links the family of Talha b. 'Umar had with the 'Abbāsīds and the appointments they received from them and the Umayyads. For the generation before al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, the marriage of 'Ā'isha bt. Talha b. 'Umar to al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan has already been mentioned above. Such contacts may have resulted in a diametric pull on the family at the time of the revolution. See NQ, 241; BL, 5: 215. When al-Hasan b. Zayd was made governor of Medina in the conciliatory diplomatic efforts of the 'Abbāsīds (on which see below), he forced Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm to be the judge of the city. See al-Aghani, 5: 137. Another two cases of exogamy were the two wives of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan, Bahkana bt. 'Umar b. Salama al-Hujaymī and a woman of the Banī Ja'far b. Kilāb. See BL, 2: 445; NQ, 53–6; al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, 6: 11. The former was the daughter of one of the first men to respond to Ibrāhīm's call in Basra. Ibrāhīm married her after his arrival in Basra, very likely to ground his support in kinship claims. See al-Tabarī, *al-Tārīkh*, 6: 245, 6: 257. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan was married to a Faḍlī cognate. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh also married into the Taymī line. It is likely that the recurring references to his Taymī wife point to Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad b. Talha b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr. See 'Umarī, 46; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdādī*, 13: 28; NQ, 53–6; R, 6. 'Abdallāh b. Dawūd b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī fathered a son by a descendant of the 'Abbāsīd Muḥammad b. 'Alī. Finally, Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, who was born to a Thaḡafī woman and was a full sister of the wife of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (mentioned in this footnote), was married to Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. This was a rare case of such late marriage into the Umayyad family. See NQ, 51–3.

<sup>859</sup> This is in sharp contrast to the plethora of Husaynid ties, generally from the line of the *imāms*, with the 'Abbāsīds that may partly have guided their quietist attitude for several generations (see below). For example, Ja'far al-Sādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzim both reportedly discouraged the revolutions of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and al-Husayn b. 'Alī (at Fakhkh) respectively. Though the approval of Mūsā is recorded in a rare report in al-Abḥārī, *Tahdhīb al-maḥall*, 2: 418 and Iḥṣānī, *Maḥall*, 186, mentions a Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad as a participant in 145 AH.

during the early period of the new dynasty. It was perhaps a judicious decision of the 'Abbāsīds to court this élite of a former 'Alid coloring for the micromanagement of their empire, to the exclusion of those whose official sanction could be coupled with dangerous legitimism. For all that the 'Abbāsīds had successfully courted some branches of the 'Alids into their fold, the challenge of several revolutionary movements that were offshoots of the movement of Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm had still to be met with measured diplomacy and calculated tactics.

As far as marriages are concerned, the 'Abbāsīds had already established some contacts in the lifetime of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya: Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī to 'Isā b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya first to Muḥammad b. al-Saffāh and then to 'Isā b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh.<sup>860</sup> The marriage contract of Zaynab bt. Muḥammad had been sealed during the lifetime of al-Saffāh, when the caliph, suspecting the clandestine activities of 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan's sons, had resorted to gifts and other diplomatic efforts in trying to pacify the Hasanids. As Zaynab was too young when the marriage was concluded, she had remained with her agnates and was in their custody throughout the movement. Not long after its conclusion, Muḥammad b. al-Saffāh came to her family to claim his wife and was then severely upbraided by 'Isā b. Mūsā when 'Alid complaints of his impetuosity reached him. But Zaynab was eventually delivered to her husband. Likewise, Ruqayya bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī was successively married to two Umayyads, an 'Abbāsīd, and finally to Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī. Again, it is likely that the marriage to the 'Abbāsīd was contracted during the reign of al-Saffāh.<sup>861</sup> Like the last Hasanid husband of Zaynab bt. Muḥammad above, Ishāq was one of the few Hasanids not to die in al-Manṣūr's prison.<sup>862</sup> Finally, after the revolutionary movement had been contained, a daughter of Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan, who was also pardoned by al-Manṣūr, married the caliph's son.<sup>863</sup> But these are rare cases. The Hasanids of this line, though they enjoyed amicable relations in the post-revolutionary period with al-Mahdī,<sup>864</sup> seem to have resisted 'Abbāsīd advances in general. Thereafter, the insurrections exploded again starting in al-Hādī's reign.<sup>865</sup>

<sup>860</sup> NQ, 51–3. Zaynab had three other husbands after 'Isā, given as Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, and 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī. See BL, 2: 428; NQ, 53–6. It seems, therefore, that she moved from 'Abbāsīd circles to a line that was on good terms with the 'Abbāsīds during the early period of their reign and then back to her agnates. Her fourth husband was born to a daughter of Ja'far b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, who had been imprisoned by al-Manṣūr, but was one of the few to be released. One of Ja'far's daughters, Umm al-Hasan, was married to Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (the Banī Sulaymān were mentioned above). See BL, 2: 451–3, 3: 94; NQ, 56–9. His later descendants married into the Husaynid line and enjoyed the patronage of the central authorities. See also R, 36ff; NQ, 65–7. The father of her last husband had also been granted amnesty by al-Mahdī during his period of conciliatory policies towards the 'Alids. This was at the behest of al-Hasan b. Ibrāhīm's wife, a daughter of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. It seems then that, after the revolt, al-Manṣūr's diplomatic efforts towards the Hasanids were launched at least partly through the intermediary of the families mentioned here. See NQ, 50ff; BL, 2: 404–8.

<sup>861</sup> NQ, 53–6; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 437ff.

<sup>862</sup> He was, however, imprisoned with the Hasanids. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1111.

<sup>863</sup> 'Umarī, 45.

<sup>864</sup> See 'Fakhkh', *ETI*.

<sup>865</sup> The conciliatory efforts of the 'Abbāsīds towards the 'Alids did not bear the expected fruit. Though



The first one among these was the abortive uprising of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī in 169 AH. al-Ḥusayn was born to Zaynab bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and was therefore cognate cousin to two 'Abbāsīd brides, Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Umm Kulthūm bt. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh, and maternal nephew to another, Ruqayya.<sup>866</sup> The network of links with the 'Abbāsīds stands in sharp contrast to its virtual absence in this Ḥasanid line for most of the Umayyad period. It has already been noted that, after the uprising of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, al-Manṣūr made some efforts to bridge gaps with the Ḥasanids by drawing close some members of a Ḥasanid branch (of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī) and by taking some Ḥasanid daughters into his house. The conciliatory policy was very likely continued by al-Mahdī, with whom al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan seems to have enjoyed some influence.<sup>867</sup> Be that as it may, given his lineage and the involvement of his father and grandfather in the movement of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya,<sup>868</sup> it is likely that al-Ḥusayn harbored some commitment to the abortive revolution of 145 AH; so at the end of the period of reconciliation, he revolted.

The revolt of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was very different from that of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. Though the discussion of the causes behind his movement falls outside the scope of this chapter, here it ought simply to be pointed out that it did not garner the wide-ranging support that had so troubled al-Manṣūr twenty four years earlier. This was by no means an insurrection backed by the mass of Hijāzī élite. The legitimist underpinnings of the movement seem to have been minimal, and it is more than likely that the outbreak was sparked at least in part by al-Ḥādī's reversal of the economic measures in favor of the 'Alīds that had been adopted by his predecessor.<sup>869</sup> Though at least one

some 'Alīds were granted pardon and were absorbed into the 'Abbāsīd fold through marriage and gifts, others continued clandestine activities throughout the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. Most of the leaders of such movements were involved in the rebellion of 145 AH. See al-'Isāmī, *Samī*, 4: 164ff., where the various uprisings are mentioned, though the author tends to downplay their covert nature. None of these insurrections seem to have come to a head as did the movement in Medina in 169 AH.

<sup>866</sup> This Ruqayya may indeed have been his full sister, as NQ, 53–6, mentions a Ruqayya bt. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan as a wife of Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan. Likewise, in the same source an identical variant occurs with reference to Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, who also appears as the full sister of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. In either case, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī's 'Abbāsīd kinship is clearly established.

<sup>867</sup> al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Ṣāhib al-Fakhkh, *EJ*, 2: al-Ṭabari (trans.), XXX, 33.  
<sup>868</sup> His father was a notable ascetic and, though he had not been imprisoned by al-Manṣūr's agents, he had preferred to join his kinsmen voluntarily and died in prison. His grandfather also died there. See *IH*, 42ff.; NQ, 51ff.; R, 21; Cf. Ibn al-ʿAthīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1111, where 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī is given in place of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan.

<sup>869</sup> al-Mahdī himself may have reversed his policies towards the end of his reign, especially towards the Zaydiyya, with whom al-Ḥusayn's movement is identified by the Shī'ī sources. The movement very likely had to do with a call to social justice. That the policy had already begun to change during al-Mahdī's time is indicated in reports that al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh (who later revolted in 175 AH) had clear plans to mount a revolt during the Pilgrimage season, and that the supporters of the revolution were pilgrims, largely from Kūfa (later, seeing that the movement was bankrupt, al-Ḥusayn also appealed to slaves for help). This suggests that some planning had gone into the uprising and, given that al-Ḥādī had just acceded to the throne, such planning should be dated back to the last years of al-Mahdī's reign. See 'Alī Ṣāhib al-Fakhkh *EJ*, 2: al-Ṭabari (trans.), XXX, 18, 18 n.70, 34. Ya'qūbī reports that when al-Ḥādī came to power, he cut off the *arṣad* and *a'tiya* and began an aggressive policy of pursuing dissidents. Iṣḥāqī, *Maqātil*, 274; 294; Ya'qūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 404.

account claims that the revolution opened with a view to alleviating the deplorable conditions of the Shī'a of Khurāsān under al-Ḥādī, the immediate cause was very likely the ill-treatment of Ḥasanids in Medina by the caliph's agent installed there.<sup>870</sup> The reaction of the Medinans suggests that they had few incentives in joining the uprising and that not only did many of them immediately turn away from the impending trouble, but, in some cases, they also showed themselves to be hostile towards the revolutionaries.<sup>871</sup>

Two main causes for the failure of this revolution may be isolated: the first was several years of 'Abbāsīd diplomacy towards the Hijāzī élite in general; and the second was the development of an increasingly introverted kinship structure within the Ḥasanid line. In previous chapters we have already come across the appointments of members of the non-'Abbāsīd élite to coveted Hijāzī posts (the deputy governor whose oppressive treatment of 'Alīds in Medina was the immediate cause of the revolution, for example, was an 'Umarīd). Such posts were supplemented by handsome gifts and land grants that the 'Abbāsīd caliphs had bestowed upon the élite who were the micromanagers of the provinces. The 'Alīds themselves had benefited from this generosity from the late Manṣūr to the late Mahdīd periods. These two facts—that the élite was generally content with the 'Abbāsīd rule and that the Ḥasanids had begun to lose the wide spectrum of social clout they had cultivated in previous generations—might explain the indifference and/or hostility of the Medinans towards al-Ḥusayn. At this time, the 'Alīds did not offer them any attractive alternative, nor were they able to appeal to kinship ties.<sup>872</sup> The abortive revolution of 169 AH, which came to a tragic end at al-Fakhkh, was second only to Karbalā' in terms of 'Alīd casualties. Like Karbalā', it seems largely to have been an 'Alīd movement, though it attracted the Ḥasanids almost exclusively.<sup>873</sup>

The failed revolution of 169 AH was a watershed in the history of the Ḥasanids. Though in some rare cases, Ḥasanid lines had left the Hijāz before this time to settle in the various parts of the empire,<sup>874</sup> it seems that it was largely via the agency of the

<sup>870</sup> Ṭabari (trans.), XXX, 17.

<sup>871</sup> Ṭabari (trans.), XXX, 22.

<sup>872</sup> In addition to the Ḥasanid intermarriages pointed out above, one may also note the marriage of al-Ḥusayn's niece Kulthūm bt. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī to Ṣāḥib b. 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (R, 14–5); and of Fāṭima bt. Idrīs b. 'Abdallāh (Idrīs was a brother of al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and participated in this revolt) to Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (R, 18). The data on marriages begins to disappear around this period, though from what information has survived, it is fair to say that the trend of endogamy generally continued for the next few generations.

<sup>873</sup> A quick glance at the names of participants in the battle suggests that there were four Ḥasanids for every Ḥusaynid at Fakhkh. See *IH*, 44–5, 52–4; NQ, 51ff., 25; R, 21ff., 171ff.; BL, 2: 449ff. This does not seem to be a function of demography as, in my count, the total number of names of Ḥasanids from the generation of 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī to that of his grandchildren comes to one hundred and fifty one and, for the same span, the total number of Ḥusaynids comes to one hundred and forty four. Of the Ḥasanids, about ninety five were descended from the line of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, forty two from that of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, and some fourteen were from miscellaneous branches. The genealogy of one of the Ḥusaynids to participate at the event is suspect (al-ʿAlfas), and another was granted amnesty by al-Rashīd, though he was killed in prison by the Barmakids before this could take effect. I have found no 'Alīds from any other line among the participants. See NQ, 72; R, 171ff. and 171 n.2.

<sup>874</sup> For example, Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's grandson, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-ʿAshar was born in Kābul; one of his sons was a *naqīb* in Kūfa (*IH*, 45; NQ, 53–6; R, 4); and Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī revolted in Khurāsān and was killed in the time of al-Mahdī (*IH*, 43). It is more likely that this is Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan b.







only rose to local prominence outside the Hijāz as the *nuqabā'*, *ru'asā'*, and *khuṭabā'* of 'Alid groups, but many, like the Idrisids, were also able to secure dynastic rule over larger domains. But their histories fall outside the objectives of this book.

To sum up, the Hasanids from the line of Khawla al-Fazāriyya could not only boast pure 'Alid lineage in 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan from al-Ḥasan and al-Husayn, the grandsons of the Prophet,<sup>885</sup> but they also counted the Ṭalḥids, 'Uthmānids, and Zubayrids among their close cognates. The early bond with the Husaynids through Umm Isḥāq bt. Ṭalḥa was also very likely responsible for the involvement of the large number of Hasanids at Karbalā'. During the early Umayyad period, the line of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan continued to cultivate kinship links and friendly terms with the Hijāzī elite and the Husaynids. It also enjoyed the favor of the dynasts and gave some of its daughters to them in marriage. This trend continued as late as the end of the reign of al-Walid. Thereafter, it seems that these Hasanids generally cut off ties with the Husaynids, though they continued to marry into other elite families (now exclusively).<sup>886</sup> During this period, they also neglected to forge alliances with the 'Abbāsids and other Hasanid branches and began to turn to Hasanid endogamy some time in the late Umayyad period.

In the reign of Hishām (if not earlier), 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan had begun a clandestine movement of his two sons to overthrow the Umayyads. When the latter dynasts were ousted by the Khurāsāniyya and al-Saffāh came to power, 'Abdallāh ingratiated himself with the latter, though he continued his subversive program against the new rulers. At this time, a trend towards Hasanid endogamy along with the efforts of the 'Abbāsids to establish kinship ties with these Hasanids begins to emerge. During this same period, al-Saffāh tried to draw the dangerous Hasanids toward him by showering them with gifts. This did not work and, when Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya finally declared the revolution in Medina, the Hijāzī elite came to his support *en masse*.

But as was often the case with 'Alid revolutionary movements, the supporters were either bought off by the authorities or they put down arms, convinced to do so by notable 'Abbāsids, Husaynids, and Hasanids (of another branch). After the failure of the movement, the 'Abbāsids made some further attempts to buy Hasanid quiescence with gifts and newly established links through marriage. Generally, the Hasanids in question resisted these advances and became ever more endogamous. The Hijāzī elite, on the other hand, took advantage of this opportunity and many enjoyed the favors of the 'Abbāsids, sometimes becoming the managers of the provinces for them. After the revolt of 145 AH, 'Alid revolutionary movements never had the massive elite following from the Hijāz that they commanded in earlier generations. And after the failure of the revolt in 169 AH, several descendants of this line moved out of the Hijāz, adopted an ever stricter endogamy,<sup>887</sup> and continued to launch revolutionary movements supported

<sup>885</sup> 'Abdallāh was called al-Mahdī, the Pure, in view of both his patrilineal and matrilineal descent. It may be recalled from the opening of this chapter that the legitimist argument of the Shī'a rested on the similar purity in the lineage of 'Alī and his two sons al-Ḥasan and al-Husayn. By the end of this chapter, it should become clear that the movement of the Hasanids took off at about the same time as that of the Hashimiyiyya (not taking into account the earlier Kaysāniyya movement) which generally incorporated the 'Abbāsids and the remaining 'Alid branches. The Hasanid movement operated independently of the *da'wa* that ultimately toppled the Umayyads.

<sup>886</sup> By this time, the Husaynids had joined a different elite political bloc.

<sup>887</sup> Though it ought to be kept in mind that marriage records from this period are very patchy.

by local populations. Finally, it merits attention that, even during periods of amicable relations with the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, no royally favored branch of the Hasanids (with the exception of a descendant of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan) ever rose to political office. Perhaps the dynasts realized the danger in joining a powerful ideology of legitimacy with official channels for its execution. Throughout this period, caliphal gifts, government stipends, and family endowments remained the main source of 'Alid income in the Hijāz. The last of these items seems also to have been a main source of the rift between the various 'Alid branches, and litigation over this matter was cleverly exploited by both dynasties to perpetuate the divide.

#### Vii.1.A.d. The Descendants from Unnamed Women and Concubines

As noted above, later sources tend to identify or re-identify many of the wives and concubines of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī about whose identities earlier sources have nothing to reveal. In none of these cases have I been able to isolate a reasonable explanation for this phenomenon other than what has been suggested above, viz., the desire of the authors to fix a legitimist genealogy that was abused by later generations of revolutionaries and rulers, and an inclination to conform to the claims of the earlier propaganda that al-Ḥasan had an inordinate number of wives.

None of the descendants from these women had issue surviving much beyond their period. As such, the impact of these descendants on Hasanid history seems to have been minimal. And neither does there seem to be any clearly observable pattern among these descendants of al-Ḥasan nor, due to the short life span of their lines, are any discussions of continuity and change possible. Nevertheless, in what follows, I shall draw attention to some possible patterns that correspond to what we have already learnt of the other Hasanid branches. In many cases, the information here tends to corroborate the conclusions above.

For example, the sources mention that 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, born to an unnamed woman, was married to a sister of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and that his son 'Umar married Suḥayqa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>888</sup> These two contacts make perfect sense in the context of what we have learnt of the early Hasanid-Husaynid links (lasting until the end of the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik) and the later amicable relationship that may have existed between the descendants of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Likewise, the Zubayrid bonds, observed above, are also suggested in the marriage of Umm al-Husayn bt. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, whose mother is also unknown, to 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr.<sup>889</sup> Similarly, Umm Salama bt. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, whose mother was a concubine, married 'Amr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr and her sister Umm 'Abdallāh, born to another concubine, married Zayn al-'Ābidin.<sup>890</sup> In these various marriages, the branches of the

<sup>888</sup> Bayhaqi, 411; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 445ff.

<sup>889</sup> NQ, 48–51.

<sup>890</sup> NQ, 48–51; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55ff. and identified as 'Umar b. al-Mundhir at 'Umarī, 20; BL, 2: 401–4; NQ, 48–51, where the husband of Umm 'Abdallāh is given as 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55ff. The sources also mention a son of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, known as al-Husayn al-Aṭhrām, who was born to a concubine and whose line married into the families of Zayn al-'Ābidin, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, and al-Hakam b. al-'Āṣi. All these marriages were contracted in the space of two generations. See BL, 2: 401–4; NQ, 48–51–19, 22–23, 57; R, 4 (where the lineage of those who trace themselves to him is challenged); 'Umarī, 20.



Hasanids born to anonymous women and concubines generally tend to repeat the Hasanid patterns observed above.

#### *Vii. I.B. The Husaynid Line*

The sources mention six women by whom al-Husayn had children. The issue from only one of them, 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, survived and the rest either perished with al-Husayn at Karbalā' or died during his lifetime. al-Husayn's earliest marriage, contracted at the time of the conversion of Imru' al-Qays b. 'Adī al-Kalbī, was to the latter's daughter al-Rubāb.<sup>891</sup> She bore al-Husayn his famous daughter Sukayna, who has been discussed several times in the course of this book. Sukayna married into various branches of the religious elite along patterns of early exogamy observed in the lines of al-Hasan b. 'Alī.<sup>892</sup> al-Husayn also married Umm Ishāq bt. Talha b. 'Ubaydallah in Medina, and she bore him his daughter Fāṭima. Umm Ishāq, who was earlier married to al-Hasan b. 'Alī, has also been mentioned in this and previous chapters. Some time in Medina, al-Husayn married yet another wife of his brother al-Hasan, Hafsa bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, but he did not father any children by her.<sup>893</sup> He also had a son named Ja'far by an anonymous woman of the Balī. There is no information available on his son and most sources assert that he died young.<sup>894</sup> Finally, al-Husayn also fathered a son named 'Alī al-Akbar, who fell with him at Karbalā'. This 'Alī was born to a daughter of Abū Murra b. 'Urwā b. Mas'ūd and was a maternal cousin of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya through his maternal grandmother.<sup>895</sup> This kinship bond was invoked by al-Husayn's opponents at Karbalā' to gain his son 'Alī al-Akbar's quiescence, but 'Alī al-Akbar rejected their proposition, citing the greater merit in his kinship to the Prophet.<sup>896</sup> He left no progeny.

Thus it seems that, like his brother, al-Husayn b. 'Alī had embraced a wide spectrum of religious elite and, perhaps more interestingly, three out of his five wives mentioned thus far had some relation to his brother. This is a fair testament to the close ties between the two branches at this early date. Of the children mentioned above, the two daughters

<sup>891</sup> Two of her sisters were married at this time to his father 'Alī and his brother al-Hasan (see above).

<sup>892</sup> See the previous chapters. See also BL, 194ff. (B), where a poem by al-Husayn expressing his love for his wife al-Rubāb and daughter Sukayna is recorded. This al-Rubāb, however, is identified as a daughter of Unayf b. Hāritha b. La'an al-Tayyī. This tradition very likely springs from some confusion related to accounts found in *al-Aghānī*, 16: 99. See also NQ, 59–63, 233; R, 73.

<sup>893</sup> Ibn Hābiḥ, *al-Muḥabbar*, 445ff. Hafsa was discussed above in the section on al-Hasan b. 'Alī.

<sup>894</sup> NQ, 56–9: he left no issue. R, 73, on the authority of Bukhārī, asserts that the name of one of al-Husayn's sons was Abī Bakr (*ismuhu abū bakr*); this same son was identified by others as Ja'far. However, a descendant of his is mentioned as the governor of Medina in the 830s by Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḥūm*, 14: 311. Other than this, I have not come across any information about any of his descendants.

<sup>895</sup> This Thaqafī line was already mentioned above: 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib fathered daughters by daughters of 'Urwā b. Mas'ūd, a good number of whom were married into Umayyad and Makhzūmī families. 'Umar (al-Asghar) b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was also born to a daughter of 'Urwā. A great granddaughter of 'Urwā was married to Muḥammad b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī and had Fāṭima by him. The latter was married to a son of 'Abd al-Malik.

<sup>896</sup> See NQ, 56–9 (where he is mistakenly given as 'Alī al-Akbar b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn); R, 73; Ṭūsī, *Rijāl*, 102 (where he appears as 'Alī al-Asghar). Needless to say that such reports have an ideological bent.

married multiple times into the families of various elite. Fāṭima bt. al-Husayn, as we know, became the mother of the most politically active line of the Hasanids.<sup>897</sup>

The Husaynid lineage was perpetuated by 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who was reportedly born to the Sāsānid princess Shehrbānawayh/Shehrbānoya bt. Yazdagird.<sup>898</sup> 'Alī was one of the few survivors among the 'Alids at Karbalā', at which incident he was not able to participate in the fighting because of illness. He was discovered by the Syrians in the tent of the 'Alid women and narrowly escaped execution. Eventually, he was delivered to Yazīd, who treated him with measured gentleness, though with a lingering suspicion of the potential threat he posed as the surviving leader of the Husaynid branch. 'Alī soon returned to Medina with the remaining members of his family. He does not seem to have participated in the movement of Ibn al-Zubayr and went into voluntary seclusion on his estate when the Syrian army set out for the Hijāz to crush the counter caliphate. At this time, he was entrusted with protecting the entourage of Marwān b. al-Hakam. Due to this and the caliph's instructions to his generals to treat him gently, 'Alī was spared again.<sup>899</sup> He seems to have enjoyed caliphal favor also during the reigns of Marwān and 'Abd al-Malik. In many of his interactions with the authorities, 'Alī seems to have benefited from hefty financial gifts.<sup>900</sup> These patterns fit well with what we have learnt above of the early Hasanids.

'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn had several children by concubines and three sons by Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Hasan b. 'Alī.<sup>901</sup> The marriage to the Hasanid daughter was contracted around the same time as the hand of Fāṭima bt. al-Husayn was given to al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī. Again, this suggests cooperation between the two branches during the early Marwānid period.<sup>902</sup> In what follows, I will first trace the social and political trajectories of the descendants of 'Alī's concubines and the anonymous women by whom he fathered children. I will then discuss the children of Umm 'Abdallāh, to whom the *imāms* of the Imāmī 'Alids traced their lineage.

<sup>897</sup> It is interesting to note that the list of the 'Alids present at Karbalā' contains five Hasanids and three Husaynids. The numbers of other 'Alids and Ṭālibids are also fairly substantial. This suggests that they promoted a common cause during this period. This is not the case for the Hasanid rebellions of 145 or 169 AH, when the Hasanid participants and supporters were much greater in number than members of any other Ṭālibid branch. See al-Tabarī (trans.), XIX, 180–81; al-Iṣbahānī, *Maqātil*, 51ff.

<sup>898</sup> R, 73; Ibn Hābiḥ, *al-Muḥabbar*, 401, mentions the mother of a certain 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib as a Sindī woman. Other identifications of her mother are given at 'Zayn al-'Ābidīn' (E. Kohlberg), *EL*, where confusion between him and other sons of al-Husayn named 'Alī is also noted.

<sup>899</sup> It is reported that 'Alī refused to pay homage to Yazīd after the Battle of al-Harra, though he was forgiven for this. It seems that his refusal had to do with the nature of the oath itself, which stipulated that those who submitted do so as '*abid aqnān*'. See al-Saḥārī, 1: 370.

<sup>900</sup> 'Zayn al-'Ābidīn', *EL*.

<sup>901</sup> He fathered nine daughters and eleven sons. Six of his sons left progeny: Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh, 'Umar, Zayd, al-Husayn al-Asghar, and 'Alī. 'Umarī, 93. Different numbers are found at R, 73. One of the sons of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Hasan, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, appears as the son of a Husayniyya at 'Umarī, 94. But here it also says that Muḥammad was the first person to trace his ancestry to both al-Hasan and al-Husayn. See also Bayhaqī, 1: 379ff.

<sup>902</sup> Such cooperation among the various branches of the Ṭālibids until around the end of the reign of al-Walīd, and the general exogamy (i.e. outside their immediate families) of the Hasanids and Husaynids until that time, have already been noted above.



*Vii.1.B.a. The Descendants of Concubines and Anonymous Mothers I*

Our sources state that 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn was a minor at Karbalā' and that he died in the mid-nineties.<sup>903</sup> This means that the oldest of his children were probably married no earlier than the middle of 'Abd al-Malik's reign. Almost all these marriages, probably contracted no later than the end of the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, were exogamous (i.e. falling outside the immediate Husaynid family).<sup>904</sup> His daughter Umm 'Alī bt. 'Alī b. al-Husayn was first married to 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī; then to 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyā b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib; and last to Nūh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.<sup>905</sup> Her sister 'Ulayyā also married 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. al-Hasan and then 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyā b. 'Abdallāh.<sup>906</sup> And another sister, Umm Kulthūm, married Dāwūd b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī and bore him four children.<sup>907</sup> Thus, with the exception of Nūh, whose father and nephews are known to have been on very friendly terms with the Ṭālibids in general, all these daughters of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn married Ṭālibids.<sup>908</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāḥa, al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, and al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī seem to have been in the good books of the Umayyads during the early period of Marwānīd rule.

Perhaps most interestingly, some children of Zayn al-'Ābidīn born in this category and generation had established marital contacts with the 'Abbāsids. As seen above, this was generally not the case for the Ḥasanids of this period. Thus Umm al-Hasan bt. 'Alī was married to Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and bore him Mūsā and Kulthūm. After her, Dāwūd married her sister Fāṭima and fathered a daughter by her that was her mother's namesake.<sup>909</sup> Their sister Umm al-Husayn married Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, the legate of the famous Abū Ḥāshim, and had children by him.<sup>910</sup> Though 'Alī's daughters had married into the 'Abbāsīd line (very likely during the Sufyānīd period) and very rare cases of marriages with the 'Abbāsids had existed in the Ḥasanid branch during the Sufyānīd period, for this generation it seems that the contact between the two families had become generally lukewarm. This was obviously not the case for the Husaynids.

<sup>903</sup> Ibn 'Asākir, 41: 361, gives his year of birth as 33 AH, which would make him an adult at the time of Karbalā'; he is said to have been twenty-five years old at the time of his father's death. See Ibn 'Asākir, 41: 366.

<sup>904</sup> As noted above, given the small pool of Husaynids during this generation, the possibility of intra-Husaynid endogamy was next to nil.

<sup>905</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 437ff.; NQ, 59–62. The sources also report a daughter of Zayn al-'Ābidīn named 'Abda, who may be no other than Umm 'Alī. Her husbands, with some variation in names and sequence, are given as: Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiyā; 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī; Nūh b. Ibrāhīm (IH, 52); Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiyā; al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī; Nūh b. Ibrāhīm (R, 74). See also Bayhaqī, I: 387.

<sup>906</sup> IH, 52; NQ, 59–62; R, 74.

<sup>907</sup> Another example of such a marriage is that of Khadija bt. 'Alī b. al-Husayn to Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī. She bore him two sons. See IH, 52; NQ, 59–62; R, 74.

<sup>908</sup> IH, 52; NQ, 59–62; R, 74 (appears as Umm al-Hasan).

<sup>909</sup> IH, 52; NQ, 59–62; R, 74 (where an Umm al-Husayn occurs, but she is a likely mistake for Umm al-Hasan). An example of Husaynid contact with the Ḥashimīyā in the next generation was the marriage of Ibrāhīm al-Imām's son 'Alī (born to a concubine) to Umm Abīḥā bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. She was married at some point to al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās and had children by both her husbands. See IH, 52–54; NQ, 59–62, 71–3.

'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's son 'Alī was a Madanī. He was born to a concubine and was the youngest of his progeny to leave issue. His son al-Hasan al-Afṣar,<sup>911</sup> who was also born to a concubine, has been mentioned in the discussion of the uprising of 169 AH.<sup>912</sup> His son al-Husayn has also already appeared above as a leading participant in the insurrection of 199 AH. And his two sons, in turn, 'Alī and Muḥammad, whose mothers are not identified, were killed on al-Ma'mūn's orders.<sup>913</sup> Though I have not come across their names in the accounts of the uprising in 199 AH, they may well have participated in it. Al-Hasan al-Afṣar's son 'Abdallāh was also either killed at Fakhkh or in al-Rashīd's prison. The sources claim that his murder was not ordered by al-Rashīd, who was ready to grant him amnesty.<sup>914</sup> In sum, a good number of the descendants from al-Hasan al-Afṣar were involved or implicated in subversive political activities against the authorities throughout the early 'Abbāsīd period. The traditionally recognized leaders of these revolts are of course Ḥasanids.

Two wives of al-Hasan al-Afṣar have been named: a descendant of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (her two sons, al-Hasan and al-Husayn were participants in the revolts of 169 AH and 199 AH respectively) and a descendant of 'Adī b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf (her son 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan either died at Fakhkh or in al-Rashīd's prison). The marriages of the next generation, contracted probably in the late Umayyad period or the early years of 'Abbāsīd rule, are as follows: Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar was married to Zaynab bt. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Alī b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar was married to 'Ā'isha bt. Yahyā b. Marwān b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who bore him a son named 'Alī. Finally, 'Umar b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar fathered children by a woman of the Makhzūm. The significance of these marriages, all of which were outside the Husaynid line, is unclear, though, by way of comparison, it is worth noting that exogamous marriages in such great numbers during the early 'Abbāsīd period had begun to go out of fashion for the Ḥasanid line.<sup>915</sup> To the best of my

<sup>911</sup> There is some confusion in the sources about whether he or his son al-Husayn was al-Afṣar. See, e.g. IH, 53; NQ, 72; 'Umarī, 212; Bayhaqī, 2: 481 (which states that 'Alī al-Aṭṭār b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn's descendants were only from the line of al-Afṣar). Most sources record the son of 'Alī b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn as al-Afṣar. See also Iṣḥānī, *Maqātil*, 190. However one identifies this al-Afṣar, sources generally agree that he was present at Fakhkh. The issue is further complicated by the charge recorded in some sources against his true genealogy. Its truth was repeatedly affirmed by Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. See R, 171.

<sup>912</sup> NQ, 71–3. His son al-Hasan b. al-Hasan is said to have been killed at Fakhkh and this al-Hasan's son 'Abdallāh had descendants in Nishāpūr, among them at least one *naqīb* and *qāfi* of the same city in the third generation. Thereafter, various branches of this family produced the *ru'asā* and *nuqabā'* of Nishāpūr. See IH, 53; NQ, 71–3; R, 173ff. Likewise, the third and fourth generations from the line of 'Umar b. al-Afṣar produced a *ra'īs* in Isfahān. See IH, 53; NQ, 71–3; R, 173ff. The sources also report that al-Hasan b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar was brought to Baghdad on the orders of al-Rashīd, who suspected him of harboring seditious intentions. al-Hasan denied this, but the caliph kept him under close watch in Baghdad as a precautionary measure. He was killed by Ja'far b. Yahyā al-Barmakī. The account is very similar to that related about 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar. See Bayhaqī, 2: 483–4, where this last fact is recognized.

<sup>913</sup> IH, 53.

<sup>914</sup> IH, 53; NQ, 71–3; R, 171, 176; Iṣḥānī, *Maqātil*, 297.

<sup>915</sup> 'Alī b. 'Alī b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar married endogamously Ḥabbā bt. 'Umar b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar and as 'Alī b. 'Umar b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar married Ḥamdūna bt. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan al-Afṣar. Later generations tended to marry either common provincial women or endogamously. See al-Bayhaqī, 2: 483ff.



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knowledge, these Husaynids did not establish any marriage bonds with the Hasanids. This is surprising in view of their participation in Ḥasanid-led revolts.

'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn had yet another son by a concubine, and the records of his line have been preserved in the sources. This son, al-Husayn al-Aṣghar,<sup>916</sup> was among 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's youngest born and fathered at least eight sons and one daughter. All these children were born to daughters of various Hijāzī elite families, probably early in the reign of Hishām. Thus two of his sons, Yahyā and Sulaymān, were born to 'Abda bt. Dāwūd b. Abī Ummāma b. Sahl al-Anṣārīya, a woman whose grandfather was among the Madanī notables of his time.<sup>917</sup> Four of al-Husayn al-Aṣghar's children were born to a daughter of Hamza b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr.<sup>918</sup>

The exogamous trend seems to have continued in the next generation that contracted its marriages probably no earlier than the first few years of the 'Abbāsīd era. Thus Yahyā b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar married Fāṭima bt. Hishām b. Ibrāhīm of the 'Amīr b. Lu'ayy and had two children by her.<sup>919</sup> He also fathered a daughter by Umm Ḥakīm bt. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. I have not been able to find any useful information on her immediate descendants, though it may be recalled that, after al-Husayn b. 'Alī's death, one of his wives was eventually married to 'Āṣim b. 'Umar before being taken into a Zubayrid home. This at least suggests the possibility of an earlier network of alliances between these families. Ibrāhīm b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar married Burayka bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr.<sup>920</sup> Likewise, 'Abdallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar had at least three children by a Zubayrid woman.<sup>921</sup> 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar had several children by Zaynab bt. 'Awn b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>922</sup> 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar was married to Umm 'Ubaydallāh bt. Ṭalḥa b. 'Umar al-Taymī, the contacts of whose family with the militant Ḥasanid branch have already been recorded in this chapter.<sup>923</sup> He also fathered children by Hammāda bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumāhī.<sup>924</sup> And, in a rare case, al-Ḥasan b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar had forged a marriage alliance with the Umayyads through Khulayda bt. Marwān b. 'Anbasa b. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣi b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams.<sup>925</sup> Most of these marriages—into the families of the Zubayrids, 'Umarids, and Taymīs—were also secured by the militant

<sup>916</sup> The sources also list a son named al-Husayn al-Akbar, who was born to Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan. He left no surviving progeny. See IH, 52; NQ, 59–62.

<sup>917</sup> NQ, 232–4; Ibn Khayyāt, *Tabaqāt khulafā*, 435; Ibn 'Asākir, 8: 329ff. I have not been able to find any information on her father. That Abū Ummāma had some attachment to the *Shī'ī* cause is suggested in a report quoted in M. S. 'Azzān, *Husayn 'alā khayr al-'amal*, 58, that he gave the call to prayer in the *Shī'ī* way.

<sup>918</sup> NQ, 75. I have not been able to gather information on any of her immediate ancestors. Five generations earlier, her ancestor Hishām b. 'Amr, who was a later convert and a *mu'allaf al-qalb*, had infringed on the boycott of the Quraysh against the Banū Ḥāshim. See al-Isbāh, 1: 230.

<sup>919</sup> NQ, 75.

<sup>920</sup> This family's contacts with the 'Alids and the possible support of one of its lines for the rebellion of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya have already been noted. R, 161ff.; NQ, 74.

<sup>921</sup> NQ, 71–3. This is not to say that this generation did not marry at all into the 'Alid family. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar also married Umm Abihā bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Bāqir. His sister 'Āmina al-Kubra was married to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. These are all rare cases for this line. See NQ, 62ff.

<sup>924</sup> NQ, 74.

<sup>925</sup> IH, 55.

Ḥasanid branch in the period after al-Walīd's reign. As noted above, this trend was also noticeable in the marriages of some other concubine-born descendants of 'Alī b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn for this same period. But the Hasanids do not seem to have perpetuated these contacts so far into the 'Abbāsīd period.

The records of the marriages of the next generation, i.e. those that were contracted no earlier than the latter period of al-Manṣūr's reign, are fairly sparse. Nevertheless, from what little has been preserved, a clear shift towards 'Alid endogamy is perceptible. Thus, Hamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar married Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn; the sources have preserved the memory of a dispute between the father of the latter and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq during which he spat on his face and thereby incurred a curse from the *imām* that mutilated his own face. After Hamza, Zaynab married into the Ḥasanid branch.<sup>926</sup> Hamza's sister Ṣafīyya married Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>927</sup> And Khadija bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar was married to Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, whose part in the failed revolution of 199 AH has already been mentioned above.<sup>928</sup> Thus, it seems that, like their concubine-born cousins from the family of 'Alī b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, this family too had cultivated exogamous contacts throughout the Umayyad period. In the first two decades of the 'Abbāsīd period, it seems that this family married into those Hijāzī elite lines that had been very close to the militant branch of the Ḥasanids for most of the Umayyad period. Shortly after the revolt of 145 AH, it started to become endogamous, marrying into both the Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid branches, but clearly inclining towards the militant lines. For the period under consideration, the sources have preserved practically no other information about this family beyond the marriage alliances noted above. Nevertheless, their social and political program seems not to be much different from that of their concubine-born Ḥusaynid cousins.<sup>929</sup> In the generations to follow, several members of this line rose to prominence as *ru'asā'*, *qudāh*, and *nuqabā'* in various regions, including the Hijāz. At this time, some also participated in revolutionary movements.<sup>930</sup>

If the information in the preceding paragraphs may be brought to bear in speculating on the sociopolitical history of concubine-born Ḥusaynids as a whole, it would be safe to say that they were mostly exogamous at least through the second decade of 'Abbāsīd rule. The older members of the first generation after 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn had intermarried generally with Ṭālibids and those notables whose families were the favorites of the early Marwānids. But during this generation, it also married into the 'Abbāsīd line at a time when the Hasanids had few contacts with them. This latter relationship was probably established between the middle of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and the end of the reign of al-Walīd, in the short time frame that has repeatedly been recognized in this book as the period when the signs of a rupture between the Hijāzī elite and the Umayyad

<sup>926</sup> NQ, 62–5.

<sup>927</sup> NQ, 53ff. Another sister of his was married to al-Rashid for one night and the sources imply that the marriage was consummated. The significance of this is not clear to me.

<sup>928</sup> al-Isbāhānī, *Maqātil*, 359ff.

<sup>929</sup> 'Alī b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar, for example, was in Kūfa and in the company of Abū al-Sarāyā during the Revolt of 199 AH. This is not surprising given several hints of his family's contacts with the militant Ḥasanid branch (see the two preceding paragraphs). See R, 148; Isbāhānī, *Maqātil*, 347.

<sup>930</sup> IH, 55–6; R, 148ff.



dynasts began to appear. After al-Walid's reign, the Husaynid families studied so far seem to have become almost exclusively exogamous and to have married into various notable families, many of whom were supporters of the militant Hasanids.<sup>931</sup> And this trend continued into the early 'Abbāsid period when several descendants of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn tracing themselves matrilineally to concubines participated in Hasanid-led revolts. No 'Abbāsid contacts were maintained during this period (whereas such contacts were established by the descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Hasan, as will be mentioned below). Given the participation of these Husaynids in Hasanid-led revolutionary movements, the scarcity of their marriages with the latter branch is difficult to explain. Alliances with the Hasanids seem to have been forged generally through the agency of their non-'Alid supporters, though no viable explanation for this phenomenon comes to mind. Equally surprising is the fact that these Husaynids do not seem to have married a single person from their own family, except for rare cases towards the end of the reign of al-Manṣūr. And even here intra-Husaynid endogamy seems to have worked towards absorption into Hasanid groups.

#### Vii. I.B.b. The Descendants of Concubines and Anonymous Mothers II

'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn had at least two other sons—'Umar and Zayd—who were born to the same concubine.<sup>932</sup> The former, who died after 160 AH at age sixty five,<sup>933</sup> was probably among the youngest children of his father and had at least three daughters and nine sons. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn is often quoted in the sources as claiming that his father had not even stated two words in his testament to the effect that adherence to any of his children was obligatory. In other words, if the reports can be trusted, according to him, no member of the Husaynid household was the natural heir to his father. In keeping with this position, he allegedly adopted a moderate doctrine between *ghuluw* and *taqṣīr*. This moderation perhaps afforded him the appointment over the *sadaqāt* of 'Alī and over Fadak.<sup>934</sup>

Information about 'Umar and his children is fairly limited. Nevertheless, there is enough for one to be able to reconstruct the shadow of a historical sketch for this family. If, as implied in the sources, 'Umar was born towards the end of al-Walid's reign, then

<sup>931</sup> The 'Abbāsid contact was perpetuated or revived among the descendants of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn by Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Hasan, as will be shown below. For the descendants by concubines, the exceptional contacts noted here were generally neglected after their initiation in the period specified.

<sup>932</sup> They are mentioned as twins at al-Namāzī, *Mustadrak*, 7: 390.

<sup>933</sup> It is reported that 'Umar was older than his brother Zayd (one source states that he was older by several years). This is very problematic, given that 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn very likely died in the mid-nineties and that 'Umar died after 160 AH at age sixty-five. This means that he was born in 95 AH, around the time his father died. This, in turn, would make him about as old as Zayd and not much older than him (i.e. if we insist that 'Umar was older). But Zayd was born between 75 and 80 AH and was therefore much older than 'Umar. Compare, however, the report in al-Shabistari, *Aṣḥāb*, 2: 460, according to which 'Umar was alive before 148 AH (*kāna 'alā qayd al-hayāt qabla sanat...*) and died at the age of 65 or 70. If we are to take this statement to mean that he died around 148 AH (and not just that he was definitely alive until that time), then 'Umar was probably born between 78 AH and 83 AH and around the same age as Zayd. See al-Abṭāhī, *Tahdhīb al-ma'ālī*, 2: 157, where he quotes Bukhārī's *Sirr* and Ibn 'Ināb's *Umayd*, R, 121, n. 2; 'Zayd b. 'Alī' (W. Madelung), *ELI*.

<sup>934</sup> Whether this appointment was granted by a governor or caliph is not mentioned. IH, 52ff.; NQ, 59–62; R, 73, 121; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, 7: 426; al-Barūjirdī, *Tarā'if al-ma'ālī*, 2: 34.

he fathered children no earlier than the middle of Hishām's rule. In his marriages, contracted in the late Umayyad period, he seems to have perpetuated some exogamous contacts that had earlier been established by the Hasanids; during this time, he also established endogamous relationships with the 'Alids that were missing from the lists of other descendants of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (born to concubines) from this same period. Thus 'Umar fathered his son Ja'far al-Akbar by Umm Ishāq bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Several members of the branch of al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib seem to have had longstanding bonds with various 'Alid lines starting in the early Marwānīd period and lasting into early 'Abbāsid times. This fact and the indications in the sources that at least one of their members was keen on the abortive revolution of 145 AH have already been noted above.<sup>935</sup> During the late Umayyad and/or early 'Abbāsid periods, two sons of 'Umar also married two daughters of the line of 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr.<sup>936</sup> Such contact during this period had also been established by the Husaynids studied above. Similar contact for the Hasanids in the Umayyad period may have contributed to the sweeping support they seem to have enjoyed in the initial phases of the revolution of 145 AH.

'Umar also married Umm Mūsā bt. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>937</sup> who had three children by him. In the early 'Abbāsid period, his grandson al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. 'Umar married another 'Alid, 'Ulayya bt. Muḥammad b. 'Awn b. Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya. Compared to the complete absence of marriages into 'Alī family during this time for the other Husaynid lines studied so far, these marriages are somewhat surprising. In view of the patterns noted above, the intra-Husaynid endogamy of some of this 'Umar's children is equally anomalous. Thus in the early 'Abbāsid period, Khadija bt. 'Umar married her cousin al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī; 'Abda bt. 'Umar married 'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī; and it seems that this trend probably continued at least up until the reign of al-Ma'mūn. During this later period, two of 'Umar's great grandsons married two different granddaughters of Zayd b. 'Alī. One of these, Kulthum bt. al-Husayn b. Zayd, was first married to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, who had been raised to the pulpit by Abū al-Sarāyā after the mysterious death of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm. This suggests cooperation between the Zaydī and 'Umari houses in the early 'Abbāsid period.<sup>938</sup>

As the sources are generally silent on 'Umar and his descendants for the period under consideration, marriage patterns and a few scattered references to the Zaydī inclinations of some of his descendants are all one has at one's disposal for interpretative purposes. It seems that in the late Umayyad or early 'Abbāsid period, 'Umar and his children had married into that segment of society that had become the base of Hasanid support in the Hijāz. Whether this means inclination towards the militant program of the Hasanids is not clear. And if there was in fact collusion with the Hasanids, it is not obvious whether it was generated before or after the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī. If the disputes of the Husaynids and Hasanids over religious and private endowments as late as the reign of

<sup>935</sup> It is interesting to note that the only Husaynid contact of theirs that I was able to find was with the Zaydī and 'Umari lines of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and that they were married into the families of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya and al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, both of which were very closely involved in the *da'wa*.

<sup>936</sup> NQ, 71–3.

<sup>937</sup> 'Umar b. 'Alī used to litigate in support of the Husaynids against the Hasanids over the *sadaqāt* 'alī, but see below regarding the confusion over his identity.

<sup>938</sup> See NQ, 65ff.



Hishām are any indication, the phase of solid cooperation between the two branches should probably be dated to a period after 122 AH.<sup>939</sup> During the late Umayyad period, these 'Umaris also established contacts with the Ṭālibid lines generally and aggressively perpetuated their kinship link with their Zaydī cousins. Again, given the absence of detail, anything this might imply is open to debate. In view of the absorption of the Zaydiyya and the Zaydī 'Alids into the revolutions of the descendants of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, it would be a fair guess to say that the Ḥasanid contacts of this line were generally generated after the revolt of 122 AH had failed. It is at that time that the Zaydiyya placed their hopes in the Ḥasanid leaders, who, by this late date, had amassed enough support to aspire to their own revolutionary turn. For this reason, perhaps, they had almost no kinship links with the 'Abbāsīd coalition starting from around the end of al-Walīd's reign and through the rest of the Umayyad period.

The Zaydids are perhaps the most important branch of the Ḥusaynids to trace their lineage to a concubine. Their eponym Zayd b. 'Alī, who was a Medinan, was born between 75 and 80 AH.<sup>940</sup> He appears in several sources as the representative of the Ḥusaynids against the Ḥasanids in litigation over the *sadaqāt* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>941</sup> Their dispute was brought up many times before the governor of Medina, when Zayd, finally realizing the divisive effect this had on the 'Alids and the humiliation they suffered before the Medinan populace, promised never again to raise the issue before the governor. At some point, the matter was opened up again before Hishām at his court in Syria. At this same time, Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, who had been removed from his post, was being pressed to disclose all his assets. Under pain of torture, either his son or his *mawla* divulged the names of several men to whom Khālid had transferred funds. Zayd b. 'Alī, who allegedly used to frequent Khālid in Iraq, was one of those named. Thus Hishām sent him off to the new governor and, when the accuser dropped the charges, instructed him to press Zayd for a speedy return to the Hijāz. After tarrying for a while, Zayd set out for home, but was intercepted by a contingent of Kūfāns, who, amidst promises of steadfast support, convinced him to raise a call for the revolution.<sup>942</sup>

<sup>939</sup> If the report can be trusted that at the time of Hishām, Zayd b. 'Alī realized the ploy of the Umayyads to play the 'Alids against each other and resolved not to litigate on this matter before them, then again the cooperation between the two lines should be dated to the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. That very few names of Ḥasanid participants are recorded in the revolt of 122 AH is a further indication that until that time the Zaydī line had not joined with the Ḥasanids. The various branches seem to have pursued their own claims, as also suggested by Madelung, 'Zayd b. 'Alī', *EI2*. Unlike the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīya, Zayd b. 'Alī's revolt was neither Hijāzī nor did it attract the Hijāzī elite.

<sup>940</sup> It is reported that he was appointed to this task by Muḥammad al-Bāqir, though this may be later historical retrojection as al-Bāqir's position as the head of the Ḥusaynid branch was not universally accepted. The dispute over the *sadaqāt* may be considered to be one ultimately over the leadership of the 'Alids. During this time, they were controlled by the Ḥasanids, who could thereby claim a greater right to the caliphate. See BL, 2: 520ff. In an account in this same source the word *amwal* replaces *sadaqāt*.

<sup>941</sup> For a detailed account of the rising of Zayd, see BL, 2: 524ff. and 'Zayd b. 'Alī', *EI2*. BL, 3: 88, also reports that Khālid al-Qasrī had bought land from Zayd and then returned it to him. See also NQ, 59–62, where some variations in the details of the affair are found. This tactic, whereby the land then nominally belonged to the governor, seems to have been employed earlier by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in his transfer of al-Bughaygha to the Ja'farids. Presumably, as the land no longer officially belonged to them, the authorities could not confiscate it as a repressive measure. The politics of the Qaysī family, which were similarly ambiguous during the second *fitna*, need further investigation.

Once back in Kūfa, Zayd married two women, one of the Banū Sulaym and another belonging to the Azd, thus strengthening his position in the city. Over the several months of his clandestine activity there, he registered a massive number of names in his *dīwān* and secured the support of several followers in outlying provinces.<sup>943</sup> Nevertheless, the support of the Hijāzī elite remained almost non-existent. In 122 AH, Zayd's position was betrayed and he was forced to come out in open militancy. As many of his supporters abandoned him due to doctrinal disagreements, government maneuvers, or simple fickleness, he was left with no more than a tenth of the force he had hoped for. After giving hard battle, Zayd fell, struck by an arrow to his head.

The failure of a revolt predicated on Kūfan promises is not surprising. That the elite in general forsook a leading member of the Ḥusaynid house, however, merits some comment, especially since it may be recalled that the failed revolutionary attempt of the Ḥasanids in 145 AH did boast their initial support. The position of the elite, including the Ḥusaynids, towards Zayd may be explained partly in terms of the social blocs that had been crystallizing, starting in the early phase of his generation. Unlike other concubine-born Ḥusaynids of this period, whose marriages into Ṭālibid and 'Abbāsīd lines have been amply documented above, Zayd had children almost exclusively by concubines. His only free wife, other than the two he married in Kūfa—who, to the best of my knowledge, are not identified—was Rayṭa bt. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This probably happened towards the end of the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>944</sup> In other words, around the time when a number of Ḥusaynid marriages into the 'Abbāsīd line were contracted. This is also the period during which the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya rediscovered its old friendship with the 'Abbāsīds.<sup>945</sup> The Ḥasanids of this period, on the other hand, who until then had also married into Ṭālibid lines, had accelerated a vigorous program of exogamy with various elite families that lasted until the end of Umayyad times. Thus in the post-Walīd period, two vaguely defined social blocs had formed, one incorporating the Ḥasanids and the Hijāzī elite, and the other the families of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, the Ḥusaynids, and the 'Abbāsīds. It was into this latter bloc, in keeping with the general trend of Ḥusaynid marriages, that Zayd b. 'Alī had his only identified marriage. The support of the Hijāzī elite, especially in a period when the leading proponents of the two groups were generally at loggerheads, could hardly be expected. Assuming that Zayd was sufficiently incorporated into the other segment,<sup>946</sup> their failure to come to his support is somewhat puzzling. The likely cause was that the 'Abbāsīds, who by then had taken

<sup>943</sup> 'Zayd b. 'Alī', *EI2*; BL, 2: 524ff. mentions that between ten and fifteen thousand names were in his register.

<sup>944</sup> Zayd's eldest son Yalyā, who was born to this Ḥanafīyya wife, died in 125 AH at age 28. If he was conceived soon after the marriage, the marriage itself must have been contracted late in al-Walīd's or early in Sulaymān's reign.

<sup>945</sup> This fact and the record of other marriages between the Ḥusaynids and 'Abbāsīds around the same time cast doubt on the severity of the quarrel between Abū Ḥāshim and other 'Alids in the Hijāz that is asserted by Sharon, *Black Banners*, 121.

<sup>946</sup> There is a report that he had adopted the famous 'Abbāsīd slogan, 'al-ridā min al-muḥammad' in his campaign, though this report, which also categorically asserts Zayd's acknowledgement of al-Bāqir's claim to lead the Community, may be tendentious. al-Bāqir is not named, but this is presumably what 'his brother' means. See al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 2: 172.



command of the clandestine *da'wa*, were very cautious not to be embroiled prematurely in the revolution.<sup>947</sup>

Several of Zayd's sons are mentioned in the sources. Of these, the careers of four are fairly transparent. One of them, Yahyā, who was Zayd's eldest son, participated in the revolt of 122 AH and is said to have taken over the leadership after his father.<sup>948</sup> He went into hiding after the latter's death in 122 AH. When the authorities began their relentless search for him, he set out along various waystations for Khurāsān and, upon his arrival there, wrote to the Banū Hāshim for help. As the only son of Rayta bt. Abī Hāshim 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya,<sup>949</sup> it is possible to imagine that Yahyā had harbored some hopes of being delivered by the associates of his cognates. His plea was ignored, as those of his father had been three years before.

On the way to Khurāsān, the number of his supporters had also steadily dwindled. In this situation, Yahyā continued his peregrinations, trying to recruit greater support for his cause, but his position was divulged and he was arrested and delivered to the governor in Marv. Fortunately, al-Walid ordered the release of Yahyā, commanding his governor that he be sent to him forthwith. Thus Yahyā was supplied with provisions, set out with a few followers, and was delivered from one local agent to another until he reached Bayhaq. Here, fearing that he would be delivered to Yūsuf b. 'Umar and would be assassinated, Yahyā decided to call for the revolution. He was eventually killed at age twenty-eight by an army sent by Naṣr b. Sayyār in 125 AH.<sup>950</sup>

Two of Yahyā's brothers went on to participate in the movement of Muḥammad al-Naṣf al-Zakiyya. This occurred during a period when this branch had almost completely severed its bonds with the other 'Alid branches and had become endogamous within its own Zaydī line and that of Zayd's full brother 'Umar (discussed above). The first of these brothers, 'Isā b. Zayd, was a fanatic supporter of Muḥammad al-Naṣf al-Zakiyya and, after his death, joined his brother Ibrāhīm in Iraq. The sources report that he separated from Ibrāhīm over a doctrinal or ritual matter and that thereafter al-Manṣūr tried to convince him to induce the Zaydiyya to turn away from Ibrāhīm. 'Isā did not comply and went into hiding after Ibrāhīm fell. During his reign, al-Mahdī remained suspicious of 'Isā's intentions and repeatedly tried to ply him with gifts. The latter

<sup>947</sup> This having been said, several 'Abbāsids, including al-Manṣūr, did participate in the revolt of the Ja'farī 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya. Not wishing to be involved in a revolt the failure of which was a foregone conclusion is often cited as the main reason for the quietism of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. I am not sure if this is a line used by later sources to explain away their political stance. It is also likely that, given the presence of the *a'imma* implied in such a position, the sources aim indirectly to bolster claims of esoteric knowledge. Al-Kāzīm's involvement in militant activity is debated. It is not clear whether the claims of his involvement are products of later propaganda. See Madelung, *Glaubenslehre*, 160. Modarressi, *Crisis*, 7ff., points out that such quietism was often deplored by the *Shī'a*.

<sup>948</sup> Zayn al-'Abidin, al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sajjadiyya (al-Abṭahī), 617, n. 4 (on this work, see Modarressi, *Tradition*, 34–5).

<sup>949</sup> BL, 2: 537; NQ, 65ff.; IS, 3: 327 mentions that Rayta's mother was Rayta bt. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This family has been mentioned several times in connection with the 'Alids. See also Ibn 'Asākir, 64: 224; Ya'qūbi, *Tārīkh*, 2: 331.

<sup>950</sup> See 'Yahyā b. Zayd' (W. Madelung), *EI2*, IH, 56ff.; BL, 2: 542; NQ, 65–7; al-Maghribī, *Sharh al-akhbār*, 3: 319 (where he is said to have rebelled during the period of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, an obvious error); Khū'i, *Mu'jam al-rijāl*, 21: 54, states that he seems to have been independent in his movement and not a follower of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. This is more than likely.

discerned al-Mahdī's ulterior motives and maintained that he did not intend to rebel. He died around 167 AH after twenty eight years in hiding.<sup>951</sup>

By the time 'Isā was of marriageable age, the line of Zayd b. 'Alī and his brother 'Umar had generally shunned what few bonds it had established with the family of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, not least because of their failure (and the failure of the Hashimiyya generally) to come to their aid in 122 AH and 125 AH. Thus it is not surprising that the only two known wives of 'Isā were born into the family of his uncle 'Umar b. 'Alī and that of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib which seems to have been closely allied with the militant 'Alids.<sup>952</sup> The latter marriage was very likely contracted at the end of al-Manṣūr's reign and produced a son named Aḥmad. He was imprisoned by al-Rashid in 185 AH as the latter feared some seditious activity on his part. When he escaped from prison the same year, he proceeded to Baṣra and was reportedly given homage there. But coming to terms with his weak position, he abandoned the revolution in its nascent stage and went into hiding. He died in 247 AH at the age of 90 after sixty years of hiding.<sup>953</sup>

'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī's daughter Ruqayyah married 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī<sup>954</sup> and had two daughters by him. After he divorced her for unspecified reasons, she married a grandson of 'Alī b. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin. She had two children by him, one of whom revolted in Rayy at the time of al-Mutawakkil.<sup>955</sup> Her sister Fāṭima married Ja'far al-Akbar b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin (otherwise unknown), who died before consummating the marriage. She then married 'Alī b. Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This was that rare Hasanid family some contingents of which had supported the 'Abbāsids during the revolution of 145 AH, and which also exceptionally had several marriage ties with the 'Abbāsids, Ḥanafīyya, and Husaynid lines in the early 'Abbāsīd period. The significance of this marriage, given the general trend of other marriages of the descendants of 'Isā b. Zayd, is thus unclear.<sup>956</sup>

'Isā b. Zayd's brother Muḥammad did not participate in the revolution of 145 AH, and seems to have donned the color black in solidarity with al-Manṣūr. Nevertheless, after the failure of the revolution, he went into seclusion and kept only select

<sup>951</sup> IH, 56ff.; NQ, 65–7; Ishāhānī, *Maqātīl*, 186, 268; al-Abṭahī, *Tahdhīb al-maḥāl*, 2: 320; al-Baghhdādī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 358; 'Umarī, 186.

<sup>952</sup> NQ, 65–7. Sometime after the death of his brother Zayd, 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin had also married a daughter of this family. al-Ḥārith's line seems to have married into various 'Alid branches, but the line of al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith was particularly drawn to the Hasanids in the early 'Abbāsīd period. See above.

<sup>953</sup> This would mean that he was around twenty-eight years old at the time of his revolution.

<sup>954</sup> al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin was between four and seven years old when he was orphaned. He was raised in the household of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and seems to have adopted his foster father's quietism for some time. As a young man, he participated in the revolt of 145 AH, and his children also seem to have been attracted back into the militant wing of the Zaydiyya. See Modarressi, *Tradition*, 280 and below. See also IH, 56–8; NQ, 65–7; R, 142; Ishāhānī, *Maqātīl*, 408; al-Maghribī, *Sharh al-akhbār*, 3: 331; Dhahabī, *Siyar*, 9: 293; Zirikli, *A'lām*, 1: 191; 'Umarī, 188, also mentions some of Aḥmad's descendants who died in 'Abbāsīd prisons. During the revolt of the Zanj, the Ṣāhib al-Zanj claimed to have descended from the line of Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī. At another time, he claimed descent from Yahyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī. See IH, 56–7.

<sup>955</sup> NQ, 71–3; Ishāhānī, *Maqātīl*, 406.

<sup>956</sup> NQ, 71–3.



company.<sup>957</sup> Whatever the nature of Muḥammad's relationship with the 'Abbāsids may have been, his children seem to have been involved in uprisings against them. Thus, his son Ja'far revolted in Khurāsān and was appointed over Wāsiṭ by Abū al-Sarāyā before he was killed in Marv.<sup>958</sup> Muḥammad's daughter Fāṭima was married to her paternal cousin, al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī, and had children by him. Her husband was a participant in the revolt of 199 AH in which he lost his life. Fāṭima then married Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, in other words into a family that had been appropriated by the 'Abbāsids two generations earlier in their conciliatory efforts after the failed revolution of 145 AH. The relationship with the 'Abbāsids had already taken a turn for the worse by the end of al-Manṣūr's reign, so that by this late date not only had Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd married a Ḥusaynid woman, but his grandchildren were galvanizing revolutions and conducting raids in such disparate places as the Hijāz, Ṭabaristān, and Nihāwand.<sup>959</sup> Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī has already been mentioned above as the nominal *imām* raised up by Abū al-Sarāyā. He died in Marv shortly after Abū al-Sarāyā was executed.<sup>960</sup>

Finally, al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī has already been mentioned above as a young boy whom Ja'far al-Ṣādiq took under his wing after his father's death. Ja'far married off his cousin Kulthum bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī to al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī,<sup>961</sup> very likely before the outbreak of the revolution of 145 AH in which the latter participated. When the revolutionary movement failed, he went into hiding and so remained until granted amnesty.<sup>962</sup> al-Ḥusayn's son al-Ḥasan was killed in Kūfa fighting on the side of Abū al-Sarāyā, to whose nominal commander, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, his sister was married. When he died without consummating the marriage, she took as her husband 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, a descendant of Zayd b. 'Alī's full brother. There were perhaps only two marriages that seem to have fit the quietist program of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: that of Maymūna bt. al-Ḥusayn (born to the aforementioned cousin of Ja'far) to al-Mahdī and, after his death, to 'Isā b. Ja'far al-Akbar b. al-Manṣūr; and the marriage of Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn first to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and then, after his death, to 'Isā b. Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr.<sup>963</sup>

From all this, it appears that Zayd b. 'Alī had not fully invested in either bloc of the Hijāzī elite structures. He seems to have derived no real political benefit from his only marriage into the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya. Nor did other members of the

<sup>957</sup> See IH, 56; R, 127, 142; Tūsī, *Rijāl*, 276; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh baghdād*, 2: 358 (where he reportedly came to Baghdad from Medina during the reign of al-Mahdī); Iṣbahānī, *Maqātil*, 257; NQ, 65–7.  
<sup>958</sup> IH, 58; NQ, 71–3; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, 46: 160 n. 2. Many of his later descendants were born into the Zaydī line. See R, 138.

<sup>959</sup> IH, 39–40; R, 71.  
<sup>960</sup> BL, 2: 548–50; NQ, 71–3; R, 138. BL, 2: 548–50 also suggests his half-hearted support for Abū al-Sarāyā and the concomitant protection of the property of the 'Abbāsids. Given Abū al-Sarāyā's bad reputation in the sources, this may be a later propaganda line intended to clear the 'Alid's name.

<sup>961</sup> There is some debate over her identity: was she a daughter of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī or of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī? See al-'Umarī, 375, where the springs belonging to al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd among the dependencies (*a'māl*) of Medina are also mentioned.

<sup>962</sup> R, 127ff.; Iṣbahānī, *Maqātil*, 186; Modarressi, *Tradition*, 280.

<sup>963</sup> IH, 57; NQ, 65–7; IS, 5: 434. Fāṭima was born to Khadija bt. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. The sources mention some other marriages of al-Ḥusayn's daughters: one was to al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, and another to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad (very likely al-Aḥfāb). The significance of these marriages, if any, is not clear to me. See NQ, 62ff.

Hijāzī elite come to his aid. His son Yahyā was likewise abandoned by them. It seems that after the failures of 122 AH and 125 AH, the Zaydids, like their cousins born to 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (Zayd's full brother), became increasingly endogamous within their own line and the line of their 'Umarid cousins. At the same time, they contracted a few marriages with the Ḥasanids and some of the elite families with whom the latter had established links in the generations before Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. Thereafter, the Zaydī line participated in great numbers in many of the revolutionary movements of the 'Abbāsīd period, among which many early ones were headed by the Ḥasanids. It is thus for good reason that the later tradition seems to have mixed the two lines as a part of a united venture against the 'Abbāsids. For several reports were passed down that claim that it was decided during the revolution of 145 AH that if Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya were to die, the matter would devolve on Ibrāhīm; if he failed, on 'Isā b. Zayd and then on Muḥammad b. Zayd.<sup>964</sup>

#### Vii.1.B.c. The Descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan

Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan had three sons<sup>965</sup> by 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, one of whom came to be recognized as the *imām* of the Shi'a.<sup>966</sup> This son, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, has already been mentioned above as a leading proponent of political quietism during the Umayyad period. As he was only a boy at Karbalā', his earliest marriage was probably not contracted before the middle of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. I have been able to record the names of eight children of al-Bāqir. Four of these, one born to a concubine and three others to Umm al-Ḥakīm bt. Asīd b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas b. Sharīf al-Thaqafiyya, are nondescript.<sup>967</sup> Of the four remaining children, his daughter Umm Salama was married to Muḥammad al-Arqaṭ b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and his daughter Zaynab was first married to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and then to 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The latter was born to Khadija bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and his grandfather's alignment with the Ḥusaynids in *ṣadaqa* land disputes has already been mentioned above.<sup>968</sup> These

<sup>964</sup> Iṣbahānī, *Maqātil*, 268; al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 358.

<sup>965</sup> Muḥammad, 'Abdallāh, and al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar. See IH, 52; NQ, 59–62. al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar, whose mother is listed as Umm 'Abdallāh, reportedly did not have any surviving issue. On the other hand, al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, whose mother is listed as a concubine, did have issue. Lists of the descendants of both men are given in the sources and I suspect the confusion has to do with their shared names and the meaning of 'aqib. Having no 'aqib can mean that a person had no progeny or, more often, that he had progeny, but it left no vestige, or that he had no surviving progeny, so that one can say of a person with 'aqib that *lā baqiyyata lahu*. But *daraja* means that a person died young without bearing any children. (On these technical terms, see Bukhārī, *Sīra*, 101.) R, 73, recognizes the disparity in the sources and claims that al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar is mentioned in the sources as a child of Umm 'Abdallāh, though he was in fact born to a concubine.

<sup>966</sup> The various branches of the Shi'a, especially those that began with the death of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, will not be discussed here. They have been amply detailed in the literature. See, e.g. Modarressi, *Crisis*, chapter 3. Here I propose to focus only on the social and political lives of the descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh.

<sup>967</sup> Umm al-Ḥakīm's mother was born to a daughter of the pious and quiescent 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. See NQ, 62–5; R, 75 (vaguely referred to as Thaqafiyya and as the mother of only one child); IH, 59.

<sup>968</sup> Ja'far al-Ṣādiq also married Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whose father's friendly relationship with the authorities has already been mentioned above. This Fāṭima was a grand-



marriages, which were contracted after the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and very likely during the reign of al-Hishām, evince a strict endogamy among the families of the three brothers born to Umm 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan.<sup>969</sup> Such was not the case for the other 'Alid branches of this period studied so far. al-Bāqir's two other sons, 'Abdallāh and Ja'far, were both born to Umm Farwa bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, i.e. into a line of the Bakrids that was heavily invested in the success of the 'Alid cause as early as the first civil war and that counted them among their maternal cousins.<sup>970</sup> al-Bāqir married Umm Farwa no later than 82 AH, i.e. during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. Thus, though al-Bāqir himself did not marry any Ṭālibids and fathered children by women of two prominent Ḥijāzī families (one of which was an ancient supporter of his great grandfather's claim), his two daughters observed endogamy within the families of their closest cousins, i.e. those born into the line of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan.

This trend seems to have begun soon after the death of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik and continued into the early 'Abbāsīd period, around which time several marriages into the ruling family also took place. Marriages of these periods that did not fall into either of these categories were usually into those families that had ingratiated themselves with the Umayyads and the early 'Abbāsids. Thus, 'Abdallāh b. al-Bāqir married Khadija bt. Iṣḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin; his son Hamza b. 'Abdallāh had children by Asmā' bt. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq;<sup>971</sup> Fātima bt. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was married to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās;<sup>972</sup> Umm Farwa bt. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq married 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sufyān b. 'Ājim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān al-Umawī;<sup>973</sup> Fātima bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was married to al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Isā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās; after him, she married her paternal cousin 'Alī b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq;<sup>974</sup> 'Alī b. 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq married

daughter of 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib on her mother's side. There is some possible confusion in the sources as this Fātima is also said to have been married to Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (see below), who is said to be the only son through whom his father's line survived. Both Ja'fars are said to have fathered three children of identical names by her: Umm Farwa, who does not seem to appear in any source other than NQ, 'Abdallāh, and Ismā'il. Given the debates regarding the continuation of the line of both Ismā'il's, the equivocation may have been deliberate. See e.g. Bukhārī, *Sīr*, 36, where some hint about the debate over one line of Ismā'il b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is given. NQ, 51 and 63 mentions the same Fātima as the wife of both Ja'fars, though IH, 59, where a controversy about an alleged line of Ismā'il b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq is also mentioned, identifies the latter's mother as Fātima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. I have not been able to find any such Fātima nor her father (except for one occurrence in a transmission chain—al-Wāqidi, *al-Maghāzī*, 2: 564) in the sources.

<sup>969</sup> NQ, 62–5; R, 75, 189, IH, 67.

<sup>970</sup> Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, whose mother had married 'Alī b. Abī Tālib after his father's death, was raised in the fourth caliph's house. He was one of his leading supporters and died at the head of an army in Egypt, campaigning against the Umayyads. See Madelung, *Succession*, 116. Whether it was with a view to the marriage of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad's daughter into the family of Zayn al-'Abidin or a true account, the historical sources report that the former's mother was a sister of Shahrbanūwayh bt. Yazdajird. In other words, 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin and al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr were maternal cousins or were remembered to be so by the early Muslim community. NQ, 62–5; Sam'āni, 3: 507; R, 73, 75; Iṣbahāni, *Maqātil*, 109.

<sup>971</sup> NQ, 62–5.

<sup>972</sup> NQ, 62–5; R, 76.

<sup>973</sup> NQ, 62–5; R, 76. This daughter of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was born to Fātima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, who was mentioned in footnote 968 above.

<sup>974</sup> IH, 59–60.

Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin;<sup>975</sup> and Fātima al-Kubrā bt. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq married Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās; after her, he married her sister Bariha.<sup>976</sup> Thus starting sometime towards the end of the reign of al-Walid and on into al-Ma'mūn's period, the line of Umm 'Abdallāh was generally endogamous with its closest cousins; in the early 'Abbāsīd period, it also contracted a substantial number of marriages into the ruling family. This trend stands in sharp contrast to the widespread exogamy of the Ḥasanid branches, which had begun to turn to endogamy only in the late Umayyad period. As noted above, their contacts with the 'Abbāsids were also few and far between, and several of them were the product of undisguised conciliatory gestures.<sup>977</sup>

These marriage patterns are a fair testament to the general quietism of the Twelver line. Negligible numbers from among them had participated in the open uprisings of the Marwānīd period, during which time they often discouraged militant activity. Late in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik and through the reign of his successor al-Walid, some Ḥusaynid lines had established marital contacts with the 'Abbāsids and the Ḥanafīyya, who were engaged in a patient clandestine operation. These two families were closely associated with the Ḥusaynids during this generation. On the other hand, these contacts were perpetuated only half-heartedly by the Zaydīd line, which, after the abortive revolt of 122 AH became strongly endogamous within itself and its closest cousins, the 'Umarids (i.e. generally to the exclusion of other Ḥusaynid lines), and joined the Ḥasanid élite bloc in the late Umayyad period. At the same time, the Ḥusaynids born to Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan maintained the contact with the Ḥanafīyya and, perhaps through its intermediary, took up the 'Abbāsīd ties established by other concubine-born descendants of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in the previous generation. Their relationship with the early 'Abbāsids, albeit strained on many points, was much better than those of their cousins not born to Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan.<sup>978</sup>

<sup>975</sup> NQ, 65–7.

<sup>976</sup> NQ, 62–5.

<sup>977</sup> These are the general trends, though rare exceptions did of course exist. For example, the sources report that Ismā'il b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq had children by Umm Ibrāhīm bt. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'il b. Hishām b. al-Walid b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmīyya. Her mother and maternal grandmother were both descended from 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. One Ja'fari marriage into the line of the quietist son of the latter has already been noted above. The significance of this marriage, if any, is not clear to me. IH, 60; NQ, 62–5.

<sup>978</sup> To the best of my knowledge only two (perhaps three) descendants of Zayn al-'Abidin by Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan had participated in the rebellion of 145 AH: Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (and perhaps also Hamza b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir). Iṣbahāni, *Maqātil*, 186; NQ, 232–4. There seems to be some confusion over the identities of Hamza b. 'Abdallāh and 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far. IH, 59 applies the *laqab* al-Aṭṭāḥ to 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (likewise, al-Namāzī, *Mustadrak saḥīḥ*, 2: 400), and reports that he had for some time a party of followers in Kūfa. It also states that he had a son named Hamza, who only left behind a daughter. On the other hand, the majority of sources apply the *laqab* al-Aṭṭāḥ to 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (al-Muḥaqqiq al-Hillī, *Sharā'ī 'al-islām*, 4: 828, 4: 1053; al-'Amīlī, *al-Sīrat al-mustaḥqim*, 2: 271; al-Namāzī, *Mustadrak*, 3: 460; R, 236), and relate that the Aṭṭābiyyah (Fatḥiyya) was his party. He also had only one daughter, except that in Ibn Ḥazm's time, the governors of Egypt, who called themselves the Banū 'Ubayd (i.e. the Fātimid dynasty), traced their lineage initially to this 'Abdallāh (IH, 59). There are thus some similarities between the two identifications. As al-Aṭṭāḥ is generally taken to be the *laqab* of 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, it is very likely that the sources that ascribe it to Muḥammad al-Bāqir's son suffer from a scribal or editorial error. Mūsā al-Kāzīm's participation is also suspect, seeing how



Nevertheless, the repeated failure of the 'Abbāsids to deliver on the promise of the caliphate eventually strained relationships between the two families to the extent that mere diplomatic efforts could no longer contain the 'Alids. In the contest between al-Amin and al-Ma'mun that had considerably weakened the position of the authorities, some Husaynids of the line of Ja'far al-Šādiq saw the opportunity to wrest power back from the 'Abbāsids. In 199 AH, several Husaynids from this line revolted in various locales in what sometimes appears to be a very loosely coordinated attack on the central authorities.<sup>979</sup> Thus 'Alī b. b. Ja'far al-Šādiq revolted in Baṣra;<sup>980</sup> Zayd al-Nār b. Mūsā al-Kāzim b. Ja'far al-Šādiq<sup>981</sup> also revolted in the same city; Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Kāzim revolted in Yemen; his son Ja'far did the same; and Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, generally recognized as a quietist, was convinced by the 'Alid representatives of Abū al-Sarāyā and his own son 'Alī (who may also have revolted in Baṣra with his cousin Zayd al-Nār) to assume the nominal leadership of the revolution in its Meccan phase.<sup>982</sup> By the time al-Ma'mun reasserted his authority, he had learnt the hard lesson that had eluded his predecessors, viz. that the Husaynids could no longer be placated by mere gifts and kinship links. Therefore in 201 AH, he publicly declared 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Šādiq his heir apparent, and in an exceptional gesture gave the hand of his daughter Umm al-Faḍl in marriage to 'Alī's son Muḥammad al-Jawād.<sup>983</sup> 'Alī, who was given the title al-Riḍā after the revolutionary slogan, died two years later in 203 AH, so that the mantle was never in fact passed on to the 'Alids. In subsequent years, the Husaynids of this line spread to various regions of the empire, became ever more endogamous like the Hasanids, rose to local leadership roles, and continued to participate in revolutionary activities. Exceptionally, many of the line of Ja'far al-Šādiq also continued to inhabit the Hijāz for at least two more generations.

We may end this section on the Husaynids with Muḥammad al-Bāqir's full sibling 'Abdallāh, the careers of whose descendants lend further support to the notion that cognate relations were of central importance in the determination of sociopolitical

he was no older than eighteen at the time of the revolt, that his quietist father was still alive, and that he is known to have remained aloof of the next major 'Alid rebellion (169 AH). See also Modarressi, *Crisis*, 60, and the sources cited there. 'Mūsā al-Kāzim' (E. Kohlberg), *EI2*. I have not found any other member of this family in any of the rebellions before 199 AH.

<sup>979</sup> It appears that many of the rebellions were independent and only joined the more central movement of Abū al-Sarāyā at later dates. Abū al-Sarāyā's rebellion itself seems to be little more than the culmination of banditry, and was not undergirded by anything more than nominal ideological concerns.

<sup>980</sup> This may be 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, who was also involved in the Meccan phase of Abū al-Sarāyā's rebellion in 199 AH.

<sup>981</sup> *IH*, 61.

<sup>982</sup> *IH*, 59ff.; *R*, 76ff.; Ibn Bāwawayh, *Uyūn akhbār al-riḍā*, 1: 258; Iṣḥāqī, *Maqātīl*, 358ff.; *NQ*, 62-5; al-Ṭabarī (trans.), XXXII, 26-29, 31-38; Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 198-9; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 40; Geddes, 'al-Ma'mun's Shi'ite Policy in Yemen', 100-101. For their initial stages, the exact relationship of these rebellions with each other is unclear. In one way or another, most tended to intersect with the rebellion of Abū al-Sarāyā.

<sup>983</sup> Though, as witnessed above, the 'Abbāsids married into the Husaynid line in the early period of their reign, they only took Husaynid daughters, and did not give their own daughters in marriage. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 61-2, where all the listed daughters of al-Ma'mun married into the 'Abbāsid royal lines. This seems to have been the case with other 'Abbāsid daughters as well. al-Ma'mun's gesture was transparent: by giving his daughter to a Husaynid, he showed that he considered him to be his equal. Whatever his intentions, this is at least how the gesture would have been interpreted.

group identities.<sup>984</sup> 'Abdallāh, who was known as al-Bāhir and was appointed over the *sadaqāt* of 'Alī and the Prophet, does not seem to have fathered children by any named women.<sup>985</sup> His daughter Kulthum, who was probably of marriageable age in the reign of Hishām, was first the wife of Ismā'il b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and bore him two children. Her second husband was al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, who had been raised in the household of Ja'far al-Šādiq after his father was killed in the revolt of 122 AH. He fathered several children by her.<sup>986</sup> Her sister 'Ulayya was either married to Ja'far al-Šādiq or to his son 'Abdallāh.<sup>987</sup> In this same generation, their brother Muḥammad married Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Bāqir.<sup>988</sup> Finally, in a rare case for this line, their brother Iṣḥāq married exogamously into two families that linked him with the 'Uthmānids, Bakrids, and Makhzūm.<sup>989</sup>

The trend to endogamous marriage within the cognate Imāmī line continued in the next generation, but the 'Abbāsids no longer appear in the lists. This is not surprising, as the marriages of this generation were contracted probably no earlier than the reign of al-Manṣūr, and around this time several Husaynids of this line had begun to identify with the militant cause of the Hasanids. Thus, a daughter of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhir married 'Alī b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, and another first married Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (mentioned above) and then Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (also mentioned above).<sup>990</sup> Their brother al-'Abbās died in the prison of al-Rashid, though the reasons behind this are not specified. As his brother Ismā'il and his son Muḥammad b. Ismā'il had revolted alongside Abū al-Sarāyā, it is possible that he was involved in some earlier seditious activity.<sup>991</sup> The caliph had probably gotten wind of this and had him imprisoned as a preemptive measure. The gradual inclination of this line towards the Ḥasanid challenge to the dynasty is already clear in the second marriage of one of his sisters. The descendants of 'Abdallāh al-Bāhir remained generally endogamous within its cognates for the next few generations.

On the basis of the foregoing, it is safe to say that the descendants of 'Abdallāh al-Bāhir behaved very similarly to their closest cognates, the descendants of Muḥammad al-Bāqir (except that their turn to militant activity probably started at a slightly earlier date). It seems that through the period of Hishām and the first couple of decades of 'Abbāsid rule, they had married endogamously with these cognates and, like them, had forged alliances with the 'Abbāsids. The records for the marriages contracted probably late in the reign of al-Manṣūr do not mention any 'Abbāsids. It seems, from the sparse marriage records and the evidence of the involvement of some members of this family in the revolutionary movements to follow, that they had begun to shift their position towards militancy. In general outline, this is reminiscent of their cognates descended from Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan.

<sup>984</sup> Some members of this line have already been mentioned in the discussion of the family of al-Bāqir above.

<sup>985</sup> *IH*, 52-3; *R*, 73, 116; Ibn 'Inaba (B), 252.

<sup>986</sup> *NQ*, 62-5.

<sup>987</sup> 'Abdallāh was her nephew and, according to the Law, not sufficiently removed in the kinship circles to be lawful to her. *NQ*, 62-5; al-'Umarī, 375.

<sup>988</sup> She also appears as Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad al-Bāqir. See *NQ*, 62-5; *R*, 74 (Zaynab is mentioned, but her husband is not).

<sup>989</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>990</sup> *NQ*, 62-5.

<sup>991</sup> *NQ*, 62-5; *R*, 75; Ibn 'Inaba (B), 252; al-Bukhārī, *Sirr*, 51.



## VII.2. The Descendants of Khawla al-Hanafīya

The identity and status of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's wife Khawla bt. Ja'far b. Qays seems to have been the subject of some dispute. The sources generally claim that she belonged to the Bakr b. Wā'il and her sobriquet is taken to be al-Hanafīya. Most sources agree that she was acquired by 'Alī as a concubine and also that, before fathering his only son by her (Muhammad), 'Alī had freed her and given her a respectable marriage.<sup>992</sup> Her son, the famous Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya, has been discussed in the secondary literature in connection with the Hāshimīya and the revolution that brought Umayyad rule to its end. Likewise, his early contacts with the Kaysāniya and the 'Abbāsids, to whom he reportedly transferred his claim towards the end of his life, have also been explored before. Thus they will not occupy space here.<sup>993</sup>

The names of at least thirteen sons and four daughters of Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya have been preserved in the sources, though, from a survey of al-Rāzī's *Shajara*, it is apparent that there were a lot fewer *mu'qibān* of this line as compared to those of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, as also far fewer *nuqabā'*.<sup>994</sup> One source reports explicitly that at least five of his sons left progeny, though I have been able to record the names of the descendants of a total of at least eight from various genealogical works. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that their records do not span the temporal range of their cousins, the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.<sup>995</sup>

Four of Muhammad's wives have been identified in the sources. One of these, Umm Ja'far bt. Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, had two sons by him. They were named Ja'far (very likely al-Aṣghar) and 'Awn.<sup>996</sup> This appears to have been Muhammad's only Ṭālibid wife and this is surprising, given that the marriage was probably contracted during the reign of Mu'āwīya,<sup>997</sup> at which time the contacts of the 'Alids with other Ṭālibids seem to have been fairly firm. Muhammad also fathered seven children by two women descended from the line of al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>998</sup> The longstanding

<sup>992</sup> For the various accounts, see BL, 200ff. (B); Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, 401 (speculation about whether she was a Sindi woman); IS, 3: 20.

<sup>993</sup> See, e.g. 'Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya' (Fr. Buhl), *EI2*: Sharon, *Black Banners*; IH, 37; BL, 200ff. (B); NQ, 41ff. His patronymic is reported as Abū 'Abdallāh, though 'Umarī, 13 mentions it as Abū al-Qāsim and adds that this was permitted by the Prophet, whose name and patronymic he thus came to share. This is a significant propaganda line (perhaps a later one), given the eschatological implications (like Muhammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, he not only shared the Prophet's name and *nasab*, but was also called al-Mahdī).

<sup>994</sup> Ibn 'Inaba, *al-Umda*, 278, states that he had fourteen sons and ten daughters. R, 180ff.: thirteen sons, of whom only one, Ja'far al-Aṣghar, was *mu'qib*, but some in Egypt, Wasit, and Mawasil claimed the truth of the disputed lineage from 'Alī al-Akbar as well. See also Bayhaqī, *Lubāb*, 261.

<sup>995</sup> IH, 66, is the source that explicitly claims progeny for five sons, though this is disputed for some cases by BL, 2: 553ff. and NQ, 75–8. This may not be a real disagreement as IH states that these five sons had 'aqib, i.e. offspring (in this context), and BL and NQ point out that some of them had no *baṭniya* (i.e. surviving progeny). For these terms, see note above.

<sup>996</sup> BL, 2: 553; NQ, 76.

<sup>997</sup> Ja'far al-Aṣghar was killed at al-Harra (R, 181), and his father was probably born around the middle of the third decade. This means that he probably took his Ṭālibid bride early in Mu'āwīya's reign. Bukhārī, *Sir*, 85.

<sup>998</sup> A daughter of 'Abbād b. Shaybān b. Jabir b. Nasīb b. Uhayb, descended from the Māzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima b. Khaṣafa, whose family were the *halifs* of the Banū Hāshim. Her mother was

contacts of this line with various branches of the 'Alids starting in the early Marwānid period have already been mentioned above. Given that Muhammad's patronymic Abū al-Qāsim corresponded to the name of a son by one of these women—and patronymics were usually related to the oldest son—and that he had several children by her, it is possible that she was one of his earliest wives and so was wedded to him in the early Sufyānid period.<sup>999</sup> Finally, Muhammad also fathered a son by Jamāl bt. Qays b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, whose mother was an Anṣārī woman. It is also reported that at some point she had children by Sa'd b. al-Hārith b. al-Ṣimma of the Banū al-Najjar, who fell at Šiffin fighting on the side of 'Alī.<sup>1000</sup> If the only known child by this woman, al-Ḥasan, was born soon after the marriage was contracted, then, as al-Ḥasan was born around 60 AH, the marriage should be dated towards the end of Mu'āwīya's reign. The Anṣārī and Medinan links through this marriage do not require further comment. In view of what has been said of the 'Alid contacts of this generation, Muhammad's marriages appear to be fairly standard: three of them were Hāshimī and one Anṣārī.<sup>1001</sup> The Hāshimī bonds were strengthened probably soon after 'Alī's death, and the Anṣārī contact (with a family that supported 'Alī) was perpetuated towards the beginning of the second civil war. In view of the statements in both primary and secondary literature regarding Muhammad's close relationship with 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and his supreme leadership over the family of the latter after his death, the absence of 'Abbāsīd wives is somewhat surprising.<sup>1002</sup>

Like other 'Alids, Muhammad b. al-Hanafīya and his children seem to have enjoyed friendly ties with the Umayyads perhaps as early as the reign of Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya. Muhammad had either stayed neutral or even pro-Umayyad during the struggle for rule between Ibn al-Zubayr and Yazīd and, after the murder of al-Ḥusayn, he was rewarded with handsome gifts by Yazīd.<sup>1003</sup> During this time, he also maintained his contacts in Kūfa and he strengthened these further after the revolt of al-Mukhtār on his behalf. During the civil war, he did not side openly with any of the parties and settled eventually in al-Ṭā'if, awaiting the end of the war. There he was joined by 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, who seems to have been his close companion during the early part of Ibn al-Zubayr's movement. After the death of Ibn al-'Abbās, Muhammad assumed the leadership both of the 'Alids and the family of 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. And when 'Abd al-Malik emerged victorious in 73 AH, he swore allegiance to him without much hesitation. It seems that his policy of apparent cooperation with the dynasts was generally embraced not only by the 'Alids and the 'Abbāsids, but also by the Hijāzī elite. This much is by now fairly clear for the Umayyad period perhaps until the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik or, at the latest, until the end of the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik. The friendly ties of

Umayma bt. Rabi'a b. al-Hārith b. al-Muṭṭalib and her maternal grandmother was a sister of al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; and Shabbā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. See BL, 2: 553; NQ, 75–7; IS, 5: 92.

<sup>999</sup> NQ, 75ff.; R, 181.

<sup>1000</sup> IS, 5: 82. See also IS, 5: 239ff., where the various contacts of this family with the Anṣār are listed.

<sup>1001</sup> Muhammad also fathered several children by a concubine named Na'ila. See BL, 2: 553; NQ, 75–7.

<sup>1002</sup> Sharon, *Black Banners*, 111–121 and the sources quoted there.

<sup>1003</sup> Sharon, *Black Banners*, 112.



the 'Alids with the Umayyads may be imputed to the political position Muḥammad had adopted as their supreme head. For it is only after his death—towards the very end of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik—that the 'Alid leadership split and the various clandestine branches became more aggressively operative.<sup>1004</sup>

Soon after the death of Muḥammad, the 'Abbāsids of the line of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās left for Syria and arrived at 'Abd al-Malik's court, where they were graciously received. It is reported, however, that during the reign of al-Walid the relationship with 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās deteriorated, so that he eventually settled in Ḥumayma, a center of Ḥāshimiyya propaganda, around the time of the caliph's death. His son Muḥammad b. 'Alī remained in Damascus and continued to enjoy caliphal patronage. In the meantime, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's son Abū Ḥāshim, who had become embroiled in land disputes with his Ḥasanid cousins, was arrested by al-Walid due to certain compromising reports of the machiavellian Zayd b. al-Ḥasan and was thrown in a Damascus prison. It was here that he solidified his ties with Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās. Abū Ḥāshim was released from prison at the behest of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, but again fell afoul of the caliph. He was banished from his presence at around the same time as 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās and, like the latter, settled in Ḥumayma probably towards the end of al-Walid's life.<sup>1005</sup>

By this time, the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya had broken off their ties with the leading members of the Ḥasanid branch, and some Ḥusaynids, who were also in contention with the Ḥasanids over various *ṣadaqāt*, decided to throw in their lot with the Ḥanafīyya. This division continued to exercise the 'Alids until after the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī, after which time some Ḥusaynid branches joined hands with the Ḥasanids (as noted above). For the period in question, however, it is noteworthy that it was 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn (and not Ḥasanid), who raised a protest and came to Abū Ḥāshim's aid in Damascus. And this early Ḥusaynid-'Abbāsīd-Ḥanafīyya alliance is reflected in the marriage patterns that emerged after al-Walid's reign. The disputed identity of the wife of Ja'far al-Aṣghar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya aside,<sup>1006</sup> no descendant of

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya seems to have taken a Ḥasanid spouse until the generation after that of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, i.e. in the early 'Abbāsīd period, when the Ḥasanids and Ḥusaynids were beginning to forge a loose alliance predicated on militancy.<sup>1007</sup> During the period of separation from the family of 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās (i.e. until Abū Ḥāshim was cast into a prison in Damascus), however, the Ḥusaynid contacts of the Ḥanafīyya were non-existent. In this interim, the children of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya simply perpetuated their cognate ties. Thus his son 'Awn married a woman of the Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and a daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī;<sup>1008</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad fathered two children by Ummān bt. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id al-Anṣārīyya;<sup>1009</sup> and 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad had his son 'Alī by Umm 'Uthmān bt. Abī Hudayr b. 'Abda of the Anṣār.<sup>1010</sup> In the same spirit of perpetuating their cognate bonds, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad married a descendant of Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; and his brother 'Abdallāh took a descendant of Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib as his bride.<sup>1011</sup> Most, if not all, of these marriages were contracted in Medina probably during the lifetime of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, and have the stamp of his own marriage choices on them.

It is not until the next generation and after the arrival of Abū Ḥāshim in Damascus that these old ties came to be neglected and a social program, reflective of new alliances with the Ḥusaynids (descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan, i.e. the Imāmī line and its closest cousins) and the 'Abbāsīds, was adopted. Thus, Ja'far b. Muḥammad's son 'Abdallāh was married to Āmina al-Kubrā bt. al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. This marriage should probably be dated to a period no earlier than the beginning of the reign of Hishām.<sup>1012</sup> Āmina's brother 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn married Burayka bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya after the latter had taken two husbands from the Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy and the Banū Makhzūm.<sup>1013</sup> And Rayṭa bt. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad (mentioned above) was married to Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and bore him his famous son Yahyā.<sup>1014</sup>

During this same period, the Ḥanafīyya also forged bonds with the 'Abbāsīds: so the famous Abū Ḥāshim married Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās;<sup>1015</sup> his sister Umm Abihā married 'Abbās al-Akbar b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose mother was born to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās;<sup>1016</sup> and, some years later, Asmā' bt. 'Awn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya married Yahyā b. Muḥammad b.

<sup>1004</sup> Sharon, *Black Banners*, 128–9. I have similarly noted above how the Ḥasanid activity in the Hijaz also began with the death of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan a decade later. It seems then that the anti-Umayyad movements of the 'Alids, with one branch colluding with the 'Abbāsīds and another with the Hijazī elite, were the products of the next generation.

<sup>1005</sup> Sharon, *Black Banners*, 111–121; 129–30.

<sup>1006</sup> NQ, 51–3; IH, 66; BL, 2: 553; R, 181. The identification of Fātima as his wife is problematic and she appears as such only on NQ, 51–3. IH seems to extract this information from NQ, but probably realizing the problem, changed her name to Fātima bt. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. Neither the latter nor her father can be identified. Whether the source of this confusion was deliberate equivocation regarding the identities of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafīyya b. 'Alī is not clear. Though a transmission error is the more likely cause, the debates surrounding the lineages of the two identically named sons of these men from Fātima (i.e. Ismā'īl) and the phenomenon of parasitic genealogy discussed in the introduction leave the possibility of tampering open. NQ, 77–8 also mentions an 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya as the son of a concubine, and R, 181 has his mother as Āmina al-Kubrā bt. 'Abdallāh al-'Araji b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. But Marwazi, 165, gives her as Āmina al-Kubrā bt. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. NQ, 78 gives an Āmina al-Kubrā bt. al-Ḥusayn as the mother of his son Ja'far. It seems that NQ has generally transmitted conflicting information, though it is obvious that the other sources do not seem to concur consistently on these matters either.

<sup>1007</sup> In fact, to the best of my knowledge, even during this period only one woman, Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, married a Ḥasanid (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib). See R, 36; NQ, 78.

<sup>1008</sup> IH, 66; NQ, 77 (where the second wife is not mentioned).

<sup>1009</sup> NQ, 78.  
<sup>1010</sup> NQ, 76 (identified as the Anṣār of the Balī of the Qudā'a, which fits fine with certain strains of Anṣārī genealogies).

<sup>1011</sup> NQ, 77.

<sup>1012</sup> I give the dating in view of the generational gap between the spouses. NQ, 169–72; R, 181.

<sup>1013</sup> NQ, 73ff., 418–21; Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, 445ff. The significance of her earlier marriages,

if any, is not clear.

<sup>1014</sup> NQ, 65–7; 76.  
<sup>1015</sup> Appears as 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās at NQ, 76, but as given here at Sharon, *Black Banners*, 121, though, in light of other marriages during the period of the Ḥanafīyya's residency in Medina, it is safe to say that this marriage was contracted after Abū Ḥāshim's arrival in Damascus and that the relationship between the two houses had become lukewarm in the interim.

<sup>1016</sup> NQ, 37. After al-'Abbās, Umm Abihā married 'Alī b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. See NQ, 71ff.



'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās.<sup>1017</sup> Most other recorded marriages of this period were endogamous within the Ṭalibids generally or the Ḥanafīyya specifically.<sup>1018</sup>

Unfortunately, the records of the Ḥanafīyya line do not say much more than what has been presented above. Some sparse bits of information about descendants from the line of 'Alī b. Muḥammad and Ja'far b. Muḥammad can be gleaned from the sources. A late descendant of a certain 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib also makes an appearance as a *shaykh* of the Imāmiyya in Astarābād in the second half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century. The sources claim that members of this branch spread to various parts of the empire, including Medina, Ḥarrān, Nuṣaybīn, Fārs, Baṣra, Ṭabaristān, and Baghdād. Compared to their cousins, it seems, only very few of them rose to local prominence or as leaders of the 'Alids. But this is not only too little to go by, it also has to do with a period well beyond the scope of this book.<sup>1019</sup> In a simplified summary, one can argue that the Ḥanafīyya branch behaved very much like its cousins for its first and second generations, until which time it remained not only concentrated in the Hijāz, but also married into Anṣārī and recurring Ḥāshimī (though not Ṭalibid) lines. When Abū Ḥāshim was brought to Damascus, he reestablished the close ties that had existed between his family and the 'Abbāsids. This ushered in the period of cooperation between the two families during the clandestine phase of the *da'wa*. During this same period, starting from the end of the reign of al-Walid, some Ḥusaynids established contacts with the Ḥanafīyya. It seems that both families had by then separated themselves from their Ḥasanid cousins. These details explain the general quiescence of the Ḥusaynids and Ḥanafīyya during the Umayyad period (engaged as they were in a clandestine *da'wa*) and their absence from the militant activity led by a branch of the Ḥusaynids in 122 AH and by the Ḥasanids in 145 AH. The latter, it seems, had been pursuing their own clandestine program in the Hijāz, and had successfully absorbed several prominent members of the Hijāzī elite. It appears that two revolutionary blocs were operative behind the curtain. In view of this, the marriages of the early 'Abbāsīd dynasts with the Ḥusaynid branch and the virtual absence of such marriages with the Ḥasanids is not at all surprising.<sup>1020</sup>

### Vii.3. The Descendants of Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām

Umm al-Banīn Fāṭima bt. Ḥizām of the 'Amir b. Kilāb of the Ṣa'sa'a, who is also identified in the sources as a niece of the famous poet Labid, had five sons by 'Alī.<sup>1021</sup> The

<sup>1017</sup> NQ, 77-8.

<sup>1019</sup> See, e.g. Sam'ānī, 4: 241, 1244; R, 181-3; IH, 66.

<sup>1020</sup> The marriage of Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin should also not surprise us. For it is possible that, at some earlier phase, his political program was not very different from that of his Ḥusaynid cousins. It is also possible that, as suggested in his request for help from the 'Alids that was ignored by the Ḥāshimīyya, he had been privy to the *da'wa* and perhaps even fancied himself one of its leading components. It is only that in the view of the 'Abbāsīd leaders of the *da'wa* his movement was untimely and premature. This fits well with the fact that revenge for his murder and that of his son Yahyā, born to a Ḥanafīyya woman, became a rallying cry of the revolution. After 122 AH, the Zaydī line (and some components of the otherwise passive Ḥusaynids from the line of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan) began to realign itself with the militant Ḥasanids.

<sup>1021</sup> BL, 189 (B) (her brother Mālik b. Ḥizām was killed with Mukhtār in Kūfa); NQ, 43 (slightly different name given); Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammāq*, 401, has al-'Abbās' mother as a black woman (placing him in the category of *abnā' ḥabashīyyāt min quraysh*); Isḥāqī, *Maqātīl*, 53; Ibn 'Inaba (B), *Umda*, 356; al-'Umari, 88; Ibn Idrīs al-Hillī, *al-Sarā'ir*, 1: 656-7.

most famous of these was al-'Abbās (probably al-Akbar), who was thirty four years old when he lost his life at Karbalā'.<sup>1022</sup> All four (or perhaps three) of his brothers were killed at the same incident and only al-'Abbās and his brother Ja'far left issue.<sup>1023</sup> Thus, the family was closely tied to the Ḥusaynid branch from an early period.

The records of both surviving branches of the family are very sparse, but from what has been preserved, it seems that the contact with the Ḥusaynids was perpetuated<sup>1024</sup> and that kinship ties with the 'Abbāsids were established already before Karbalā'. As may be expected from what has preceded, the relationship with the Ḥanafīyya was also amicable. Thus al-'Abbās b. 'Alī fathered his son 'Ubaydallāh by Lubāba bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>1025</sup> In all likelihood, the marriage was contracted during the reign of Mu'āwīya, though given Lubāba's father's role in the first civil war, the possibility of 'Alī's hand in contracting this marriage cannot be ruled out.<sup>1026</sup> After her husband fell at Karbalā', Lubāba married Walid b. 'Utba b. Abī Sufyān during his short governorship of Mecca and Medina for Yazid (very likely in 61 AH) in the period of reconciliation that followed the second civil war.<sup>1027</sup> She bore him a son and, after his death, she married Zayd b. al-Ḥasan and had a daughter named Nafisa by him. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan's favorable position with the Umayyads has already been mentioned, so that it should come as no surprise that Nafisa married al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān.<sup>1028</sup> Thus after the civil war and into the early years of Marwānīd rule, the family of al-'Abbās maintained its very close bonds with the Ḥusaynids and 'Abbāsids and behaved in a manner very similar to them, i.e. with a decorum of measured friendship.

It is also reported that al-'Abbās was the last of his brothers to fall at Karbalā', so that he had technically come to inherit from them. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalib protested when this inheritance was subsequently passed down to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī, and it was only through the intervention of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya that the transfer

<sup>1022</sup> al-'Abbās, like Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī and, as we will see below, 'Umar b. 'Alī, appears to be a somewhat slippery figure. At least one early source, much to the surprise of its editor, does not recognize him as a *mu'qib*. A transmitter in Isḥāqī, *Maqātīl*, 55, claims never to have seen any of his descendants nor to have heard from any of them. Then the status of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī among the *siddat* was implicitly challenged in recent times by a person seeking a *farwa* in al-Sayyid 'Alī al-Khāmīnī, *Ajwalbat al-istiṭfā'āt*, 1: 318. All this, the fact that his line seems to have had a completely unchecked history with the 'Abbāsids, and that his grave is the only one among his brothers to have left a mark to this day, make one wonder whether he was an 'Abbāsīd invention (or perhaps the idea that he was *mu'qib* was invented) aimed at bolstering a history of 'Alid (especially Ḥusaynid)-'Abbāsīd cooperation. This is more than a bit speculative of course, given that his name and some accounts about him seem to be already in the collective memory of the Kūfans in the late Umayyad period as attested by 'Amr b. Shīr's quotations from Jābir al-Ju'fī (d. 128 AH), presumably from the latter's *Maqātīl al-husayn*. I have not had the chance to attempt a dating of these accounts.

<sup>1023</sup> IH, 37-8; NQ, 43; 'Umari, 15; BL, 187-92 (B). BL, 3: 60, states that one of his full brothers, 'Abdallāh, was killed with Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, but this is very likely an error.

<sup>1024</sup> Of Ja'far b. al-'Abbās b. 'Alī we only know that he fathered several children by Khadija bt. Isḥāq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin. See NQ, 62-5.

<sup>1025</sup> Both she and her father have been mentioned above.

<sup>1026</sup> Earlier, it was pointed out that he contracted some strategic marriages of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn when they were minors. Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 441ff.

<sup>1027</sup> See e.g. the accounts of Yazid's treatment of various 'Alids after al-Ḥusayn's defeat considered above.

<sup>1028</sup> NQ, 31-3, 77-9, 133.



was made agreeable to 'Umar.<sup>1029</sup> Thus though this is not much to go by, the account points to an early friendship between Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and the family of al-Abbās b. 'Alī.

It appears that the ties with the 'Abbāsids and Ḥusaynids were maintained throughout the Umayyad period. This is witnessed not only in 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Abbās b. 'Alī's appointment as the governor of Medina during the early 'Abbāsīd period, but also in his marriage to Umm Abīhā bt. Ma'bad b. al-Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>1030</sup> The latter bore him two daughters, one of whom was married to 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin.<sup>1031</sup> It is at first sight surprising that his other daughter, born in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik at the latest, was married to 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiya. This is somewhat difficult to explain in view of the general 'Alid marriage patterns noted above for the period after the reign of al-Walid. Perhaps the significance of the marriage should be understood with reference to the fact that Khālid had become a disenfranchised and disillusioned member of the Umayyad aristocracy and, what is more telling, that his son named his two children born to this 'Alid woman 'Alī and al-Abbās.<sup>1032</sup> This may be a reflection of his political preferences. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Abbās' son al-Ḥasan was the governor of Yanbu' and then, it is said, the *malik al-mulūk* in Mecca and Medina and the surrounding areas of the Hijaz.<sup>1033</sup> In the next generation, 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Abbās b. 'Alī was appointed governor of Mecca and Medina by al-Ma'mūn.<sup>1034</sup> In this same generation, al-Abbās b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh, who had tremendous influence with al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn, also served as the governor and *khaṭīb* of the Hijaz.<sup>1035</sup> One of his brothers, 'Ubaydallāh, enjoyed similar favor with al-Ma'mūn and, after serving his term as governor in the Hijaz, came to Baghdad where he passed his last days.<sup>1036</sup> And yet another brother, Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan, was once awarded a large sum of money by al-Ma'mūn, simply because the latter liked him. This same Ḥamza was able to recover some of the *ṣadaqa* of 'Alī from a descendant of Ṭālha in Wādī al-Qurā during the governorship of al-Abbās b. al-Ḥasan.<sup>1037</sup>

The foregoing details and the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, no descendant of the line of al-Abbās b. 'Alī participated in seditious activity against the 'Abbāsids, nor ever established any marital contact with the Ḥasanids or the Hijazī elite that appear among their cognates of the Ḥasanids, make it fairly obvious that they were part of the

<sup>1029</sup> NQ, 42–3. On the report of a questionable tactic employed by al-Abbās to gain access to the inheritance, see Ishāhānī, *Maqātil*, 54. Ishāhānī, *Maqātil*, 55, states that 'Umar was placated on some unmentioned condition. ('Umar will be discussed below.)

<sup>1030</sup> R, 184; NQ, 79.

<sup>1031</sup> NQ, 75–7.

<sup>1032</sup> IH, 67; NQ, 79. The last two sources contain no reports of his political fortunes. R, 184, which identifies him as Abū Muḥammad al-Asghar, is my source for this information. I am uncertain about this claim, as I am not familiar with the title of *malik al-mulūk* of the Hijaz for this period.

<sup>1033</sup> IH, 67.

<sup>1034</sup> NQ, 79; R, 184; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 41. It seems that he also had a Ḥusaynid wife. I am not sure whether there is some conflation in the identities of 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan and 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn. This may very well be the case as, of the two sources that mention them, NQ and IH, each mentions only one. Then the sources also mention 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Abbās b. 'Alī as the governor of Mecca in 208 AH when the great flood devastated the city. See al-Azraqī, *Akhbār*, 2: 163. I have found no such person in my research in other sources.

<sup>1037</sup> R, 184; Ibn Shabbah, *Tārīkh*, 1: 223.

'Abbāsīd-Ḥanafīyya-Ḥusaynid coalition. We have witnessed that some Ḥusaynids (even from the line of Ja'far al-Šādiq) who were not appeased by 'Abbāsīd diplomacy turned to militant activity in the early 'Abbāsīd period. We have also seen that many of the family and followers of Zayd b. 'Alī, who may well have considered himself a proponent of the *da'wa*, also threw in their lot with the Ḥasanids during this time. This may be due to the widespread perception, implicit or explicit, of the propaganda machine that rule would devolve on the Ḥusaynids. When they were bypassed after the collapse of the Umayyad empire, perhaps they thought that they could still deliver on some of their thwarted aspirations through militant activity. By the same token, it is probable that the line of al-Abbās b. 'Alī did not share such lofty hopes and were happy to settle with political positions and gifts.

#### Vii.4. The Descendants of Ṣahbā 'bt. Rabī'a

Ṣahbā 'bt. Rabī'a, a daughter of a chief of the Taghlib, was taken prisoner by Khālid b. al-Walid in 13 AH when he defeated her people at 'Ayn Tamr during the Ridda wars.<sup>1038</sup> She was brought back to Medina, where 'Alī married her and fathered two children by her. One of these, Ruqayya, was first married to Muslim b. 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib and then to his brother Muḥammad along the familiar patterns of the marriages of 'Alids of this generation.<sup>1039</sup> The other, 'Umar, who has made several appearances in this chapter in matters related to 'Alid property disputes, may have been 'Alī's youngest son.<sup>1040</sup> There is some confusion in the sources regarding his identity, for, though he appears in his topical role of litigant for the *ṣadaqāt* of 'Alī either for himself or for the Ḥusaynids as late as the reign of Hishām, he is also said to have fallen in 67 AH, fighting on the side of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. The sources explain away this problem by adducing another son of 'Alī called 'Umar al-Asghar, which then problematizes the claim that the 'Umar in question was 'Alī's youngest son. This issue is resolved in the further claim that 'Umar (i.e. al-Akbar) was the youngest *mu'qib* son of 'Alī.<sup>1041</sup>

The knots probably cannot be untied and, in view of the fact that some of what has been recorded in the sources has direct bearing on legal issues of inheritance and the vexed question of control over the *ṣadaqāt* of 'Alī (which carried the greater political implication of the leadership of the 'Alids and so of the Muslim community), perhaps some of the confusion is deliberate. It seems that the main objective of the sources is to suggest a continuing dispute over these issues, in which 'Umar simply appears as a

<sup>1038</sup> BL, 192 (B); al-Kūfī, *Manāqib*, 2: 49; IS, 3: 20; Ibn Makūla, *Ibn al-ʿImā*, 1: 194; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 1: 131; al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh*, 2: 528, 580.

<sup>1039</sup> Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 55ff.; BL, 192 (B).

<sup>1040</sup> Though this is disputed. Some sources argue that al-Abbās was younger than him. See al-Umarī, 15.

<sup>1041</sup> But then if it was 'Umar al-Asghar that fell with Muṣ'ab, the sources that identify him as the litigant before al-Walid and Hishām need to be addressed. R, 189, 189 n. 1; al-Umarī, 15, challenges the possibility of his participation with Muṣ'ab and the claim that his grave was in Maskin. But he also places his death date between 75 AH and 77 AH, which still does not explain his alleged litigation before Hishām. Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh*, 45: 302, conflates the two alleged 'Umars in stating that he died in 67 AH fighting for Muṣ'ab and that he came to al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik to argue for his right over the *ṣadaqa* of 'Alī.



representative litigant. Thus, what is clear is that the sources remember a son of 'Alī named 'Umar as a mouthpiece of intra-'Alid *ṣadaqa*-related discontent, as staking his claim—as noted above—already from the time of Karbalā', and as persisting in it all the way into the reign of Hishām.<sup>1042</sup> I have thus neglected to identify the 'Umar appearing in this section and have taken up the conflated personality of 'Umar as my point of departure. This 'Umar was also typically unsuccessful in winning his case in any of the disputes, in one instance refusing the proposal of al-Walid to compensate him with kinship ties or gifts and the payment of his debts. 'Umar responded that he had no need for these, and that he was only demanding what was his right. He then stormed out of court. None of this is to say that 'Umar had a strained relationship with the Umayyads, for such is certainly not suggested in al-Walid's proposal. What is more likely is that 'Umar did not have the social clout or capital then in the hands of his cousins, and that the Umayyads, well aware of this, did not want to upset the precarious political balance in the Hijāz by antagonizing the more powerful branches of the 'Alids. This has already been mentioned above with reference to a *ṣadaqa*-related episode between al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan and 'Abd al-Malik. Other than this, we can gauge from the fragmentary details of the *ṣadaqa* disputes that 'Umar had come to align himself with the Husaynids (against the Hasanids) already in the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (if not perhaps earlier).

We know little about 'Umar other than that he fathered three children by Asmā' bt. 'Aqīl b. Abī Tālib. One of these, Umm Mūsā, was married to 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,<sup>1043</sup> i.e. the full brother of the man whom 'Umar allegedly represented before Hishām. We know nothing about one of her brothers, but the other, Muḥammad, was reportedly the only son of 'Umar to have left issue.<sup>1044</sup> For the period under consideration, the sources report next to nothing about the line of 'Umar; nevertheless, the little we know of its marriages is instructive. Other than the one unidentified Makhzūmī wife of Muḥammad, no member of this line seems to have taken a non-Tālibid spouse. And, in keeping with the relationship of this family with the Hasanids, not a single one among them took them as in-laws. Thus Muḥammad b. 'Umar fathered several children by Khadija bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn; his son 'Ubaydallāh married Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn; and Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar was married to Umm al-Ḥusayn Fātima bt. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn.<sup>1045</sup> No descendant of this line seems to have risen to political prominence in the Umayyad or early 'Abbāsīd periods.<sup>1046</sup> From the few details available, it is safe to say that this line

<sup>1042</sup> BL, 4.2: 532–3 (rejected request before 'Abd al-Malik for the *ṣadaqāt* controlled by the Husaynids); NQ, 42 (rejected request before al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik for the *ṣadaqāt* controlled by the Hasanids); BL, 2: 520–1 (*ṣadaqa*-related litigation before Hishām against the Hasanids on behalf of the Husaynids). One possibility to consider is that the 'Umar b. 'Alī who came before Hishām with Zayd b. 'Alī was in fact the former's brother. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn. This still confirms the *topos* associated with the name 'Umar b. 'Alī.

<sup>1043</sup> NQ, 71–3, 27.

<sup>1044</sup> IH, 66–7; NQ, 62–5, 80; R, 189; al-'Umarī, 4. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar also fathered a son by a descendant of Nawfal b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This family has appeared several times among the in-laws of the 'Alids.

<sup>1045</sup> A rare exception is 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, who rebelled in Yemen during the reign of al-Ma'mūn. See IH, 66.

<sup>1046</sup> IH, 66; NQ, 80; R, 189.

was almost fully absorbed into the family of its Ḥusaynid cousins and their quietist politics.<sup>1047</sup>

### Vii.5. The Descendants of Identified Women

'Alī also fathered several children by identified women, though none of them seem to have left any progeny. The family of one of these, Umm Sa'īd bt. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafiyya, and its ties with the Sufyānids have already been mentioned above. 'Umar al-Aṣghar, Ramla, and Umm al-Ḥusayn, all of whom have appeared above, were born to this woman.<sup>1048</sup> It was explained above that the last two were first married into the families of 'Abd Shams and then took endogamous Tālibid husbands. Their sister Umm al-Ḥasan was married to Ja'da b. Hubayra al-Makhzūmī, 'Alī's maternal nephew, who was appointed by him over Khurāsān. Thus in this marriage again a daughter of 'Alī had secured ties with the old aristocracy.<sup>1049</sup> 'Alī's marriage with Asmā' bt. Umayy al-Khath'amīyya produced two nondescript children.<sup>1050</sup> Finally, 'Alī also fathered at least one other son named 'Ubaydallāh by Laylā bt. Mas'ūd b. Khālid b. Malik al-Tamīmīyya.<sup>1051</sup> This 'Ubaydallāh had reportedly settled with his cognates in Baṣra and came to Mukhtār with a claim to the caliphate. After the latter rejected his claim, he eventually escaped back to Baṣra and settled for some time with his maternal uncle; there, according to some accounts, he was given homage by his maternal kinsfolk. He was eventually delivered to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, who was reconciled with him and enlisted him in his army. This army was then dispatched against Mukhtār, and 'Ubaydallāh was killed in the engagement.<sup>1052</sup>

These marriages of 'Alī were all exogamous and it appears that the children by them had little to show by way of Tālibid or Ḥashīmī 'aṣabiyya in the early parts of their lives. It is only in their second marriages that these wives of 'Alī and his daughters

<sup>1047</sup> One exception is 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, who participated in the rebellion of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya. His son 'Isa was a transmitter of reports about the rebellion from his father (among others). I came to know of 'Abdallāh's participation in the rebellion towards the end of my research in a secondary source: Elad, 'Rebellion', 155. I have not checked the source he quotes there. 'Isa's sources are mentioned at Nagel, 'Aufstand', 242.

<sup>1048</sup> BL, 193 (B); NQ, 44 132; IH, 87–8; IS, 5: 503.

<sup>1049</sup> It is noteworthy that 'Alī's contacts with the Makhzūmī went back several generations. For this Ja'da was born to Umm Hānī, a sister of 'Alī and Hubayra, son of a brother of Fātima al-Makhzūmīyya, the mother of both 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Tālib. It is evident that neither in his own marriages nor in those of his sons did 'Alī subscribe to Ḥashīmīte endogamy. For his generation and the generation after him, family based political divisions seem to be a lot less stern than in the generations thereafter. See IH, 141–2; NQ, 344–5.

<sup>1050</sup> IH, 38, 390; BL, 192 (B); NQ, 42–4, 278ff.; al-'Umarī, 17. Asmā' was first married to Ja'far b. Abī Tālib, then to Abū Bakr al-Shiddiq, and then to 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.

<sup>1051</sup> The sources also report that she bore him a son called Abū Bakr, whose identity is disputed. Some sources claim that he was 'Abdallāh, a son of Umm al-Banīn (mentioned above), and died with al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā'. Others claim that a son of Laylā named 'Abdallāh had approached Mukhtār claiming the leadership for himself. This is very likely a mistake for 'Ubaydallāh. For the various positions, see al-Maḥmūdī, *Nahj al-salāḥ*, 7: 155; Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, *Anṣār al-ḥusayn*, 135 (where various authorities are quoted that state that Abū Bakr was 'Abdallāh); al-Khū'ī, *Mu'jam riḥāl*, 12: 89. After 'Alī, Laylā married 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib (BL, 68 (B)).

<sup>1052</sup> This is one of the variant accounts. See BL, 4: 352, 4.2: 105, 4.2: 212ff.; NQ, 42–4; IS, 5: 117.



became somewhat endogamous. Until this period, they seem to have been at home with the old aristocracy and the tribal élite. This is not very different from the trends we saw in the early marriages and careers of some of 'Alī's other children.

#### V.ii.6. The Descendants of Unidentified Women and Concubines

The marriages of three daughters of 'Alī born to unidentified women are also noteworthy. By the measure of the patterns observed above, they were probably among his older children. Thus his daughter Ruqayya was married to Muslim b. 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib; Umm Hānī' bt. 'Alī married 'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib; and Umm Kulthūm al-Suḡhrā first married 'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib, then Kuthayyir b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and then Tammām b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib.<sup>1053</sup>

Finally, with the exception of two of his daughters who married into the Zubayrid and 'Abd Shamsi families, all of the daughters of 'Alī born to concubines were married to Ḥāshimīs, the most numerous among them being the 'Abbāsids and the children of 'Aqil b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>1054</sup>

The survey of the children of identified women with limited progeny and of concubines and unidentified women makes it sufficiently clear that, during an earlier part of his life, 'Alī did not set any special store by a Ḥāshimite clique. During this period, as seen here and above, he contracted various exogamous marriages, not only into the old aristocratic families, but also into various Arab tribes. It seems, however, that either during the latter period of his life or, what is more likely, after his death, many of his descendants began to turn to endogamy. The trends illustrated above have shown that for at least some branches, this marriage pattern was short-lived and began to go out of fashion probably sometime late in 'Abd al-Malik's reign. But it seems that endogamy again grabbed hold of these groups—and with increasing intensity—starting in the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsī periods.

<sup>1053</sup> BL, 68ff. (B), 3: 67–8; NQ, 45; al-'Umarī, 18 (Umm Hānī)'s husband is given as 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Aqil; Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, 55ff.; al-'Umarī, 18 (Umm Kulthūm)'s husband is 'Abdallāh al-Aḡḡhar b. 'Aqil.

<sup>1054</sup> It is noteworthy that, according to the sources, most of the children of 'Alī born to unidentified women and concubines were women. And it is also interesting that in many cases where sons were born to unidentified women, later sources tended to assign a vague tribal affiliation to them. This undoubtedly had to do with the fact that in a later age lineage-based economic, social, and political claims were made patrilineally, so that only the ancestry of men was important to note. In addition, some remnants of the ancient claim to superiority on the basis of descent from mothers must also have passed on to later periods. Thus, the *ṣadaqa* claim of 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan was purportedly superior to that of Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin because the former was al-Mahdī (pureblooded), whereas the latter was born to a Sīndī concubine; and the caliphal claims of the 'Alids over the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids were predicated on their descent not just from a Ḥāshimī father but also from the daughter of the Prophet and their shared maternal lineage through Fāṭima, the mother of both 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Ṭālib. As the legitimist claims of the other early Islamic religious élite lineages were minimal compared to those of the 'Alids, this phenomenon of the suppression of concubine and unidentified lineage among males does not exist. This is certainly also the reason that there is much less tampering in their records. For the daughters of 'Alī discussed in this and the previous paragraphs, see BL, 68ff. (B), 192–5 (B), 5: 77; NQ, 45, 82–4; IB, 453ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Muḥabbar, 55ff.; al-'Umarī, 18; IH, 74–6, 124ff.

#### Viii. Conclusions

In many ways, the larger trends noticed in this chapter are fairly transparent. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's only marital link with the Banū Ḥāshim was through Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, who remained his sole wife during her lifetime. After her death, 'Alī married several daughters of southern tribes or of the élite who had a presence and influence in Iraq and northeast Arabia. It is his children by Fāṭima and these other wives that generally played the noteworthy roles in the social and political life of the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsī periods. 'Alī also came to take as wives some women of the old Meccan aristocracy, but their progeny was limited and left a vague impress on history at best.

Generally speaking, the daughters of 'Alī married heavily into the Ṭālibid and some 'Abbāsī lines. His sons, who seem to have served their father's political and social program during his lifetime, generally contracted strategic marriages into southern tribes and with Kūfan, Ḥāshimī, and 'Abbāsī families. Very likely after his death, when most of them returned to Medina, they also established marital contacts with the Anṣār and the Hijāzī aristocracy of both the old guard and the religious cast. During this time, some contact with the Umayyads, with whom they usually maintained at least the appearance of amicable terms, was also established. In the next generation, when most marriages were contracted probably no later than the end of the reign of al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, the various branches of the 'Alids seem to have cooperated—though perhaps in lukewarm fashion—with each other politically and socially.

It seems, however, that starting sometime around the end of the reign of al-Walid, two vaguely defined political coalitions had begun to emerge. The first of these was led by the Ḥasanids and, with the exception of the line from Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, incorporated most of al-Ḥasan's descendants, together with various branches of the Hijāzī élite that we have come across in the course of this book, and a few politically disillusioned Ḥusaynids (descended mostly from concubines of 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin). The political aspirations of the leader of this bloc, 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, are not transparently displayed in the sources, though it is more than likely that, much like the Ḥāshimīyya, he aspired to gain rulership for his family on the basis of clandestine propaganda activity starting already sometime around the end of the reign of al-Walid (and certainly no later than the reign of Ḥishām). Incorporating the mass of these members of the Hijāzī élite (into which his family married heavily for at least two generations), and ideologically backed by followers in several provinces, his two sons came out in an abortive revolution in 145 AH. Around this time, these Ḥasanids also began to shift towards endogamy with the result that, though they remained militant for several generations to come, their erstwhile élite support disappeared in the later times. The loss of élite support can also be explained with reference to the shrewd 'Abbāsī program of incorporating the Hijāzī élite into the political machine, much as the early Umayyads had done, as noted in previous chapters. It is likely that these members of the élite saw no benefit over and above what the 'Abbāsids were willing to offer them were they to join forces with the Ḥasanids.<sup>1055</sup>

<sup>1055</sup> This theory is further substantiated by the fact that most political appointments of the Hijāzī élite and their marital contacts with the 'Abbāsī line, were secured after the reign of al-Manṣūr, i.e. after the failure of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya's revolt, in which a number of them participated.

The second political bloc also had its root in the reign of al-Walīd, during which time the lines of both 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya perpetuated their family's earlier contacts with the 'Abbāsids. In the next generation, two lines of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, one associated with Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn and the other descended from 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's wife Umm 'Abdallāh, furthered their contact with the Ḥanafīyya. It is likely that, through the Ḥanafīyya, both lines had come to embrace the *da'wa* insofar as they conceived it as an anti-Umayyad stance and not necessarily as a pro-'Abbāsīd one. Yet the first of these groups came out in what appears to have been a premature revolt in Kūfa in 122 AH and, though its leader (and later his son, who counted the Ḥanafīyya as his kinsfolk) appealed to the Ḥashīmiyya, he received no support from them. Understandably, given these Ḥusaynids' general social bankruptcy in the eyes of the Hijāzī elite of this period, the movement received practically no support from it either. Thereafter, this line turned to a rather strict endogamy and many of its members and followers came to be incorporated in later Ḥasanid-led revolutionary machines. They generally abandoned contacts with all other 'Alīd branches, including the Imāmī line.

At the same time, the second bloc itself had split. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn's descendants by Umm 'Abdallāh maintained a patient vigil during the evolution of the *da'wa* and generally resisted all temptations to enlist in premature militant activities. It is perhaps due to this fact, along with their marital contact with the Ḥanafīyya at a time when practically no other 'Alīd branch took them as in-laws, that they were able to reassert their kinship tie with the 'Abbāsids when the latter came to power. In other words, in the one generation interval after the death of al-Walīd, when there is practically no record of any marriage into the 'Abbāsīd family, the descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh remained associated with the *da'wa* through the Ḥanafīyya line. During this time, they also solidified their own family structures through intense endogamous practices. Thus one only witnesses a substantial number of marriages into the 'Abbāsīd line for this family a little before and again after the success of the revolution. This is at least what one can say of their surface relationship. The tensions between the two groups beneath the veneer of amicable gestures are well known. The tension was grounded in the fact that the question of the true leadership of the Muslim community that had been left vague throughout the period of the incubation of the revolution had now to be decided between the 'Abbāsids and those 'Alīds who had given the movement a silent nod. And here, given the weaker presence of the Ḥanafīyya, the Ḥusaynids, who had maintained ties with them, had a formidable claim. It is perhaps for this reason that when the caliphate was officially promised to an 'Alīd, the heir apparent was none other than a descendant of 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn by Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan. But this compromise came too late. For having been bypassed on repeated occasions, several descendants of this Ḥusaynid line had already joined militant activity. Finally, the details of this last chapter also suggest that this cross-section of the second political bloc also incorporated the lines of al-'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

## Conclusion

In many ways, the previous chapter marked a natural end of our research on the Hijāzī elite because its protagonists encompassed as a centripetal force the lives of many of the elite we have studied throughout this book. In other words, the social and political history of the Hijāz for the Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods can be viewed from the vantage point of the prosopography of the members of the 'Alīd family which occupies an undisputed central place in it.

It is then precisely for this reason that this final conclusion can neither be neat nor free of redundancy, seeing that in its historiographical reconstruction it must take into account the history of an enormous number of individuals who were not only connected to the sociopolitical center by their cognate 'Alīd lineage, but also and in turn, counted in their own direct orbits many additional elite families.

Individuals do not always behave according to standards of their groups, much less from one moment to the next. So our conclusions here are perforce more general and neglect details that, though presented in the body of this book, do not apply equally to all individuals and subgroups falling within larger categories. But this is nothing new, as prosopography, in extracting the history of groups, provinces, and nations from a history of individuals, always forces us to reiterate and to simplify and identify larger patterns at the end of a protracted investigation of details. It is enough that we recognize that there are exceptions that lie behind our greater analytical compromises.

This conclusion briefly takes up two subjects: the sociopolitical history of the Hijāz and the wider question of the prosopographical method for reconstructing Islamic history.

## History

The history of the Hijāzī elite from the vantage point of the five central families shows that in the early Umayyad period, the leaders of the province leaned rather heavily towards the south Arabian tribal and military elite of Iraq and southern Syria. It is into their families that the eponymous founders and the first generation of all five families married in smaller or greater numbers, with the Ṭalḥids and the Sa'dids representing the two polar extremes.

With the death of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the concerted efforts of Mu'āwīya to absorb the Hijāzī elite into the service of empire and into direct and indirect kinship ties, the Hijāzī elite seem to have been placated. But it appears that no unified or corporate group identity or interest lay behind the participation of the various members of the nobility in dynastic programs. In other words, the Umayyad overtures were only temporarily successful and were not able to cement the fragmented nature of elite social and political organization. Thus, immediately at the moment of Mu'āwīya's death, various groups in the Hijāz came out in revolt against the dynasty. Due to reasons discussed above (which included the legitimist bankruptcy and demographic exhaustion of the Hijāzī elite following Ḥarra), the Zubayrids were able to emerge as the leading



challengers to Yazid. It appears that some of their success may be attributed to their newly-emerging links with various elements of the elite groups, though no certain pattern of such links is apparent. During the period of the Zubayrid counter-caliphate, 'Abd al-Malik had adopted very much the same strategy of elite assimilation as Mu'awiya. This was perhaps to counter the similar efforts of the Zubayrids that are noted in passing on various occasions in this book. Thus one notices during this period an increase in the contacts of the Hijāzī elite with the Marwānids via marriage ties, political appointments, and patronage. But the state of affairs began to change again perhaps in the second half of 'Abd al-Malik's reign, when members of the religious elite families were again removed from posts and the formation of their kinship ties with the center lost pace. This trajectory of an unfortunate imperial policy seems to have solidified by the end of al-Walid's reign.

It seems that, after the reign of al-Walid (at the latest), the erstwhile fragmented elite groups had begun to organize in two political blocs. The node of one was the Hasanids, who incorporated the Hijāzī elite in general. These Hijāzī elite comprised various lines of the Zubayrids, who had strong ties with certain 'Uthmānids and Ṭalḥids. These same Ṭalḥids and 'Uthmānids, in turn, also had alternative direct and indirect ties with these same 'Alids. Several lines of these four families, joined together by a complex structure of cognate links, had been preparing a revolt, the roots of which seem to have run as deep as those of the Hāshimīyya. Their movement was galvanized in an abortive revolution in 145 AH.

Of the remaining branches of the same Hijāzī elite, the vast majority of the 'Uthmānids tended to remain closely allied with the Banū Umayya (especially and mainly the Marwānids) and several branches reaped the fruit of this contact as favorites at the caliphs' courts and as governors. These same branches disappeared in the early 'Abbāsīd period. On the other hand, most Ṭalḥid lines not associated with the aforementioned Hasanids (much like the Zuhra) were in the favor of the early Umayyads, but disappeared from the political scene soon after 'Abd al-Malik's reign; then they briefly reemerged in the 'Abbāsīd entourage in the conciliatory efforts of the dynasts after 145 AH.

The two Zuhri families studied above had generally turned their attention to regions outside Arabia, to the southern tribes settled in southern Syria and Iraq, though traces of their ties with the Hasanids—both direct and indirect—have been observed above. Many of their number had either been absorbed into the families of their tribal elite cognates or had turned to Islamic learning. The Sa'did line, for example, generally shared the successes and failures of its tribal cognates in Iraq and Arabia. It does not seem to have contributed much to the politics of the Hijāzī elite led by the Hasanids. Records of this family for the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods seem to be very limited and one might effectively consider them to be members of the military and tribal elite. In contrast, though the 'Awfids had similarly turned to southern tribes, they did maintain some focus on their links with the religious elite through various families in the Hijāz. And though their involvement in the revolutionary movement of the Hijāzī elite seems to have been minimal, they were considered important enough by the authorities to be granted enviable posts in the region in the early Umayyad and the early 'Abbāsīd periods. In both cases, they were replaced in the micromanagement of the province by

the Anṣār and the Makhzūm, neither of whom had the same legitimist cachet.

The other Hijāzī sociopolitical bloc brought together the 'Abbāsīds, most of the Husaynids, the Hanafiyya and the 'Umarid and 'Abbāsīd descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb. It also included Hārithi and other Ṭalībī descendants of Hāshim, though an equal (if not greater) number of members of these last two groups were found joined to the first bloc as well. This second bloc generally excluded the Hijāzī elite and, though I have used the term Hāshimīyya above to refer to the 'Abbāsīd-led revolutionary machine, it is worth noting that this second bloc as a whole more aptly deserves that name. This is what 'Hāshimīyya' very likely meant during the period under consideration.

The Husaynid contingent of the second bloc split into the Zaydid Husaynids—some of whom joined the militant Hasanids before the close of the Umayyad period—and the descendants of Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Hasan, which descendants remained attached to the Hāshimīyya. When the revolution ended and the 'Abbāsīds had been installed on the throne, it was the latter branch, among all the other 'Alids, that could make the most solid legitimist argument in official circles. After all, of the descendants of Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad, this was the single branch that had not only established the greatest number of links with the 'Abbāsīds and the Hanafiyya, but it had also patiently avoided involvement in both Husaynid and Hasanid militancy. Yet realizing that such choices were not sufficient in securing political power, several members of this branch either joined hands with the Hasanids or began to mount independent revolutionary movements against the new dynasty after the abortive revolt of 145 AH.

After this revolt, most 'Alid families, including the Hasanids, became increasingly endogamous, eschewing their contacts not only with the various Hijāzī elite families, but also with other 'Alids. They generally maintained their more strictly defined endogamy along principles of agnatic fission, which seems to have functioned with a view to cognate kinship—in other words, descendants of full siblings and the mother's relatives with extended contacts with the same segment of the patriline usually stuck together. In the decades that followed, the ideological and socioeconomic disputes, which were mounting already in the Umayyad period, led to the gradual crystallization of various introverted branches of the 'Alids. This is not to say that they did not participate together in revolutionary movements against the central government.

After 145 AH, a good number of the other Hijāzī elite families that have been the subject of our study left the Arabian Peninsula and settled in the various lands of the empire. Several lines of the non-'Alid Hijāzī elite seem to have been absorbed into 'Abbāsīd service and many were given posts as micromanagers of the Hijāz in the capacity of tax collectors, *ashāb al-shurṭa* and *quḍāh*; many also turned to different disciplines of learning, though most came to concentrate on the religious sciences. The trend of political appointments, wherever it had applied, had begun to dissipate in the latter half of al-Rashid's reign and had generally vanished by the coming of al-Ma'mūn. By the reign of the latter, the Hijāzī elite had ceased to be the formidable social and political blocs they once were. They had disbanded and their heyday had passed.



## Historiography

I have already dealt with several of the methodological issues of this book in the introduction. Here I will supply a few closing remarks on the *Nutzen und Nachteil* of prosopography for reconstructing early Islamic history. Some overlap with the introduction is naturally expected.

It may be argued that this book has done prosopography backwards. Prosopography may be used to identify a series of individuals on the basis of some shared characteristic (say, judges of Damascus in the fifth century) and then to study their lives collectively, asking a set of uniform questions about every member of the series. The answers to these questions can tell us something about the motivations of the historical actors' behavior as a unit. Such an investigation, then, presupposes the existing knowledge of the uniform behavior of various groups and factions and only seeks to explain it. Discourse on motivation must take into account a huge set of factors, ranging from the actors' and the analysts' perceptions of the event to the intended and real consequences of the response.<sup>1056</sup> The analyst's knowledge of his subject's participation in a group is only one factor that can help explain the motivations behind his or her group's actions.

The prosopographical aims of this book are humbler as it is not concerned with the vexed subject of psychosociology. The historiography of the Hijāz for the early Islamic period is a deplorably underdeveloped field, so that the first order of business for any historian of the region and period is to identify social, economic, intellectual, and political factions. More sophisticated prosopographical investigations can then be grafted onto the defined factions.

This book uses the prosopographical method first to identify sociopolitical aggregates across kinship groups and then to observe continuities and changes in the structures of these aggregates. Limiting itself generally to five elite families, it determines who belonged to which group at what time and not *why* he or she was a member of the said group. Participation in a group is measured by degrees of kinship links and also by reports regarding patronage, political appointments, participation in revolutionary movements, etc. In many cases, several of these categories overlap: thus, five particular branches, each from one of the five families, may be noted for having members who participated in the same revolutionary movements, were removed from posts, and were linked by marital or some other contact. The study of such correlations allows us to place individuals (and when the data allows, other members of their branches across generations) in the same social and political group. In the course of identifying social networks, the diachronic relationships of the identified aggregates with the central authorities are also noted. Thus it is hoped that the groundwork of the major objective of prosopography has been laid, i.e. the identification of a hidden and evolving social history beneath the political history of events, the hitherto anonymous social history between the acts. The simplified summary of results was laid out in the previous section.

Though the objective of prosopography is generally the same across fields, the particular method used in any specific area of inquiry depends naturally on the specific questions posed and the capacity of the sources for supplying the answers. For example,

<sup>1056</sup> This is discussed at length by Carney, 'Prosopography', 164ff.

to use a prosopographical method for the study of clientage in contemporary America would probably be misdirected as the society under consideration is perhaps not class-based and, where such forms of social organizations do exist, the data would probably be hard to come by (anthropology would be the discipline of choice for this kind of work). In contrast, this method would be ideal for the study of the same phenomenon in Republican Rome.<sup>1057</sup>

So how did the Arabo-Islamic sources fare in the prosopographical inquiry of this book? How do our sources compare to the prosopographical sources in other fields? And which methods worked and which failed? I take up these three questions briefly as the closing points of this book.

Despite their various limitations noted in the introduction, the Arabo-Islamic prosopographical sources, particularly genealogies, are perfectly suited for supplying answers to the questions this book poses. The groups under investigation share two basic characteristics: their principle of organization is kinship and they belong to the highest social echelons. Individuals that fall in the strictly defined series—five of the *Shūrā* families—are then investigated with reference to several variables, most importantly their horizontally expansive kinship ties through marriage, cognates, fosterage, etc. The genealogical records are eminently suited for this type of inquiry and supply abundant information. These individuals are then tested for other variables that are also amply documented in the sources: official appointments, participation in revolutionary movements, relations with the central authorities, leadership roles, etc. The loose multivariate analysis then illuminates a diachronic system of the formation and dissolution of social and political blocs that cut across the original series. It illuminates the anonymous social history behind political 'events'.

A limitation of the source base not discussed in the introduction is that not all the variables can be tracked for nearly all the individuals under investigation. In most cases, basic information about the horizontally expansive kinship ties are fairly easy to come by—this is the great boon of the genealogies that allow us to reconstruct networks—but the rest has sometimes needed reconstruction on the basis of information available about other elements in the series. Thus one is bound to read the occasional, 'x may have belonged to the camp of y because they shared a, b, and c as their common cognates and because x and y were both married to two full sisters, whose family predominantly behaved in the same manner as y.' In the absence of further information, this kind of argument is fairly reasonable, but the reader and investigator should both be wary not to put much stock in inferences about the children and grandchildren of x if such inferences are based on what one has inferred about x. I have tried to avoid erecting such imaginary edifices, which have proven to be seriously detrimental to prosopographers in other fields.

The sources have served the project well, but this is only because the right questions were asked of them and because the inquiry was fairly basic. Other kinds of prosopography may fail both because of the method and the questions. Thus, it would be reasonable to say that a tighter more statistically-based multivariate analysis will probably not work because the information is neither uniform for all variables nor for all elements in the series. Modeling relationships among variables through formal regression

<sup>1057</sup> See Carney, 161.



methods or any other form of analysis may also be an equally futile task for the same reasons. But I have not attempted the more advanced methods and cannot say with certainty whether the enterprise is necessarily bound to fail.<sup>1058</sup>

For the kind of work carried out in the book, identifying the right kind of group and then asking the right kinds of questions is a *sine qua non*. One can imagine that a prosopographical investigation with these same sources of a series comprising second century bandits or pirates of the Red Sea would be a futile task. I imagine the principle of organization of these potential subjects was not genealogical, so that identifying the series would be difficult from the start. Then, if the series is somehow identified, asking questions about the marriage links, etc. of its members will probably not amount to much. In other words, this kind of prosopographical investigation does not suit our sources. Likewise, even for those series that are proper for the sources, many kinds of variables are not. Though the sources amply document political appointments, marriages, etc., they have little to say about, say, the number of slaves owned by various members of the series, the extent of the land holdings, or the age at which they first married. Hence studies of the institutions of slavery and marriage and the economic growth and decline of the élite will probably not benefit much from a prosopographical study (certainly not a prosopographical study of genealogies).

Depending on the kinds of questions posed, prosopographical studies of the Arabo-Islamic sources can be either more or less rewarding than similar work in other fields. For example, for the kind of work presented here, few (if any) sources from the ancient or medieval traditions can match ours. But our sources will hardly stand toe-to-toe with inscriptional sources of the Roman Empire for prosopographical investigations of government officials.<sup>1059</sup> They will fare just as badly on prosopographical inquiries into foreign clients when compared to the sources for Republican Rome. And they are hardly worth comparison with prosopographical sources of eighteenth century England—poorhouse and hospital records, local registers of birth, marriages, and death, contracts of lease, bills of sale, etc.—that can answer a variety of questions not just about the élite but also about the masses.<sup>1060</sup>

It is hoped that this book has done the initial spadework for a history of the Hijāz for the period under consideration. More comprehensive prosopographical studies, supplemented with greater attention to the economy and administration of the region, should yield a more complete piece in the future.

<sup>1058</sup> What is certain is that the method of social network analysis, the next step of abstraction in this sort of study, has indeed proved fruitful in investigating the sociopolitical structures of this society. I plan to present the conclusions of this investigation in my forthcoming monograph, tentatively entitled *Empire and Periphery*.

<sup>1059</sup> Though I do reserve judgment on the prosopographical value of the Arabic papyrological evidence.

<sup>1060</sup> See Carney, 159ff.

## Appendix: Ancestral Trees

### Key

$x = - y$  =  $x$  is married to  $y$  or  $y$  is a concubine of  $x$

$x \longrightarrow y$  =  $x$  is married to  $y$  or  $y$  is a concubine of  $x$

UW = *Umm Walad* (i.e. not in the technical sense of one who bears a son, but one who bears a child, male or female)

a, b, c, etc. = anonymous individuals

$x \text{ ————— } y$  =  $x$  is child of  $y$  (if this diagram unfolds vertically with  $x$  on top)

SW = Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās

ARA = 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf

TU = Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh

UA = 'Uthmān b. 'Affān

ATA = 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib

bnt. = *Bint*

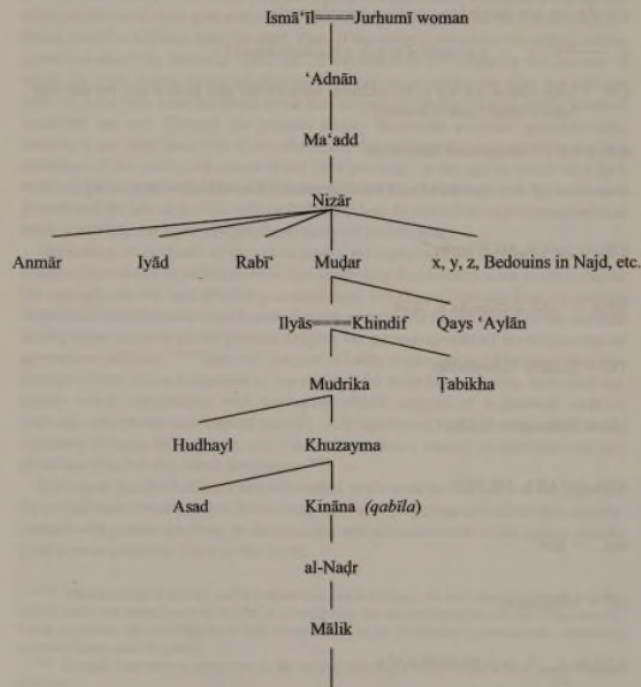
M. = Muḥammad

$x(y)$  or  $x \text{ — } (y)$  =  $y$  is the mother of  $x$

a b c d =  $x$  bnt.  $y$  is the mother of a, b, c, and d  
( $x$  bnt.  $y$  b. z)

## Ancestry of Quraysh

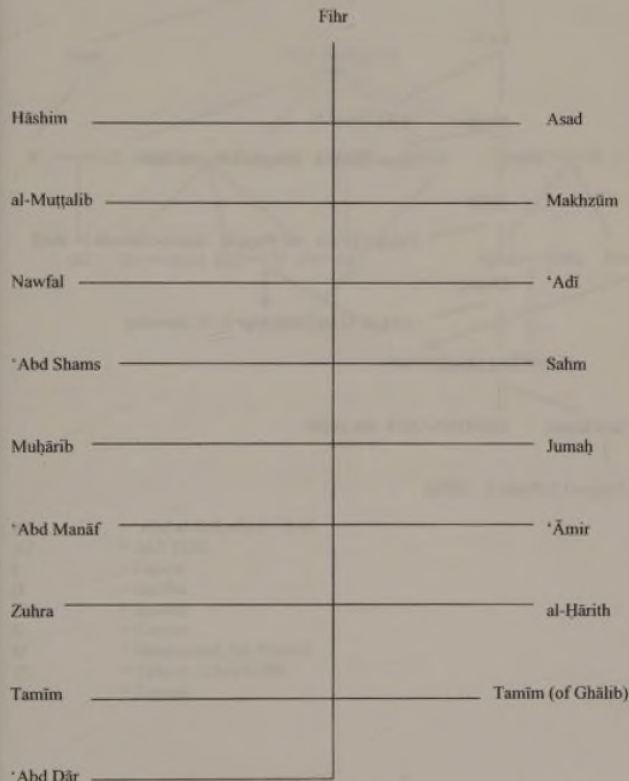
Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm is presented in MD, 59, as a naturalized Arab who settled among the Jurhum Thāniyya (i.e. the Banū Qahṭān) in 2793 B.A.H. This makes the 'Adnān a branch of naturalized Arabs as well.



('imāra) Fihr (all the Quraysh fall under Fihr. Quraysh is the *laqab*)

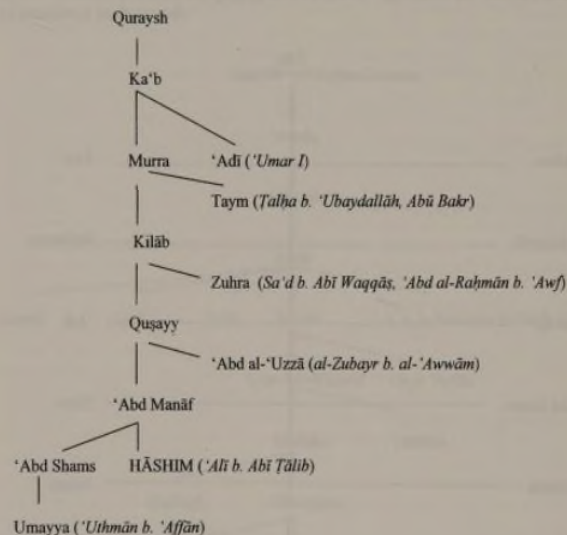
## Divisions of Fihr

The Quraysh (*laqab* of Fihr) are divided into seventeen famous *butūn*.

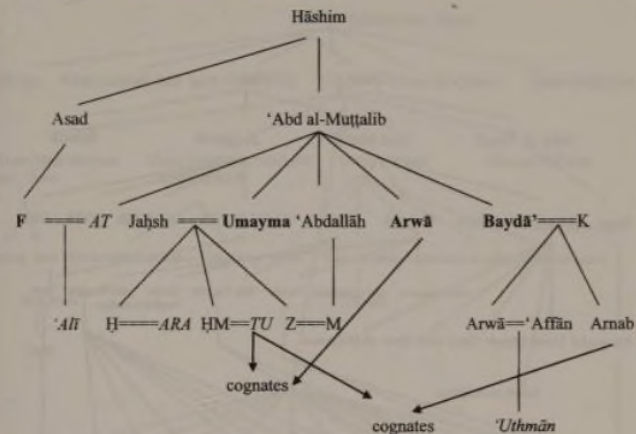




## Ancestry of Qurashī Notables



## The Daughters of Hāshim: Kinship with Aristocracy

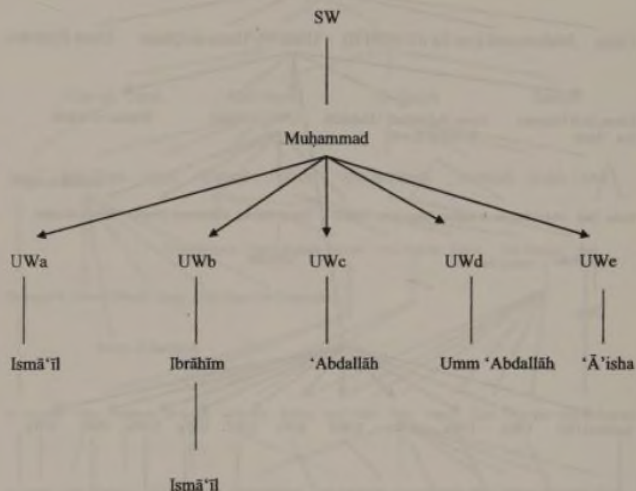


- ARA = 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf  
 AT = Abū Ṭālib  
 F = Fāṭima  
 H = Ḥabība  
 HM = Ḥamna  
 K = Kurayz  
 M = Muḥammad, the Prophet  
 TU = Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Z = Zaynab

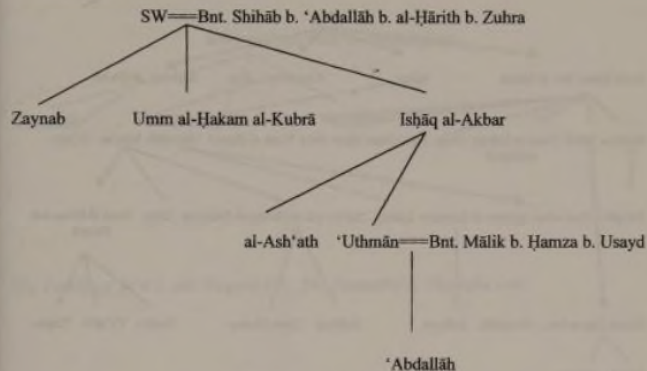




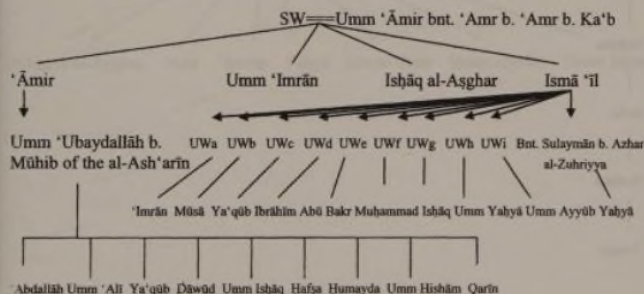
## The Family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās: The Kindī Children



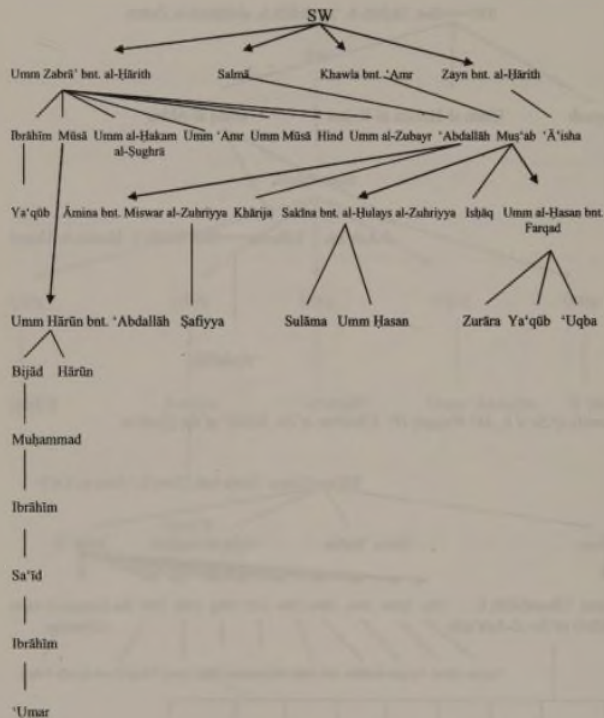
## Family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās III: Children from the al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra Line



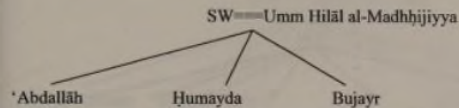
## Family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās IV: Children of the Bahrā' of the Quḍā'a



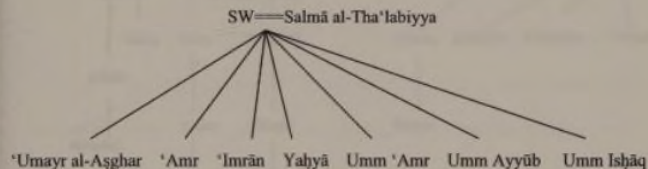
## The Family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ V: The Bakr and Taghlib b. Wā'il Line



## The Family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ VI: The Sa'd b. Madhij Line

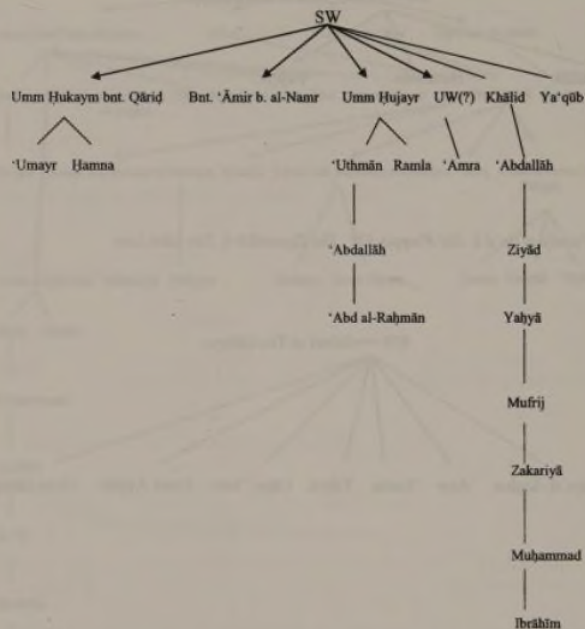


## The Family of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ VII: The Taymallāt b. Tha'laba Line

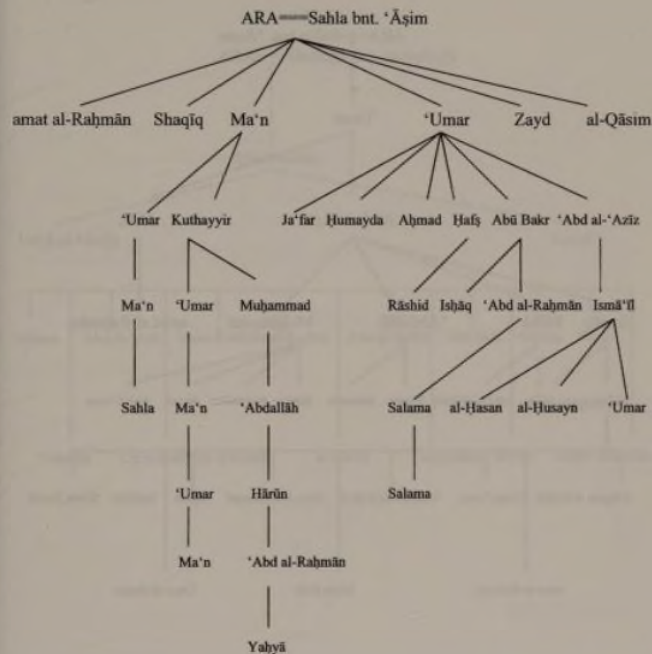




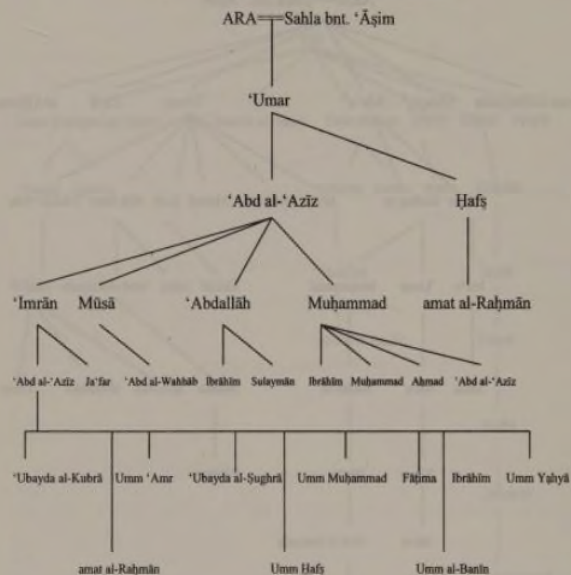
## The Family of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ VIII: Miscellaneous



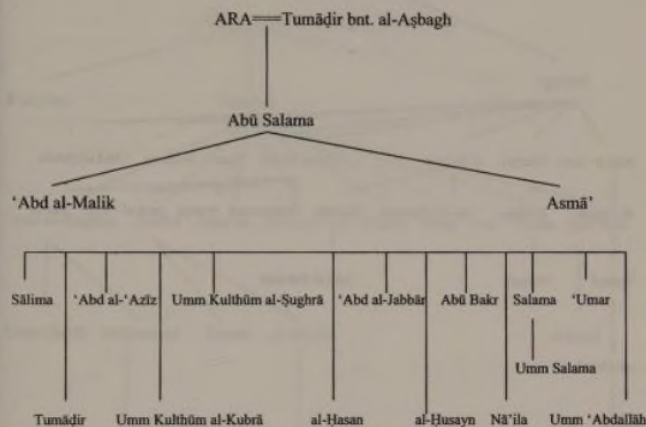
## The Family of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I: Sahla bnt. 'Āṣim Line I



## The Family of 'Abd al-Rahmān II: Sahla bnt. 'Āsim Line 1



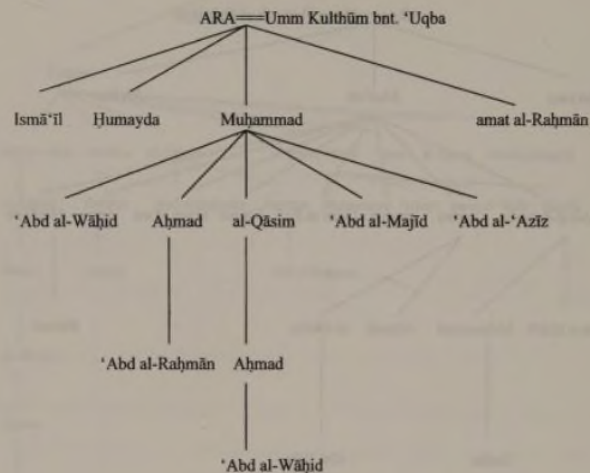
## The Family of 'Abd al-Rahmān III: The Tumādīr bnt. al-Aṣbagh Line



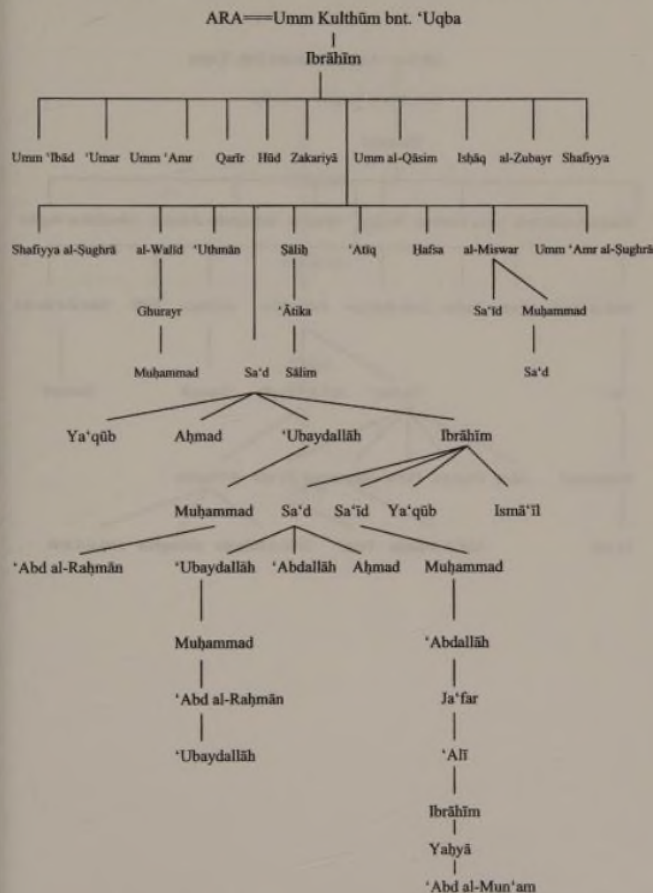




## The Family of 'Abd al-Rahmān VI: The Umm Kulthūm bnt. 'Uqba Line I

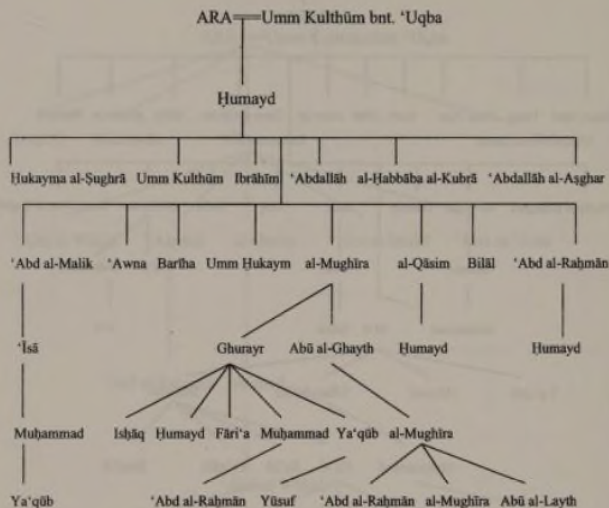


## The Family of 'Abd al-Rahmān VII: The Umm Kulthūm bnt. 'Uqba Line II

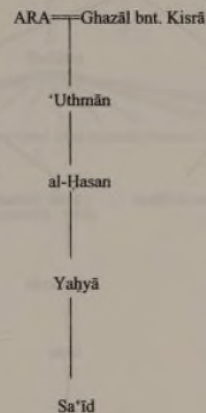




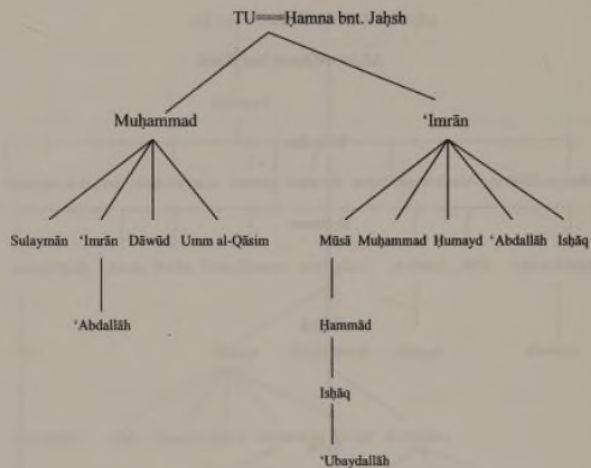
## The Family of 'Abd al-Raḥmān VIII: The Umm Kulthūm bnt. 'Uqba Line III



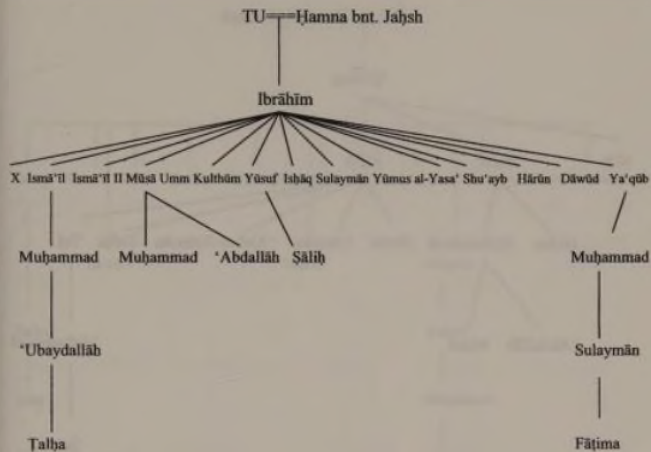
## The Family of 'Abd al-Raḥmān IX: The Ghazāl bnt. Kisrā Line



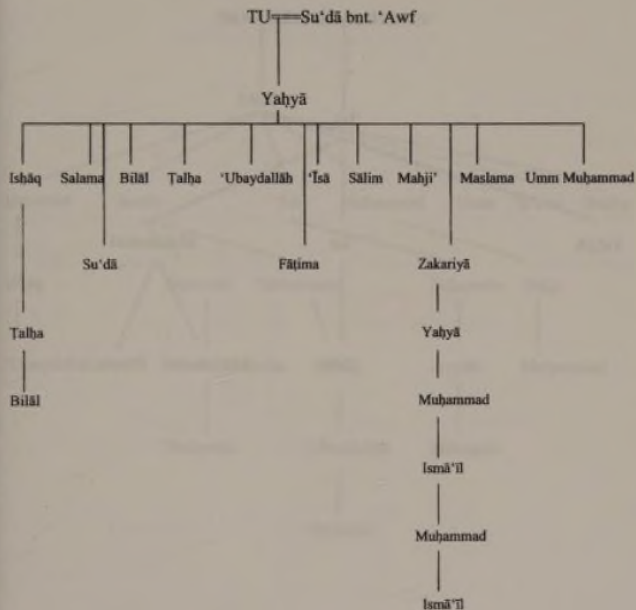
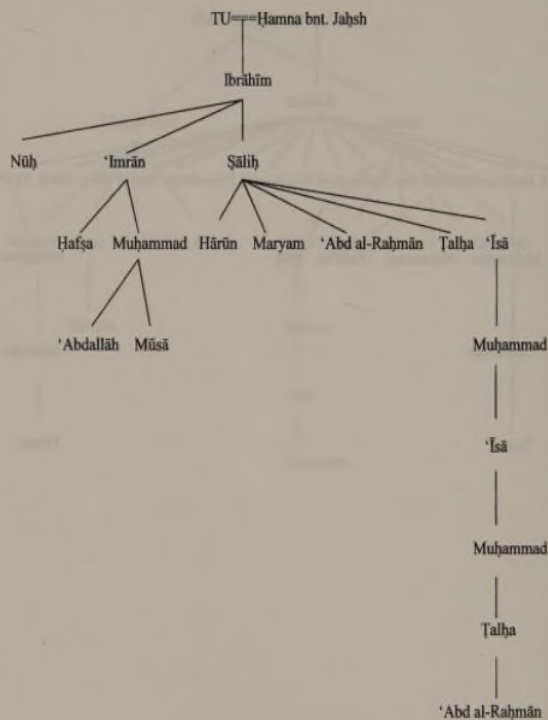
*The Family of Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh I: The Hamna bnt. Jahsh Line I*



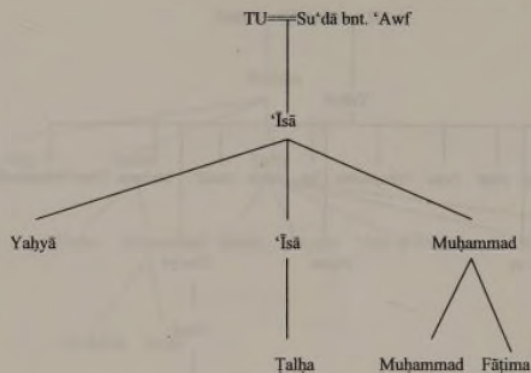
*The Family of Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh II: The Hamna bnt. Jahsh Line II*



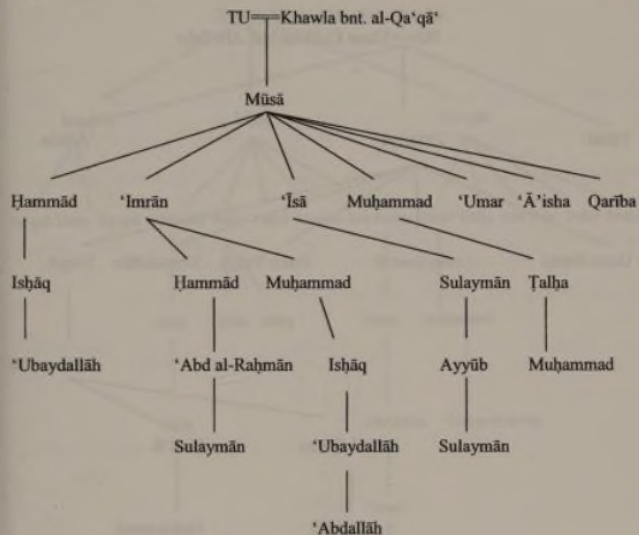




The Family of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh V: The Su'dā bnt. 'Awf Line II

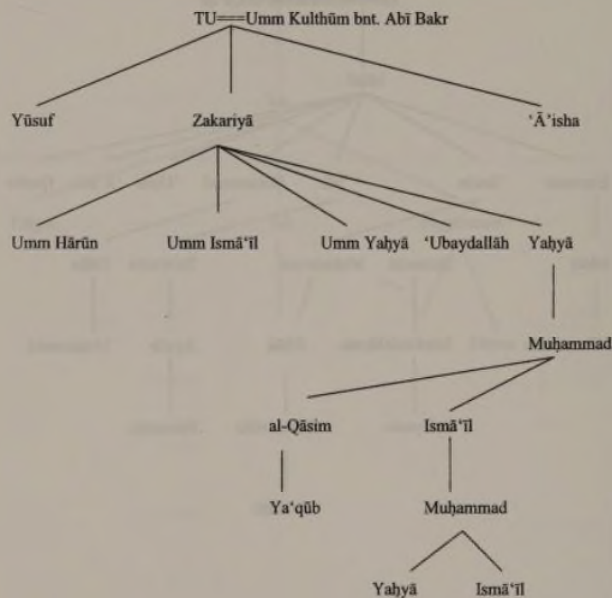


The Family of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh VI: The Khawla bnt. al-Qa'qā' Line

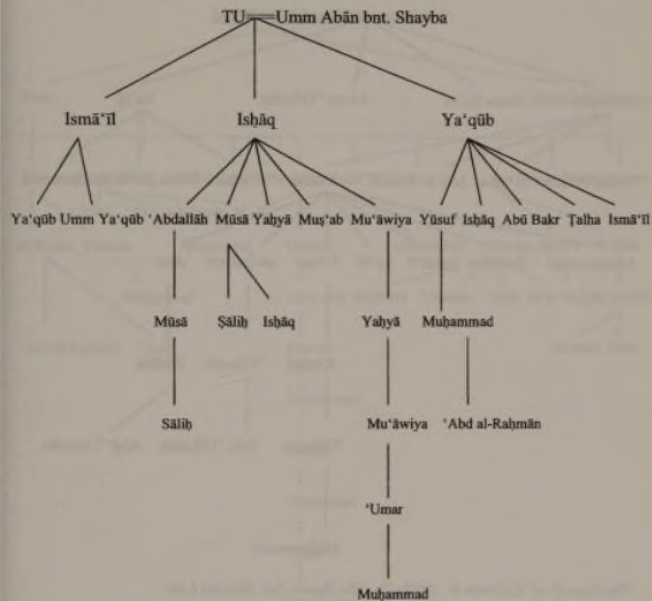




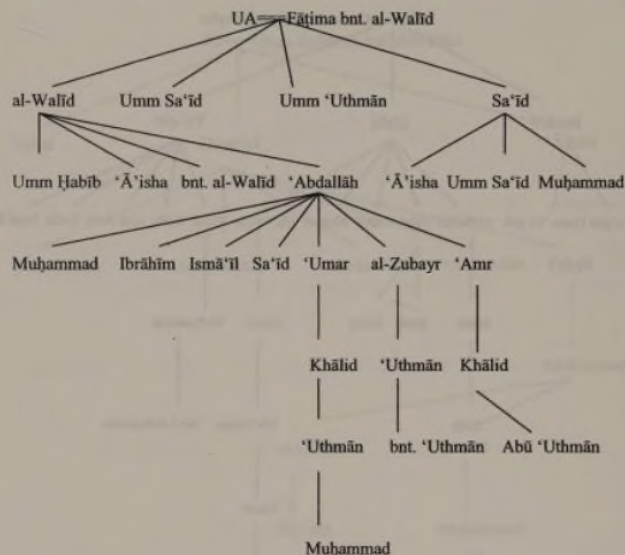
The Family of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh VII: The Umm Kulthūm bnt. Abī Bakr



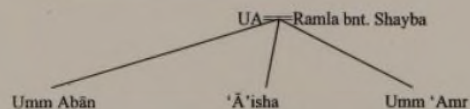
The Family of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh VIII: The Umm Abān bnt. Shayba Line



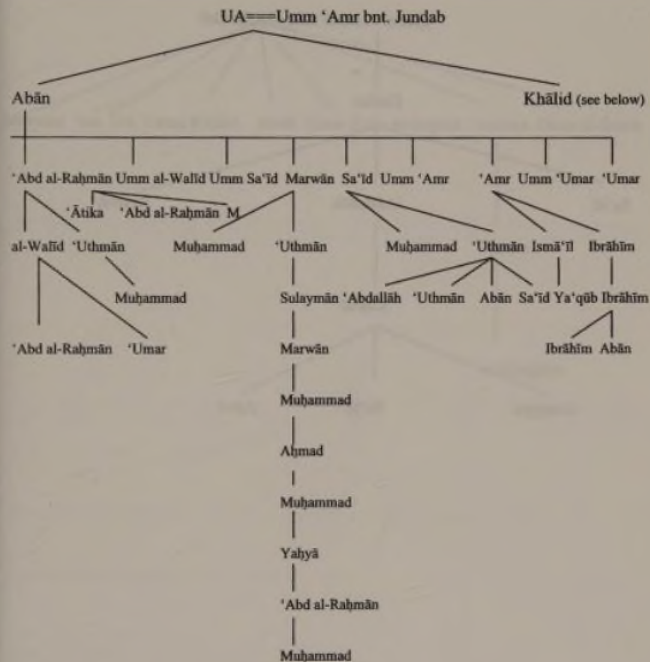
## The Family of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān I: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Walīd Line



## The Family of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān II: The Ramla bnt. Shayba Line

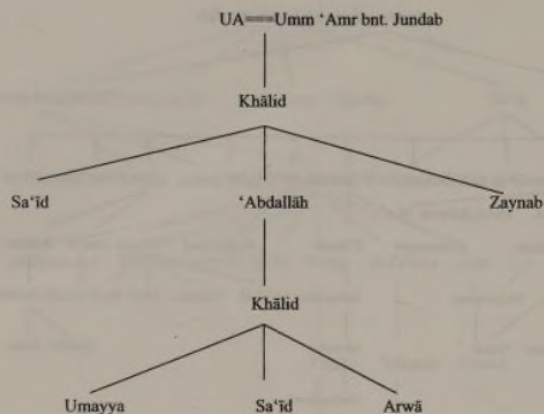


## The Family of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān III: The Umm 'Amr bnt. Jundab Line I

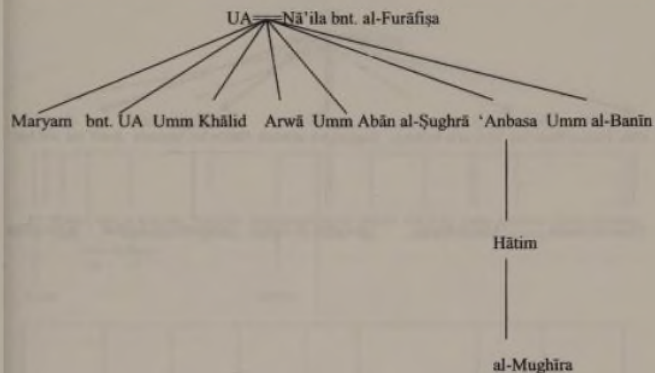




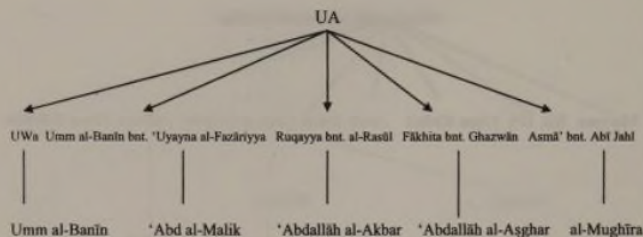
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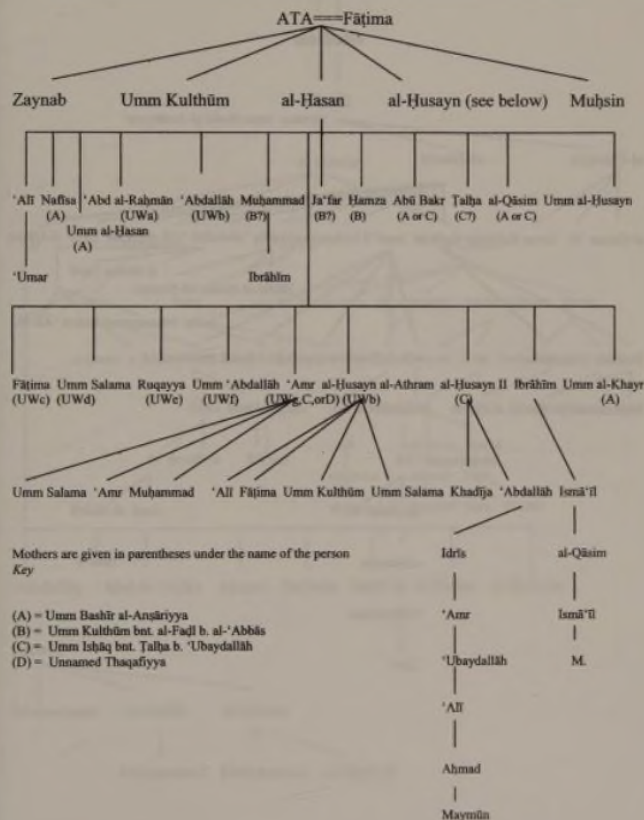
## The Family of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān V: The Nā'ila bnt. al-Furāfiṣa Line



## The Family of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān VI: Miscellaneous Descendants

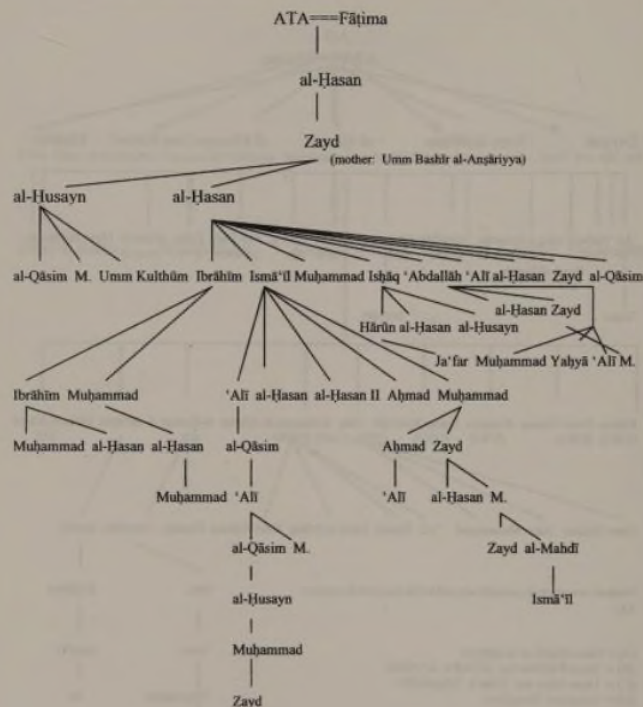


## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib I: The Fātima bnt. al-Rasūl Line I

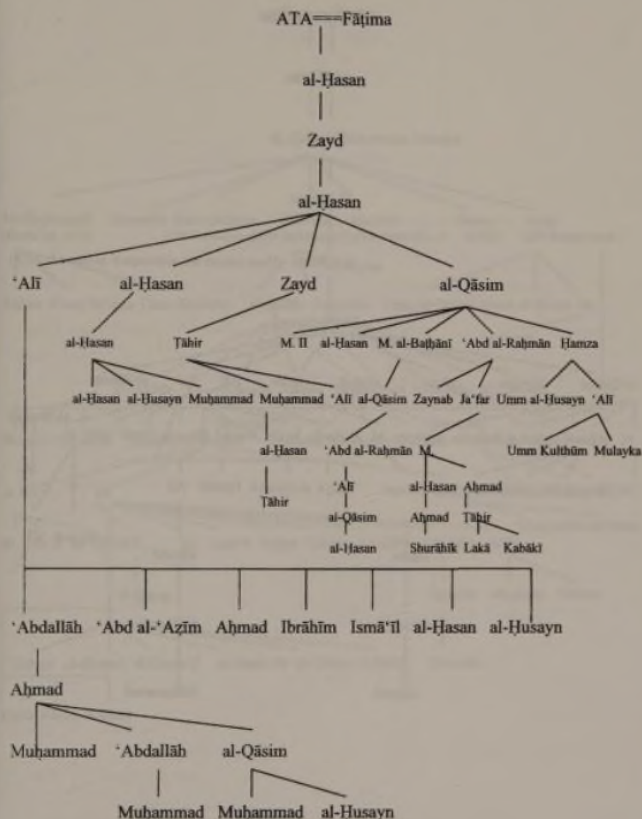


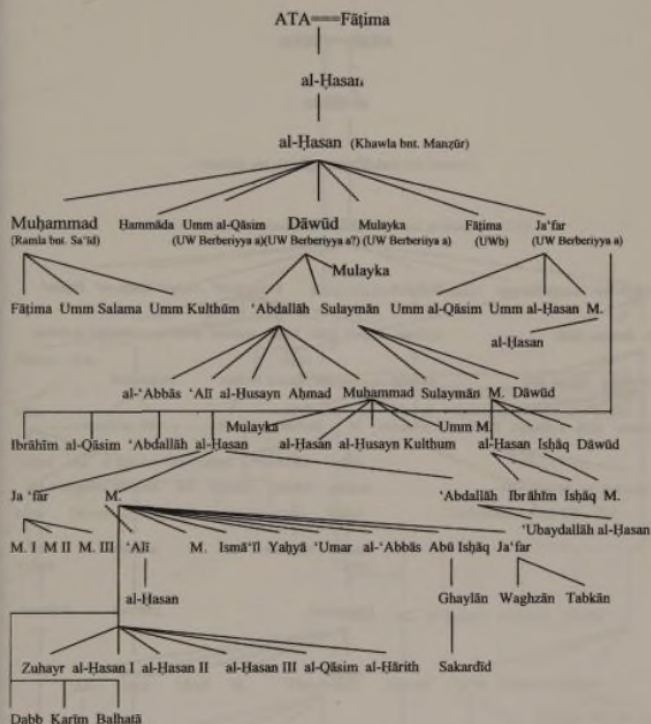
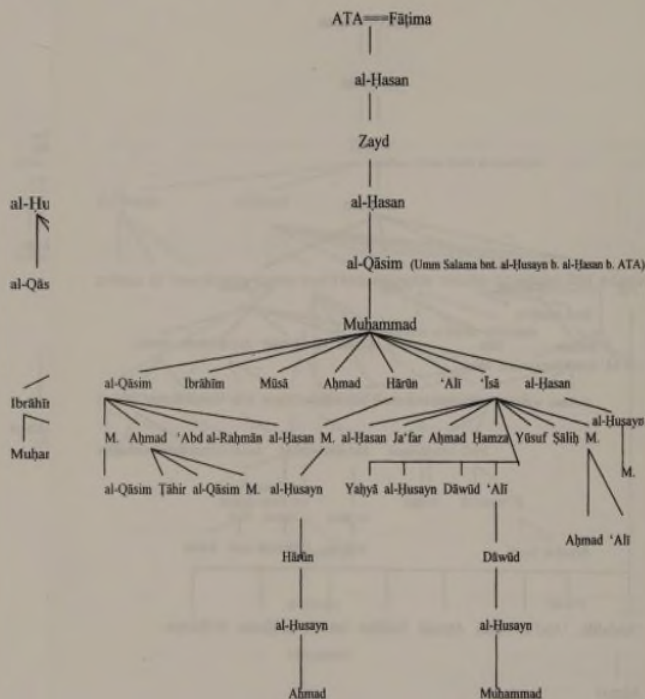


## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib II: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line II



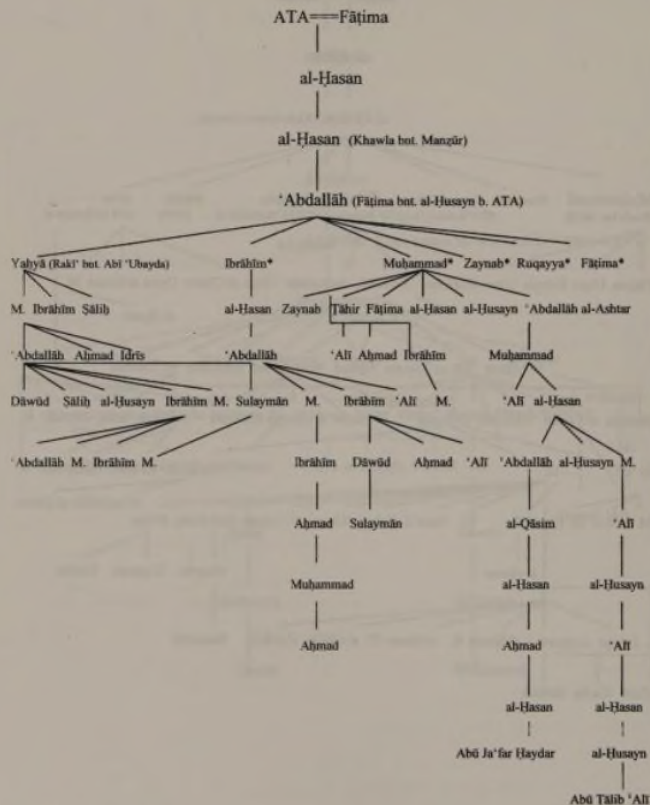
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib III: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line III





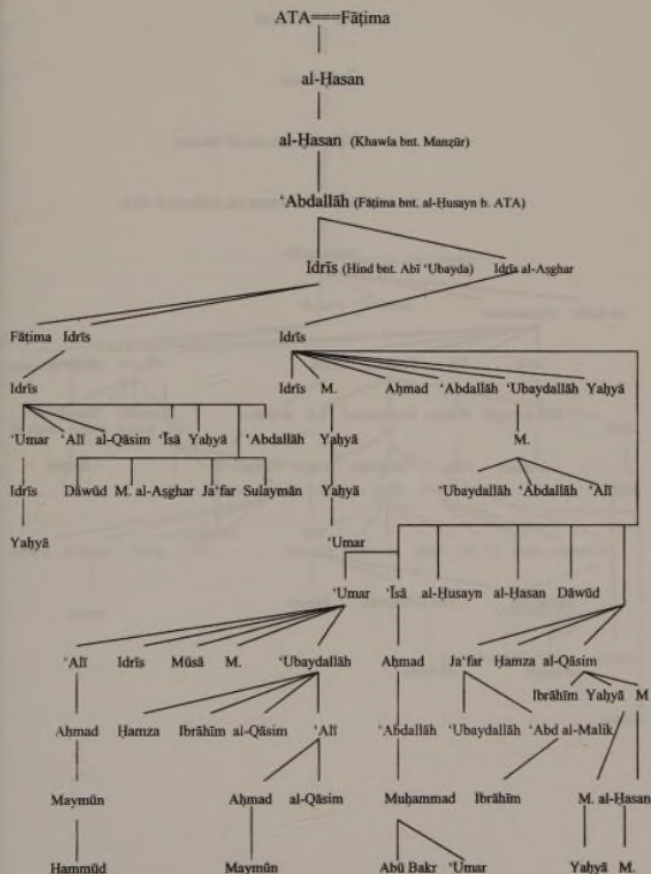


## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib VI: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line VI

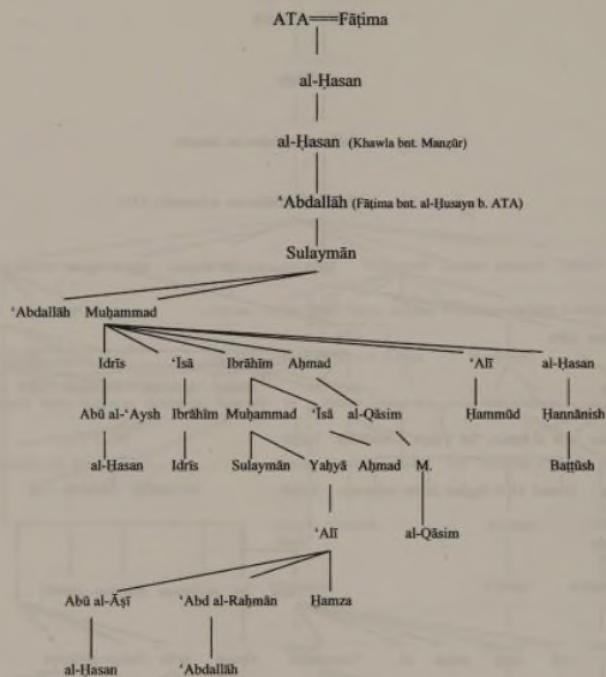


\*(Hind bnt. Abī 'Ubaydallāh)

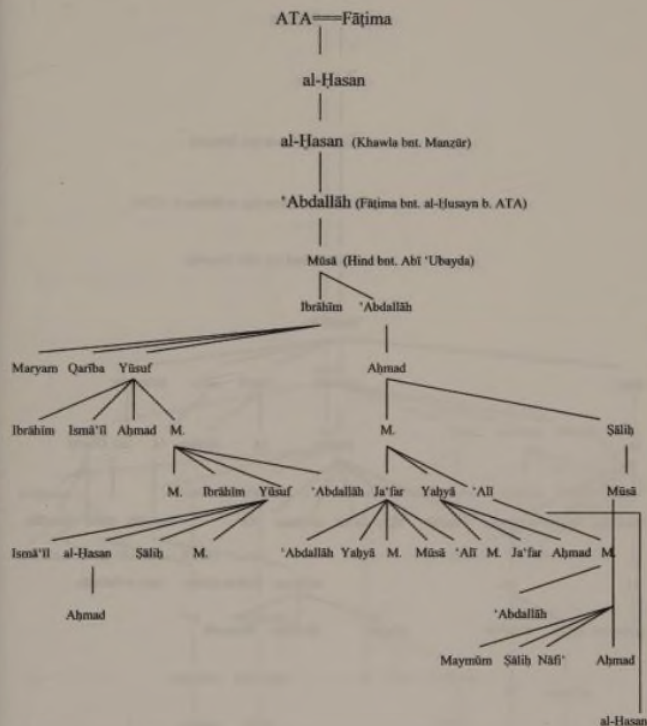
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib VII: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line VII



## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib VIII: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line VIII

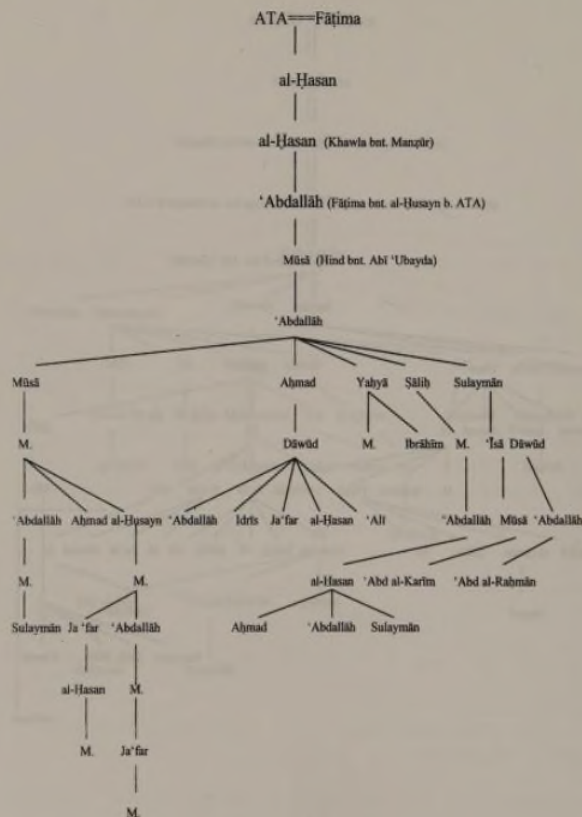


## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib IX: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line IX

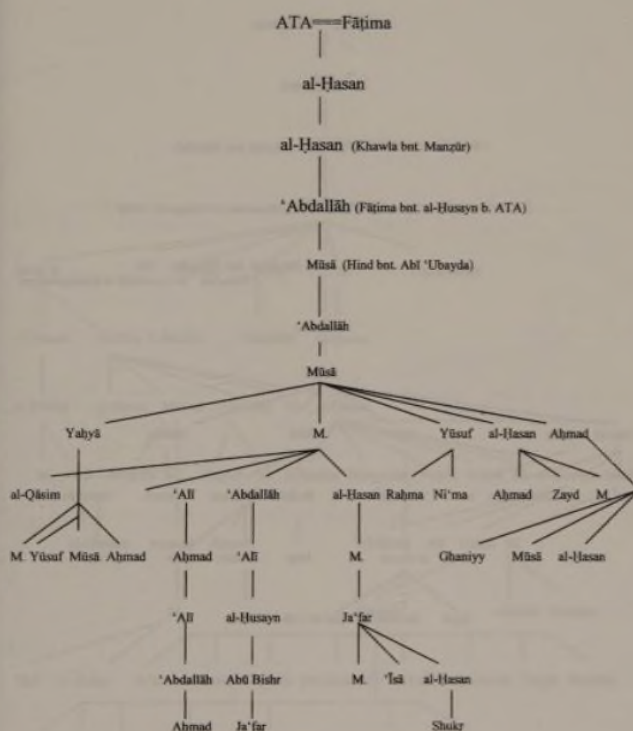




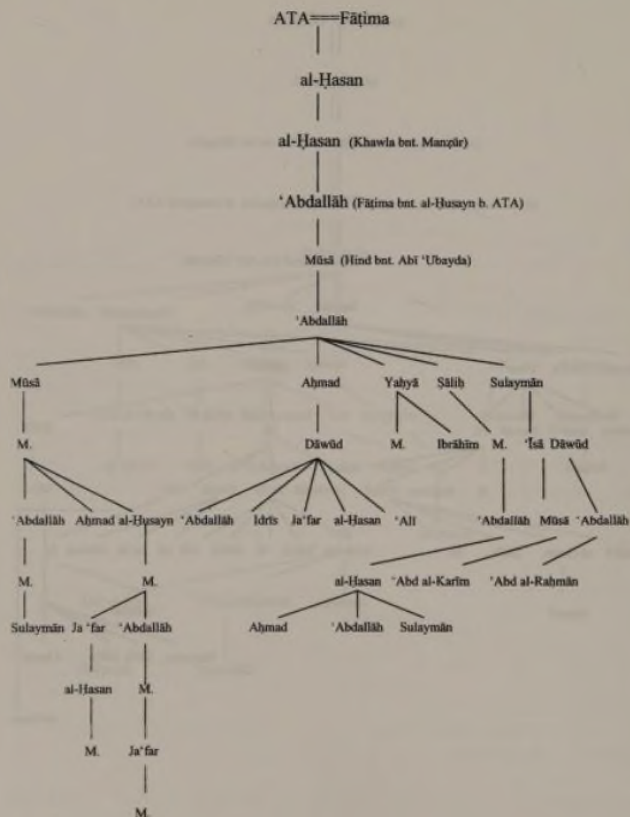
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib X: The Fātima bnt. al-Rasūl Line X



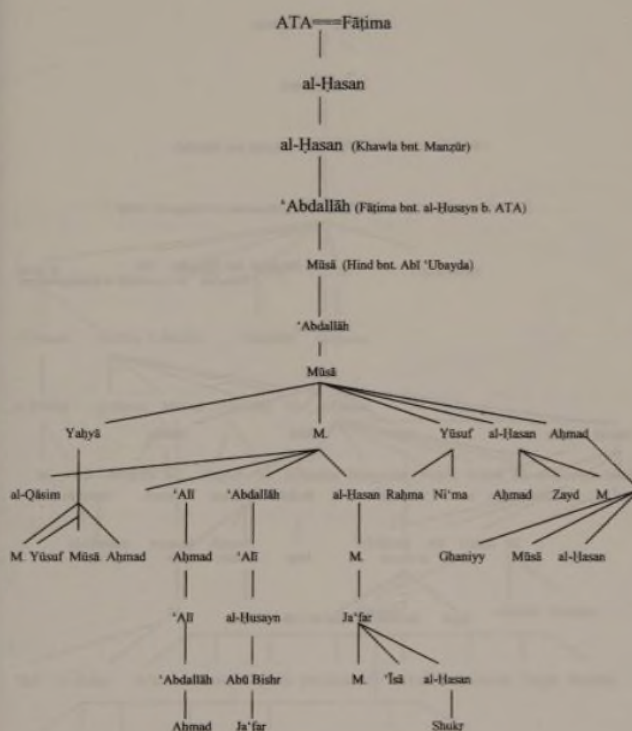
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XI: The Fātima bnt. al-Rasūl Line XI



## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib X: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line X

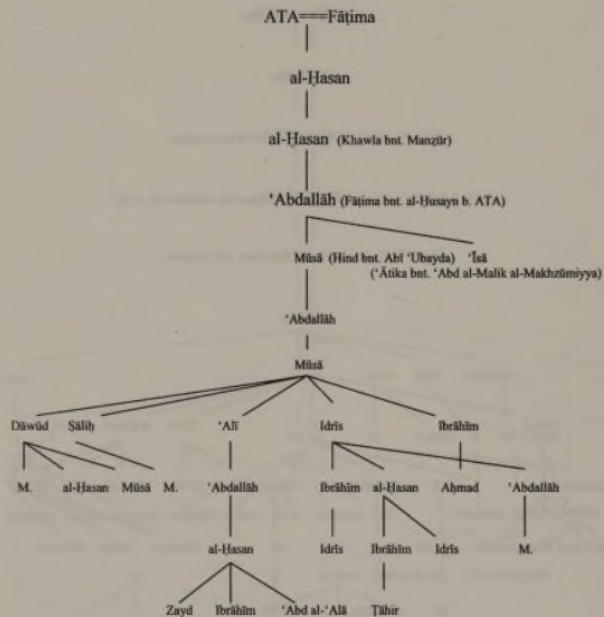


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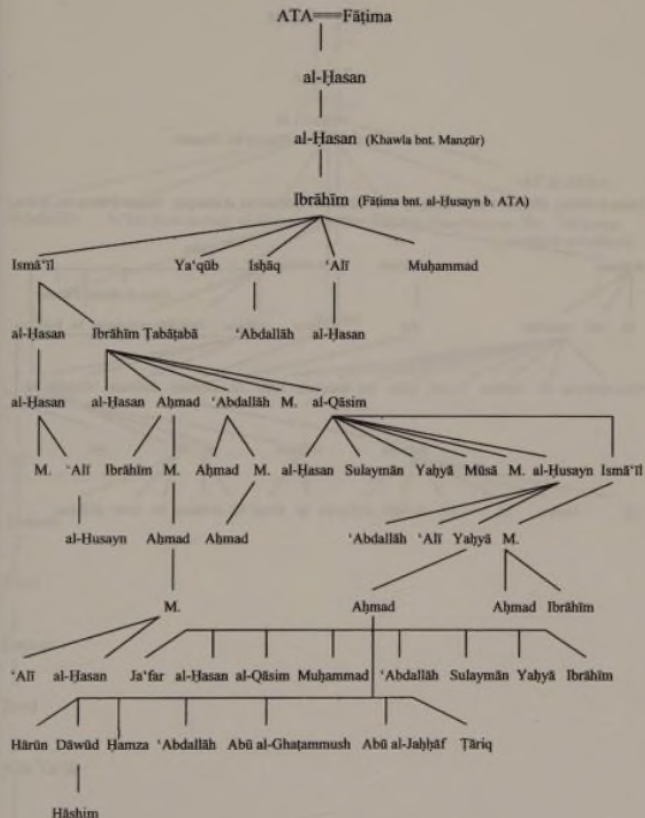




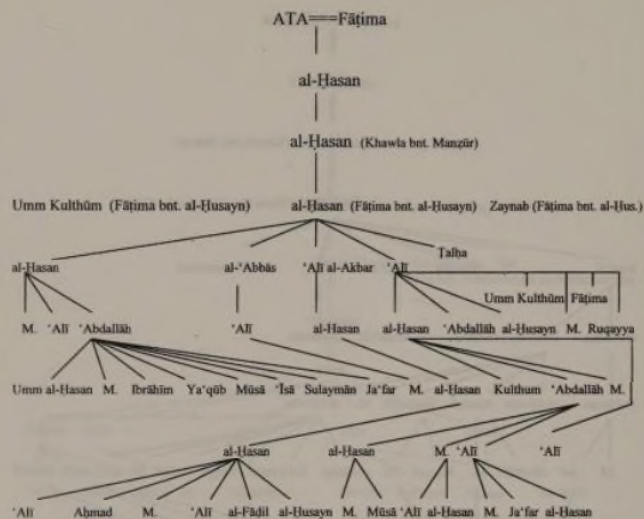
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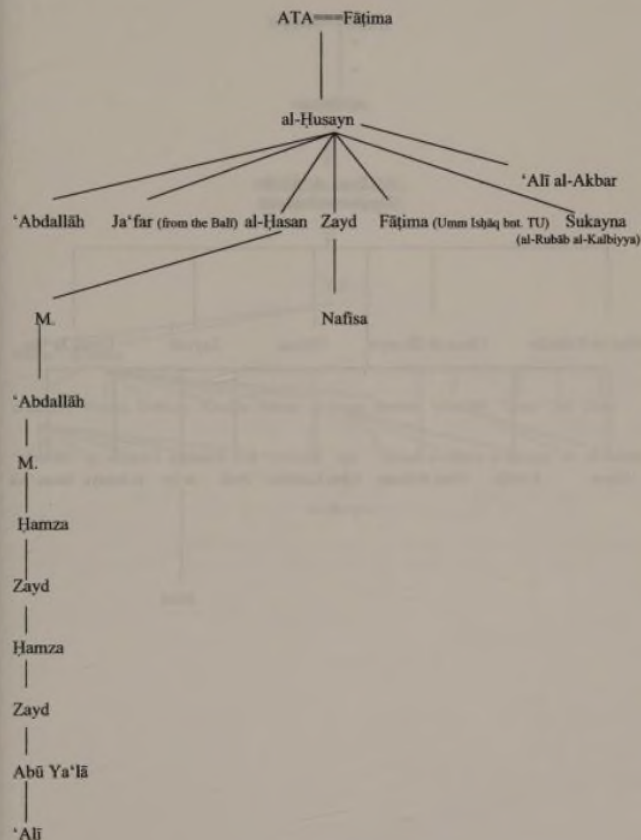
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XIII: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line XIII



## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XIV: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line XIV

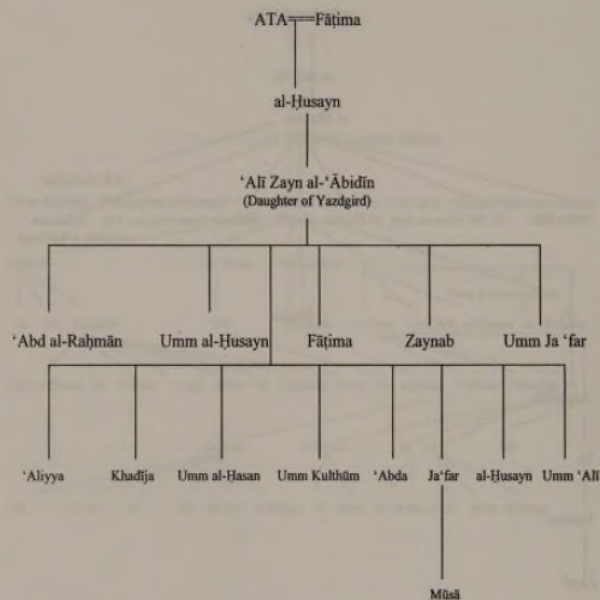


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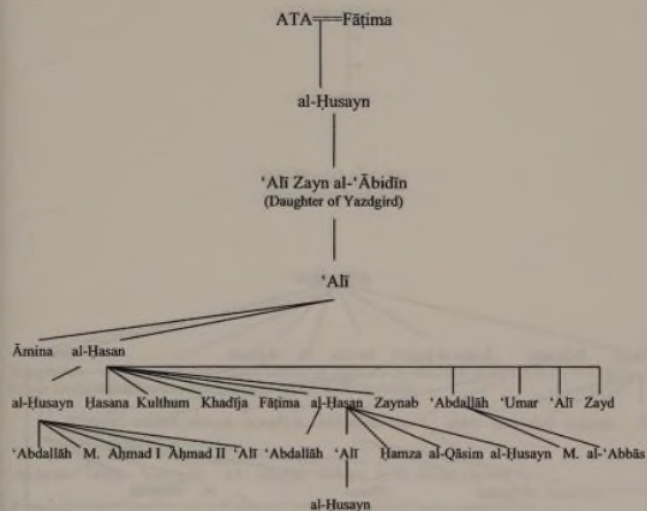




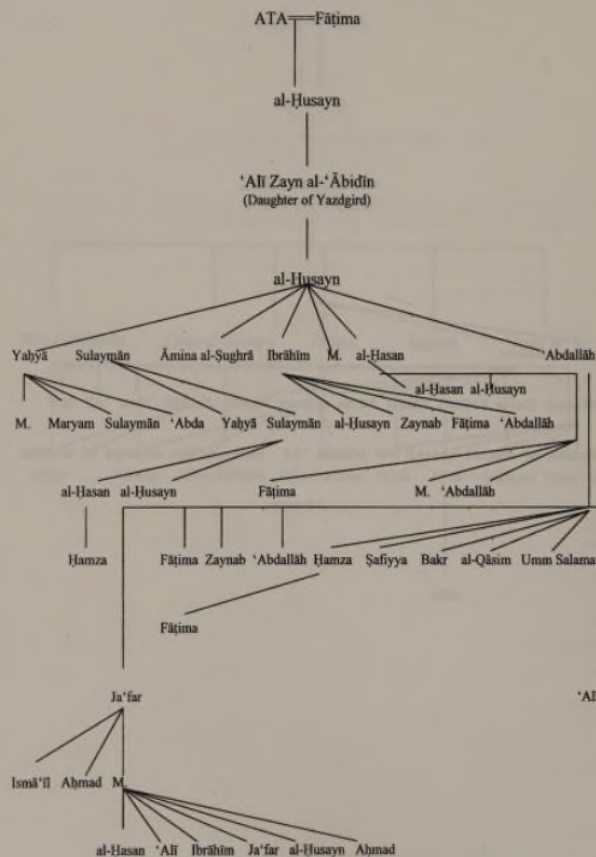
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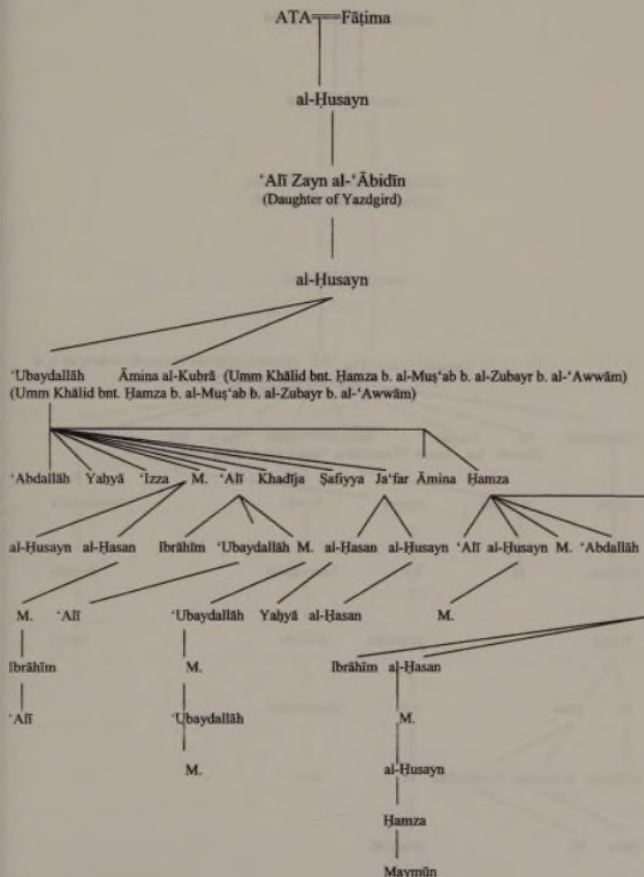
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XVII: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line XVII



## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XVIII: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line XVIII

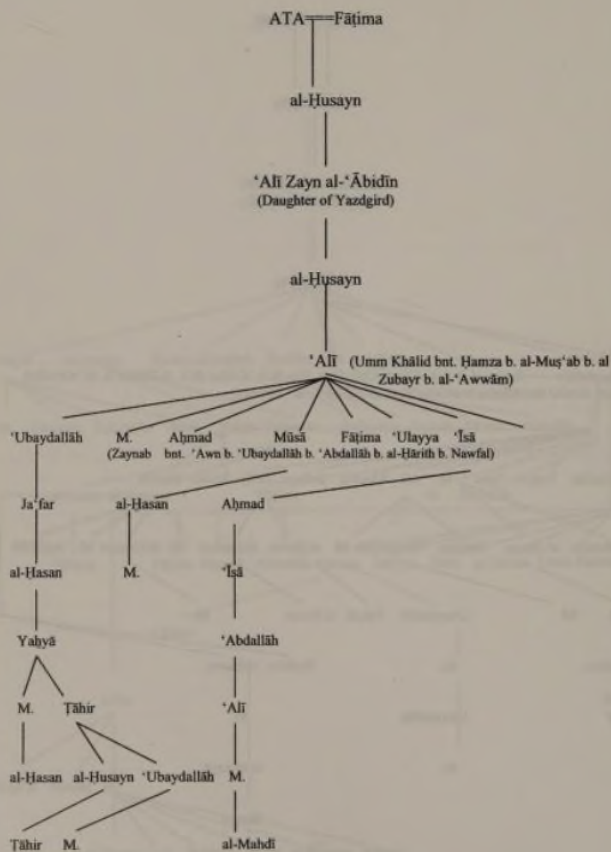


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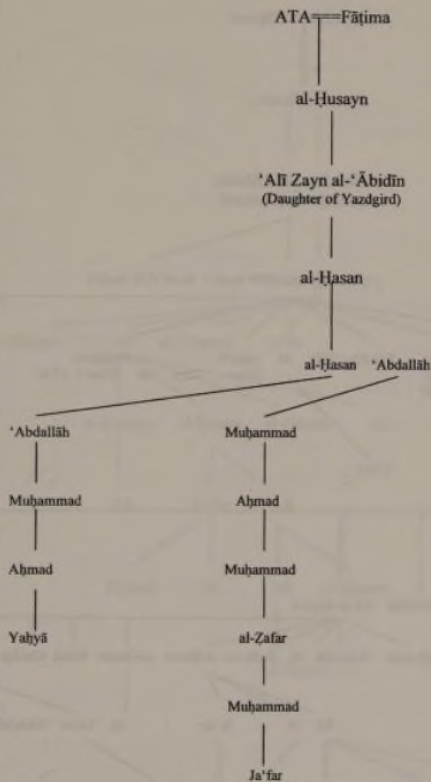




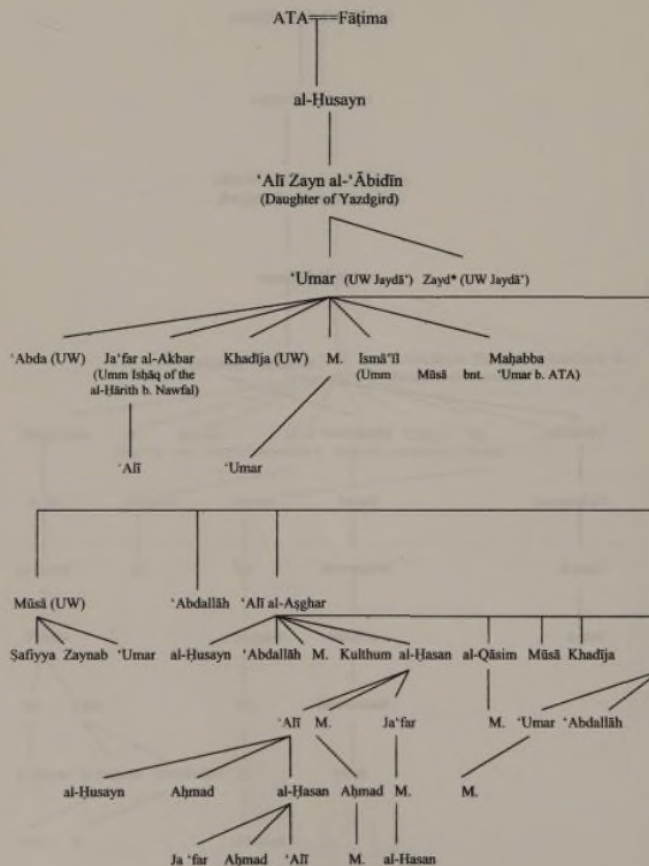
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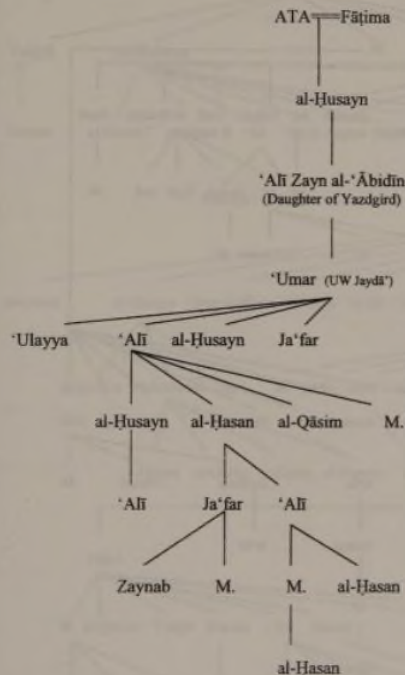
## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XXI: The Fāṭima bnt. al-Rasūl Line XXI



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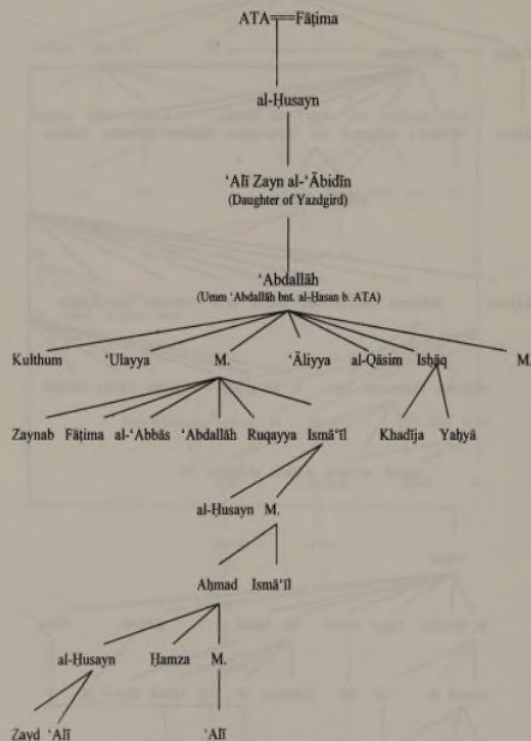
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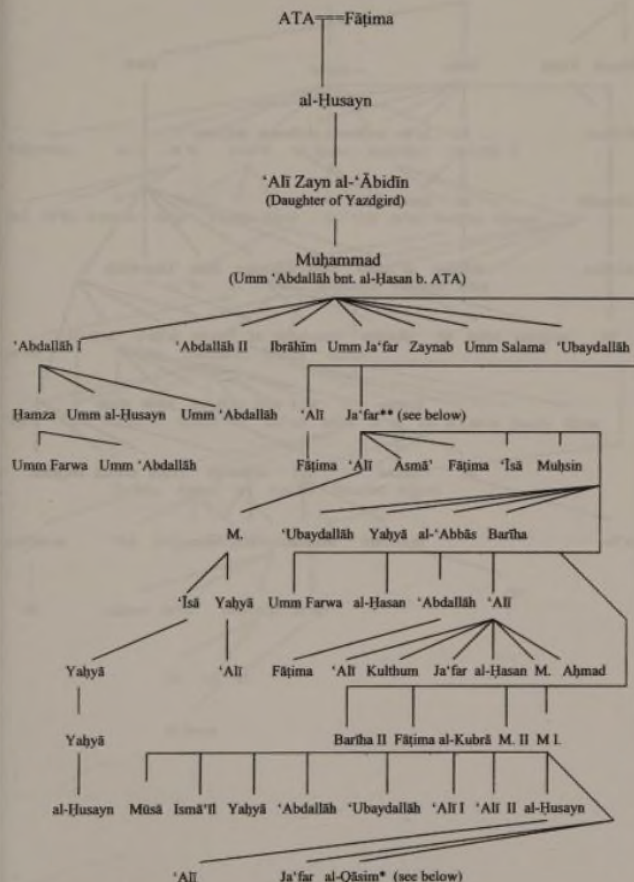




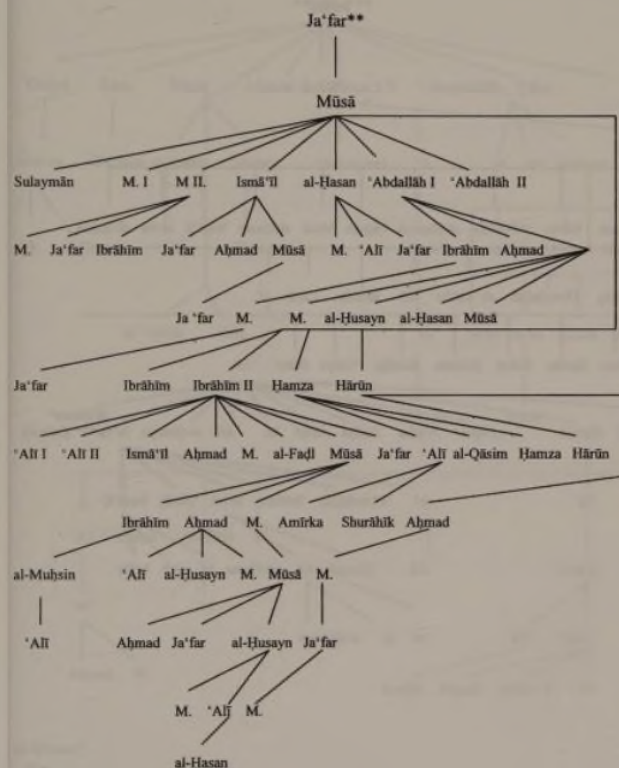
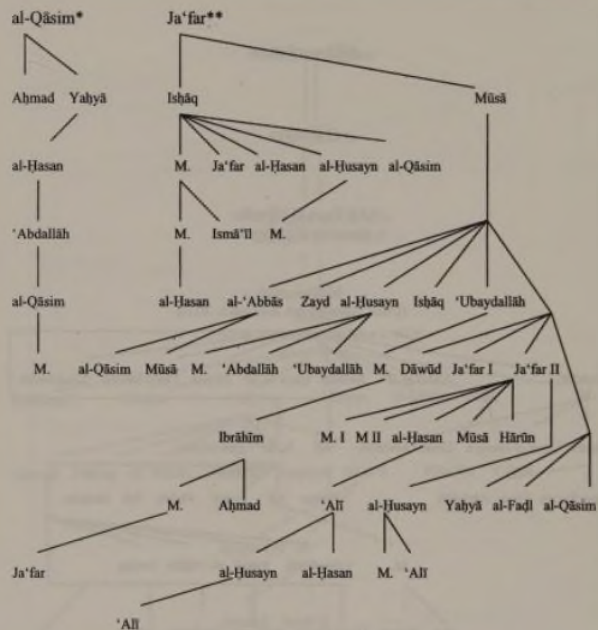
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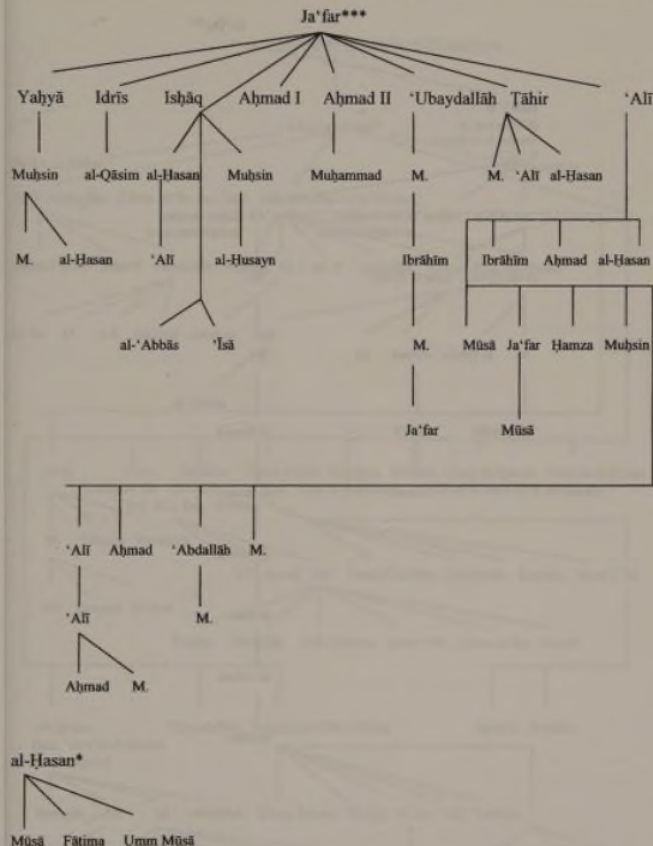
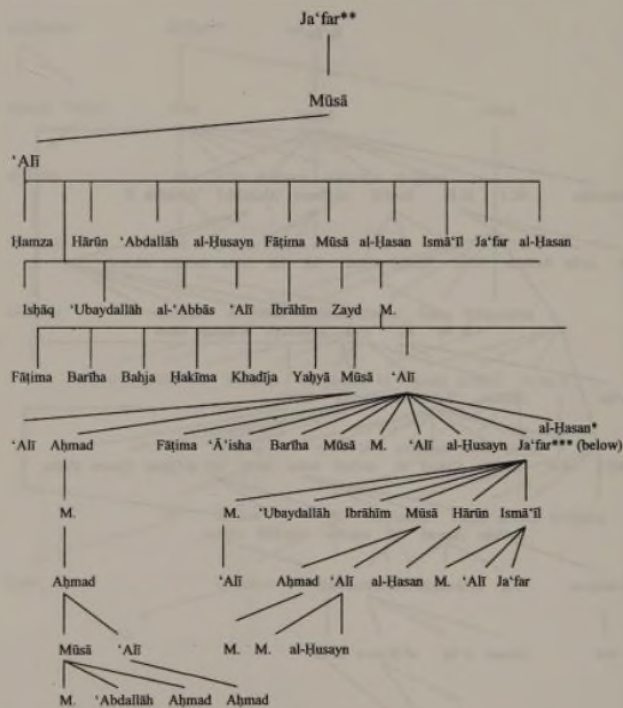


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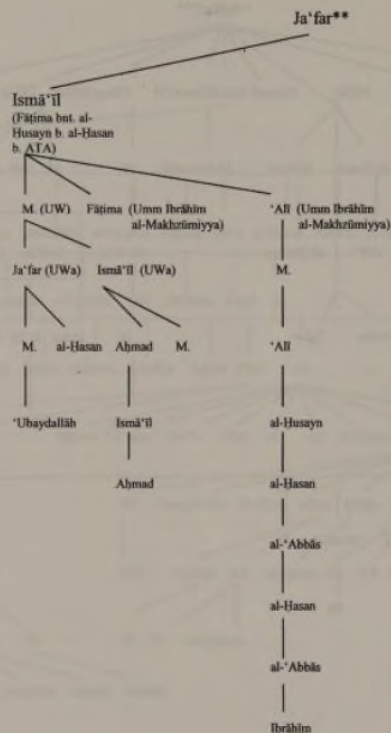




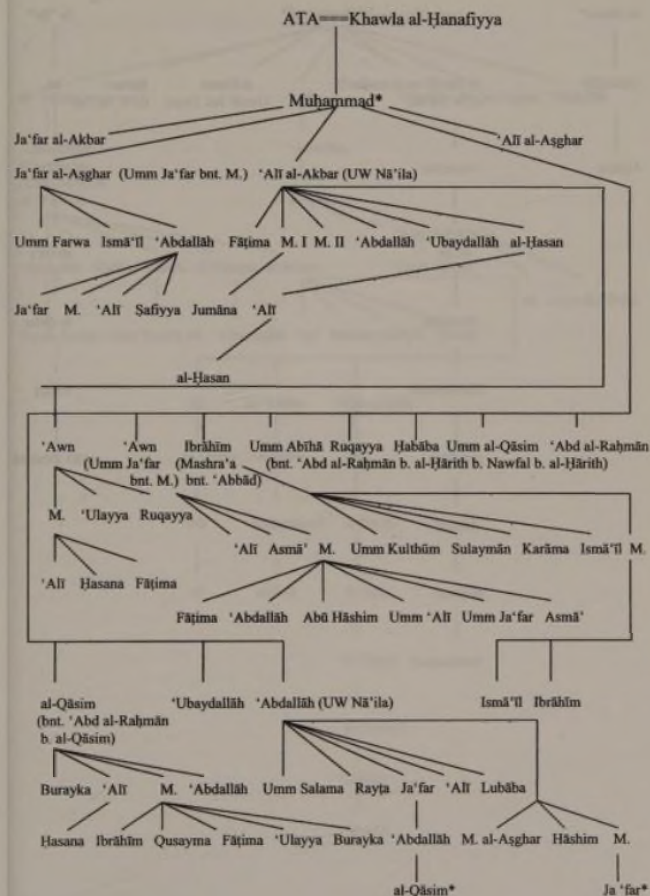


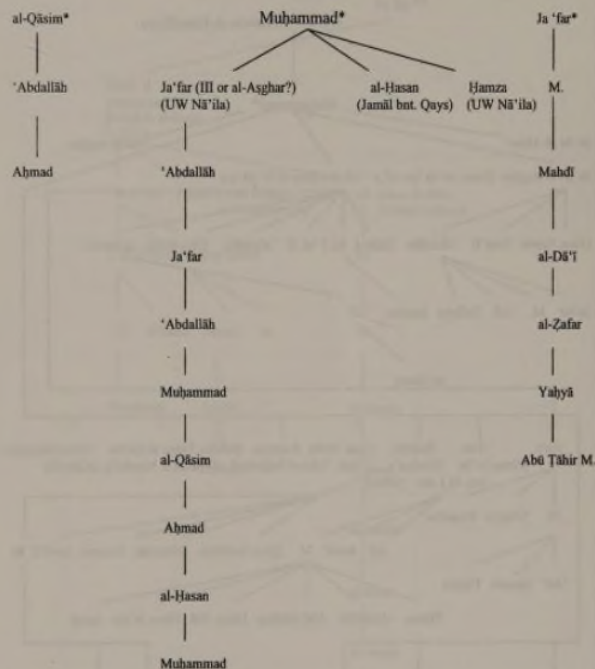




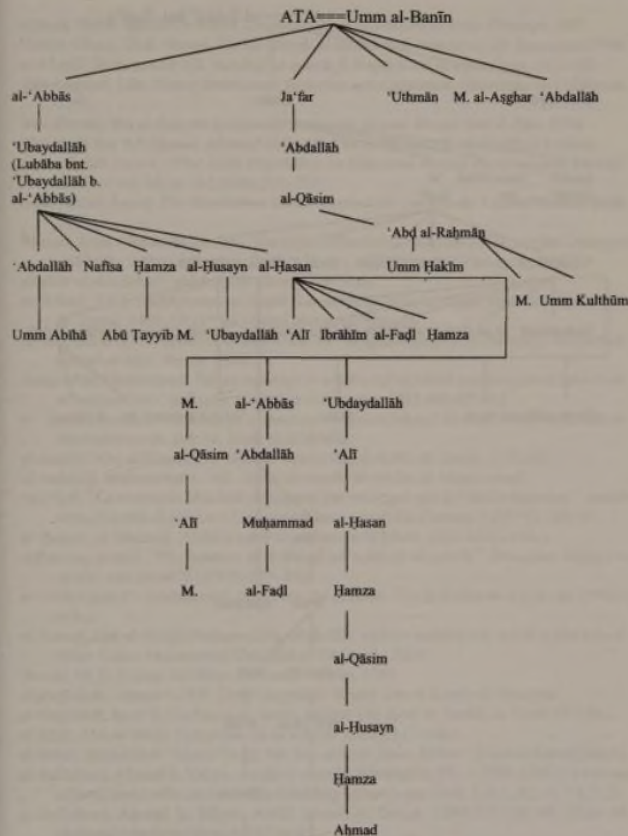


## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib XXV: The Khawla al-Ḥanafīyya Line



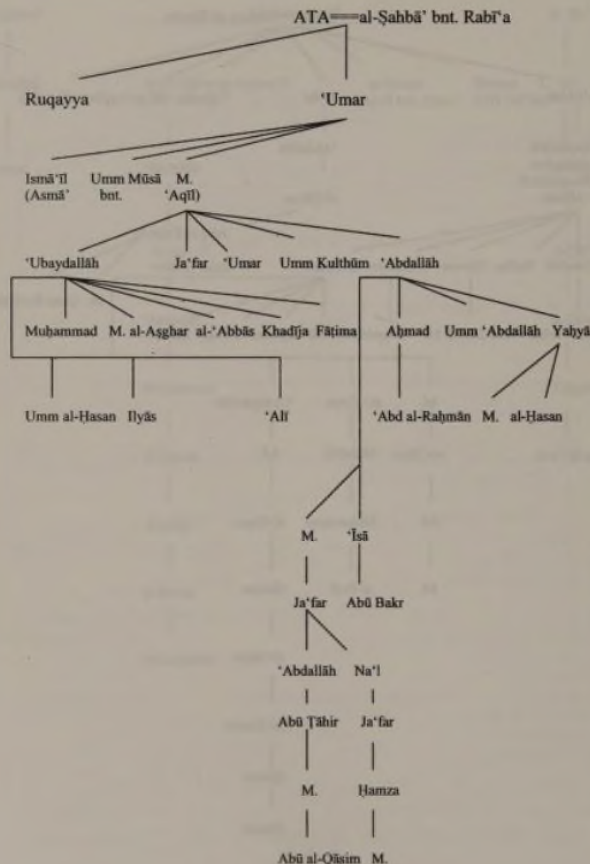


## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XXVI: The Umm al-Banīn bnt. Ḥizām Line





## The Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib XXVII: The Ṣaḥbā' bnt. Rabī'a Line



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## INDEX

- Aaron,  
three sons of, 139 n. 746,
- Abān b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- 'Abbād b. 'Āsim b. 'Adī (brother of Sahla bt. 'Āsim), 55,
- 'Abbād b. Shaybān b. Jābir b. Nasīb b. Uhayb,  
a daughter of, 186 n. 998,
- al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (uncle of Muḥammad), 13, 64 n. 280, 135, see also Muḥammad (Prophet)
- al-'Abbās b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās, 170 n. 910,
- 'Abbās al-Akbar b. 'Abdallāh b. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 189,
- al-'Abbās b. 'Alī (son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib
- al-'Abbās b. al-Hasan al-Muthallath, 158,
- al-'Abbās b. al-Hasan b. 'Ubaydallāh, 192,
- al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhir, 185,
- al-'Abbās b. Mūsā b. 'Isā b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 182,
- al-'Abbās b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh, 74, 74 n. 348,
- al-'Abbās b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, 113,
- 'Abbāsīd(-s), 1, 2, 7 n. 15, 11 n. 29, 13 n. 33, 14, 14 n. 43, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 28, 53, 56 n. 219, 56 n. 226, 57, 59, 59 n. 243, 67, 68 n. 305, 70, 70 n. 317, 71, 73, 74, 84, 87, 87 n. 414, 88, 89, 90, 90 n. 435, 91, 91 n. 440, 91 n. 443, 91 n. 444, 92, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103 n. 530, 105, 105 n. 537, 108, 112, 113, 122, 125, 126, 127 n. 691, 130 n. 711, 131, 132 n. 716, 132 n. 717, 133, 134, 134 n. 729, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140, 140 n. 748, 140 n. 754, 146, 147, 148 n. 798,
- 150, 151, 151 n. 809, 151 n. 812, 151 n. 813, 153, 154 n. 828, 155 n. 831, 155 n. 833, 157, 157 n. 840, 158, 159 n. 854, 160 n. 858, 160 n. 859, 161, 161 n. 860, 161 n. 865, 162 n. 865, 163, 164 n. 880, 166, 166 n. 885, 167, 170, 171, 174, 174 n. 931, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 184 n. 983, 186, 189, 190, 190 n. 1020, 191, 191 n. 1022, 192, 193, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 201,
- Traditions that were pro-, 47,
- revolution of the, 56 n. 218, 61, 72, 74, 80, 98-9, 112, 132 n. 716,
- patterns of administrative appointments by the, 56 n. 218, 57 n. 230,
- patterns of micromanagement in the, 131 n. 713, 138, 161, 163,
- repression by the, 108,
- political order of the, 131,
- coalition with Ḥusaynids, 151,
- challenge to the, 154,
- 'Abbāsīd-Ḥanafīyya-Ḥusaynid coalition, 193,
- Abbott, Nabia, 1 n. 2,
- 'Abd 'Amr b. 'Awf, 50, see also 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf
- 'Abd al-Ashhal of the Aws of the Anṣār, 77,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh, 123 n. 670,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 123, 123 n. 674,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Imrān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf al-Zuhri, 2 n. 4, 59, 59 n. 243,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, 62 n. 268, 124, family of, 64 n. 276,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Makhzūmī, 88,
- 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 113,
- 'Abd al-Ghanī, 'Arif Ahmad, 57 n. 230,
- 'Abd al-Ḥārith (grandfather of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf
- 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 123 n. 674,
- 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Sa'id b. Sulaymān b. Nawfal, 112,

- 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sufyān b. 'Ājim b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Marwān al-Umawī, 182,  
'Abd al-Majid b. Suhayl, 63,  
'Abd al-Malik, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 29,  
34, 35 n. 118, 35 n. 121, 36, 38 n. 134,  
42, 44, 45, 48, 56, 56 n. 219, 61, 61 n.  
255, 70 n. 316, 69 n. 312, 70 n. 318,  
74, 78-79, 84, 87, 87 n. 414, 89, 95, 95  
n. 468, 97, 97 n. 488, 98, 98 n. 489, 98  
n. 492, 103, 105, 110 n. 559, 114, 114  
n. 594, 115 n. 610, 116 n. 615, 118 n.  
629, 120, 123 n. 670, 124 n. 681, 126  
n. 686, 127, 127 n. 693, 127 n. 695,  
128, 129, 129 n. 704, 130 n. 709, 132  
n. 716, 134 n. 729, 137, 140, 152, 152  
n. 813, 152 n. 815, 153, 153 n. 818,  
168 n. 895, 181, 182, 183, 188, 192,  
194, 194 n. 1042, 196, 200,  
'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd b. 'Abd al-  
Rahmān (grandchild of 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
b. 'Awf  
'Abd al-Malik b. Šāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh  
b. al-'Abbās, 58,  
'Abd al-Malik b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Abd Manāf, 46, see also al-Hārith b. Zuhra  
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim,  
a daughter of, 59 n. 243, 68, 144 n. 775,  
'Abd b. Quṣayy, 81,  
'Abd al-Rahmān (al-Madanī) b. Abān  
(grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās (brother of al-  
Faḍl b. al-'Abbās), 35, 35 n. 115, 36,  
36 n. 123,  
bay'a to, 34 n. 109,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 100,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Rabi'  
al-Makhzūmī, 99, 110, 110 n. 558, 146  
n. 788,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b.  
Asid, 124 n. 681,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Mukammil  
b. 'Awf al-Zuhri, 61,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 97, 144,  
daughters of, 145 n. 785,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr b. 'Ubaydallāh b.  
'Abdallāh b. Abī Mulaika, 67,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 69 n.  
308,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaḥyūth,  
39, 39 n. 136, 40, 40 n. 143,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Attāb b. Asid, 144,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 1, 17, 18, 23 n. 48, 39,  
51, 51 n. 187, 51 n. 189, 52, 53 n. 202, 59, 59 n.  
243, 61 n. 259, 63, 64, 67, 68, 68 n. 303, 69, 70,  
72, 76, 77, 106 n. 541, 110 n. 559, 114 n. 589, 114  
n. 590, see also 'Awfīd(-s)  
full name of, 50 n. 180,  
general statements about the descendants of,  
30 n. 86, 54, 55 n. 214, 60 n. 253, 70 n.  
317, 71, 75, 79, 79 n. 371, 104-5, 131 n.  
716,  
acceptance of Islam by, 79,  
marriages of, 53, 54,  
candidacy for the caliphate of, 40 n. 138, 52, 52  
n. 201, 53,  
secrecy of the appointment by 'Uthmān, 53 n.  
201,  
candidacy for the *Shūrā*, 53 n. 201,  
astute businessman and trader, 50,  
wealth of, 50-1,  
leading the *hajj*, 52,  
eulogizing 'Umar and Abū Bakr, 52 n. 196,  
upbraiding 'Uthmān and 'Alī, 52 n. 196,  
good relations with 'Umar, 52 n. 198,  
sour relations with 'Umar, 52 n. 198,  
army of, 59 n. 244,  
family of, 69 n. 315,  
Kalbi links of, 59 n. 243,  
death of, 52-3,  
Umayyad links of,  
grandfather of, 40,  
father of,  
'Awf, 50,  
possible mother of,  
daughter of 'Awf b. 'Abd al-  
Hārith b. Zuhra, 52,  
granddaughter of Umayya b. 'Abd  
Shams, 52,  
made brother of,  
Sa'd b. Rabi' of the Balhārith, 50,

- wives of,  
Tumādīr bt. al-Aṣḡagh b. 'Amr b.  
Thar'aba b.  
Ḥiṣn b. Dāmḍam b. 'Adī b. Janāb of  
the Kalb of Qudā'a, 51, 59, 59 n.  
244, 60, 61 n. 259, 64, 131,  
previous divorces of, 60,  
separation from 'Abd al-Rahmān,  
60,  
marriages of, 60 n. 253, 61,  
Sahla bt. 'Aṣim b. 'Adī, 17, 54, 59,  
'Aṣim b. 'Adī (father of), 54, 54 n.  
204, 55, 55 n. 206, 59,  
Majd bt. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarīyya, 54, 61,  
70 n. 317,  
Umm Hurayth al-Bahriyya, 54, 64,  
Ghazāl bt. Kisrā, 54, 74, 74 n. 345, 75,  
Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba, 54, 55 n.  
211, 60-1 n. 253, 67, 72, 79,  
Bādiya bt. Ghaylān b. Salama b.  
Mu'attib al-Thaqafiyya, 75, 76,  
father of, 75,  
mother of, 75-6,  
Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uṭba b. Rabi'a b.  
'Abd Shams, 76,  
Asmā' bt. Salīma of the Banū Tamīm,  
76, 76 n. 355,  
Sahla bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd  
Shams, 76, 144 n. 775,  
Shayba bt. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams, 76,  
Bahriyya bt. Hānī b. Qabiṣa b. Mas'ūd  
b. Abī Rabi'a, 77,  
Umm Hukaym/Ḥakīm bt.  
Qārid/Qāriḍ/Qāriḥ b. Khālid, 77,  
Umm Ḥabīb Ḥabība bt. Jahsh b. Ri'āb,  
78, 107,  
Umm Ḥabība bt. Zam'a, 78,  
uncle of,  
al-Ghayyāq (Nawfal) b. 'Abd al-  
Muṭṭalib, 52,  
sons of,  
Shuayq b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Sahla), 55,  
al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Sahla), 55,  
confusion in identity w.r.t., 55 n.  
210,  
Zayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from Sahla), 55,  
alternatively from Umm Kulthūm bt.  
'Uqba, 55 n. 211,  
Ma'n b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from Sahla), 55,  
politics of the descendants of, 55 n.  
218,  
descendants of, 57,  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Sahla), 34, 55, 56, 56 n. 220,  
politics of the children of, 55 n. 218,  
death of, 56,  
descendants of, 56 n. 218, 57, 57 n.  
229,  
'Abdallāh al-Akbar, 55 n. 210,  
Mus'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Umm Hurayth), 57 n. 230, 64, 64 n. 280,  
65, 65 n. 281, 65 n. 288, 67,  
descendant of, 66,  
'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Ghazāl), 58 n. 239, 75, 76,  
Humayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 59 n. 243,  
Abū Salama 'Abdallāh al-Aṣḡar (from  
Tumādīr), 57 n. 230, 60,  
Isma'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from Umm  
Kulthūm), 68,  
Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Umm Kulthūm), 68, 68 n. 307,  
Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Umm Kulthūm), 68, 69, 69 n. 315, 70, 70  
n. 318, 70 n. 320, 71, 72, 74,  
Humayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Umm Kulthūm), 68, 68 n. 303, 69, 72, 72  
n. 329, 73,  
descendants of, 72,  
as al-Ḥimyarī, 72 n. 329,  
Sālim al-Akbar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(from Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uṭba), 76,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(from Asmā'), 76,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 76, 77,  
'Urwa al-Akbar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān,  
77, 77 n. 359,  
mother of, 77 n. 358,  
Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 77,  
Bilāl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 77,  
Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 77,  
Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 77,



## grandchildren of,

- Humayda bt. 'Umar, 56,  
'Abdallāh b. Humayd, 59 n. 243,  
links with the 'Abd Shams, the  
Hāshim and the Makhzūm, 59 n.  
243,  
Salama (b. Abi Salama), 60,  
sister of Salama (b. Abi Salama), 60,  
'Umar b. Abi Salama, 60,  
likelihood w.r.t., 56 n. 223,  
'Abd al-Jabbār b. Abi Salama, 60,  
six other children (b. Abi Salama), 60,  
Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā bt. Abū  
Salama, 61,  
Zurāra b. Muṣ'ab, 66,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣ'ab, 66,  
Fātima bt. Muṣ'ab, 66,  
Umm 'Awn bt. Muṣ'ab, 67,  
Umm al-Faḍl bt. Muṣ'ab, 66 n. 290,  
'Awna bt. Muṣ'ab, 67,  
Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, 69 n. 314, 70, 74,  
Sāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm, 71,  
'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd, 73,  
Ghurayr b. Humayd, 73,  
al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān, 74, 75,  
daughters of, 55,  
Āmina bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 64,  
Maryam bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 64,  
Humayda bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Umm Kulthūm), 68, 68 n. 305,  
amat al-Rahmān bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(from Sahl), 55,  
amat al-Rahmān bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(from Umm Kulthūm), 68,  
Barīra bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Bādiya), 76,  
Juwayriya bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
Bādiya), 76,  
Umm al-Qāsim (from Shayba), 76, 110  
n. 560,  
Fākhita bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 78,  
Umm al-Qāsim al-Sughra bt. 'Abd al-  
Rahmān, 78,  
Umm al-Ḥakam bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
'Awf, 110 n. 560,  
son-in-law of,  
Ibrāhīm b. Qāriḥ b. Khālid al-Kinānī,

- 64,  
nephews of,  
Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh, 68, 78,  
'Abdallāh b. al-Aswad, 68, 68 n. 305,  
Muṣ'ab b. al-Aswad, 74,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son  
of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi Bakr, 143,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b.  
Muhammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, 194 n. 1046,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-  
Anṣārī,  
a daughter of, 189,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Fihri,  
154,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith (father of al-Mughira  
b. 'Abd al-Rahmān), 93 n. 457,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-  
Makhzūmī, 115, 115 n. 609, 116 n. 610, 124,  
127 n. 696,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hārūn b. 'Abdallāh b.  
Muhammad b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n, 55,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hāshim b. 'Amr b. 'Uṭba b.  
Nawfal b. Ubayy (married to Umm 'Imrān),  
see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām, 116 n. 610,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b.  
Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 63,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath, 37,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. Hind bt.  
Marwān, 73,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b.  
Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-  
Rahmān, 71 n. 325,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. Yūsuf, 103,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd  
b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 151 n. 809,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muhammad b.  
Abi Bakr, 148,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, 77,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik,  
123,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb (nephew of

- 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-  
Khaṭṭāb  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād, 113 n. 582,  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Zubayr b. Suhayl, 63,  
'Abd al-Razzāq b. Ḥasan Kammina, 5 n.  
12,  
the 'Abd Shams, 45, 54, 77, 106-7, 114,  
115, 128, 144 n. 775, 144 n. 776, 195,  
'Abd Shams(-s), 101, 102 n. 519, 104,  
196,  
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-'Aziz,  
59,  
'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naṣrī, 69 n.  
314,  
'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad, 69 n. 308,  
'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad, 69,  
'Abda bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin, 90, 170 n.  
905,  
husbands of, 170 n. 905,  
'Abda bt. Dāwūd b. Abi Umāma b. Sahl al-  
Anṣārīyya, 172,  
'Abda bt. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin,  
175,  
'Abdallāh (father of Muḥammad), see  
Muḥammad (Prophet)  
'Abdallāh (full sibling of Muḥammad al-  
Baqir), 184,  
'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 187,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik, 159,  
'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (near ascendant of  
Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya), 11,  
156, 156 n. 835, 156 n. 836,  
two sons of, 156 n. 837, 156 n. 838, 158,  
'Abdallāh al-'Arjī b. 'Umar b. 'Amr b.  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 120, 121,  
confusions over the complete name, 120  
n. 648,  
imprisonment of, 121, 121 n. 654,  
'Abdallāh al-Akbar (elder son of 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Amr (grandchild of  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān  
'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Aqil b. Abi Ṭālib,  
196,  
'Abdallāh al-Ashtar b. Muḥammad al-Nafs  
al-Zakiyya, 10 n. 25,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
(grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Abdallāh al-Ashtar (son of Muḥammad b.  
'Abdallāh), 157 n. 840,  
'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar (younger son of 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Abdallāh al-Mahdī, 11,  
'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 78,  
142,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi Bakr, 100,  
100 n. 512,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
'Awf  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi Umayya b. al-  
Mughira al-Makhzūmī, 85,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Walid  
b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd  
al-'Aziz b. Khālid b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b.  
'Abd al-'Aziz b. Khālid b. 'Uqba, 61 n. 253,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abi Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh al-Asadi, 45,  
'Abdallāh b. Abi Ṭālib, 73,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 60, 98 n. 489, 117 n. 616,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin, 181,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Madanī, 117,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. al-Ḥaḍramī, 107,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Kurayz, 107, 107 n. 546,  
144, 145,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Rabi'a b. al-Barr b. al-  
Bakr b. 'Awf b. Malik b. 'Urayf b. al-  
Khazraj b. Iyād b. al-Ṣādiq b. Ḥaḍramawt b.  
Qaḥṭān of the Kinda, 81 n. 378,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 127 n. 696,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-'Uthmānī, 154,  
'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam b. Abi al-Arqam, 68 n.  
305,  
'Abdallāh b. al-Aswad (nephew of 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
'Awf  
'Abdallāh al-Aswār b. Yazid, 119,  
'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abi Rabi'a b. al-Mughira  
al-Makhzūmī, 76,  
'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 148 n. 796,  
'Abdallāh b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 156,

grandchildren of,  
 Humayda bt. 'Umar, 56,  
 'Abdallāh b. Humayd, 59 n. 243,  
 links with the 'Abd Shams, the  
 Hāshim and the Makhzūm, 59 n.  
 243,  
 Salama (b. Abi Salama), 60,  
 sister of Salama (b. Abi Salama), 60,  
 'Umar b. Abi Salama, 60,  
 likelihood w.r.t., 56 n. 223,  
 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Abi Salama, 60,  
 six other children (b. Abi Salama), 60,  
 Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā bt. Abū  
 Salama, 61,  
 Zurāra b. Muṣ'ab, 66,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣ'ab, 66,  
 Fātima bt. Muṣ'ab, 66,  
 Umm 'Awn bt. Muṣ'ab, 67,  
 Umm al-Faḍl bt. Muṣ'ab, 66 n. 290,  
 'Awna bt. Muṣ'ab, 67,  
 Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, 69, 69 n. 314, 70, 74,  
 Šālih b. Ibrāhīm, 71,  
 'Abd al-Malik b. Humayd, 73,  
 Ghurayr b. Humayd, 73,  
 al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān, 74, 75,  
 daughters of, 55,  
 Āmina bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 64,  
 Maryam bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 64,  
 Humayda bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
 Umm Kulthūm), 68, 68 n. 305,  
 amat al-Rahmān bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 (from Sahla), 55,  
 amat al-Rahmān bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 (from Umm Kulthūm), 68,  
 Barītha bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
 Bādiya), 76,  
 Juwayriya bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (from  
 Bādiya), 76,  
 Umm al-Qāsim (from Shayba), 76, 110  
 n. 560,  
 Fākhita bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 78,  
 Umm al-Qāsim al-Ṣuḥrā bt. 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān, 78,  
 Umm al-Ḥakam bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf, 110 n. 560,  
 son-in-law of,  
 Ibrāhīm b. Qāriḥ b. Khālid al-Kinānī,

64,  
 nephews of,  
 Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh, 68, 78,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Aswad, 68, 68 n. 305,  
 Muṣ'ab b. al-Aswad, 74,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son  
 of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi Bakr, 143,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī, 194 n. 1046,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-  
 Anṣārī,  
 a daughter of, 189,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Dahhāk b. Qays al-Fihri,  
 154,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith (father of al-Mughīra  
 b. 'Abd al-Rahmān), 93 n. 457,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-  
 Makhzūmī, 115, 115 n. 609, 116 n. 610, 124,  
 127 n. 696,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hārūn b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 Muḥammad b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n, 55,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hāshim b. 'Amr b. 'Utba b.  
 Nawfal b. Uhayb (married to Umm 'Imrān),  
 see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hishām, 116 n. 610,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr b.  
 Suhayl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 63,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, 37,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Hind bt.  
 Marwān, 73,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b.  
 Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān, 71 n. 325,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, 103,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd  
 b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 151 n. 809,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b.  
 Abi Bakr, 148,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, 77,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik,  
 123,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb (nephew of

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-  
 Khaṭṭāb  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād, 113 n. 582,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Zubayr b. Suhayl, 63,  
 'Abd al-Razzāq b. Ḥasan Kammina, 5 n.  
 12,  
 the 'Abd Shams, 45, 54, 77, 106-7, 114,  
 115, 128, 144 n. 775, 144 n. 776, 195,  
 'Abd Shamsī(-s), 101, 102 n. 519, 104,  
 196,  
 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Mūsā b. 'Abd al-'Aziz,  
 59,  
 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Abdallāh al-Naṣrī, 69 n.  
 314,  
 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad, 69 n. 308,  
 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad, 69,  
 'Abda bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 90, 170 n.  
 905,  
 husbands of, 170 n. 905,  
 'Abda bt. Dāwūd b. Abi Umayma b. Sahl al-  
 Anṣārīyya, 172,  
 'Abda bt. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 175,  
 'Abdallāh (father of Muḥammad), see  
 Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 'Abdallāh (full sibling of Muḥammad al-  
 Baqir), 184,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 187,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Malik, 159,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (near ascendant of  
 Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya), 11,  
 156, 156 n. 835, 156 n. 836,  
 two sons of, 156 n. 837, 156 n. 838, 158,  
 'Abdallāh al-'Arjī b. 'Umar b. 'Amr b.  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 120, 121,  
 confusions over the complete name, 120  
 n. 648,  
 imprisonment of, 121, 121 n. 654,  
 'Abdallāh al-Akbar (elder son of 'Uthmān  
 b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Amr (grandchild of  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān  
 'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Aqīl b. Abi Ṭālib,  
 196,  
 'Abdallāh al-Ashtar b. Muḥammad al-Nafs  
 al-Zakiyya, 10 n. 25,

'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Abdallāh al-Ashtar (son of Muḥammad b.  
 'Abdallāh), 157 n. 840,  
 'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar (younger son of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Abdallāh al-Mahdī, 11,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 78,  
 142,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi Bakr, 100,  
 100 n. 512,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abi Umayya b. al-  
 Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, 85,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Walīd  
 b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd  
 al-'Aziz b. Khālid b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Khālid b. 'Uqba, 61 n. 253,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Abi Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, 45,  
 'Abdallāh b. Abi Ṭālib, 73,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 60, 98 n. 489, 117 n. 616,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 181,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Madanī, 117,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. al-Ḥaḍramī, 107,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Kurayz, 107, 107 n. 546,  
 144, 145,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amir b. Rabi'a b. al-Barr b. al-  
 Bakr b. 'Awf b. Malik b. 'Urayf b. al-  
 Khazraj b. Iyād b. al-Ṣāḍif b. Ḥaḍramawt b.  
 Qaḥṭān of the Kinda, 81 n. 378,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 127 n. 696,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr al-'Uthmānī, 154,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Arqam b. Abi al-Arqam, 68 n.  
 305,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Aswad (nephew of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf  
 'Abdallāh al-Aswār b. Yazid, 119,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abi Rabi'a b. al-Mughīra  
 al-Makhzūmī, 76,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 148 n. 796,  
 'Abdallāh b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 156,



- 158, 160 n. 858,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Faḍl, 58,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal, 58, 58 n.  
 235, 58 n. 237,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Hanzala al-Ghasīl al-Anṣārī  
 (son of a Companion of Muḥammad),  
 33, 33 n. 105, 33 n. 106, 33 n. 107, 33  
 n. 109, 65,  
*bay'a* to, 33, 33 n. 109,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 129,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥṣa b. 'Alī Zayn  
 al-'Abidin, 171,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
 Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī,  
 19, 154, 158 n. 843, 159, 165, 166, 166  
 n. 885, 167, 176, 197,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b.  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī,  
 161 n. 860,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-  
 'Abbās b. 'Alī, 192 n. 1036,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, 149,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ḥumayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar b. 'Alī  
 Zayn al-'Abidin, 189,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, 172,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Qāriḥ b. Khālid al-  
 Kinānī, 64,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād b. Akbar of the Ṣādiq, 81  
 n. 378,  
 for confusion over the accurate name of,  
 81 n. 378,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa (grandchild of  
 Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalḥa b.  
 'Ubaydallāh  
 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 183 n. 978,  
 185,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, 127 n. 695,  
 128, 128 n. 704, 139, 140,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-  
 Miswar b. Makhruma al-Zuhri, 66,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, 189,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b.  
 Abī Ṭālib, 172 n. 923, 180 n. 963,  
 'Abdallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabra b.  
 Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad  
 b. Khuzayma, 84 n. 397, 85,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Kawwā', 43 n. 154,  
 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 125,  
 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asīd al-Umawī, 115 n.  
 610, 116 n. 610, 123, 123 n. 670, 124 n. 682,  
 132,  
 a sister of, 116 n. 610,  
 a daughter of, 123,  
 marriage into the family of, 124,  
 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Yazid b. Mu'āwiya, 192,  
 'Abdallāh b. Mawhib b. Rabāh (an Ash'arī *hāfi*  
 of the Zuhra),  
 daughter of, 40,  
 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b.  
 Abī Ṭālib, 170, 178,  
 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, 113,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 182,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 Abī Bakr, 104,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, 189,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm, 91,  
 91 n. 442,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī  
 Ṭālib, 195 n. 1047,  
 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b.  
 Ṭalḥa, 88,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab b. Thābit, 160 n. 858,  
 'Abdallāh b. Muslim, 30,  
 'Abdallāh b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith (*gādī* of  
 Medina), 57 n. 230,  
 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās),  
 see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarh, 51 n. 186, 107,  
 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b.  
 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71 n. 325,  
 'Abdallāh b. Shayba, 87 n. 416,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh, 67 n. 299,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. 'Amr, 121, 122, 124,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar (son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb),  
 see 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān (descendant of Sa'd b. Abī  
 Waqqās), 46, 47,  
 'Abdallāh/Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Umar, 117 n. 619,

- 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallāh, 116 n.  
 615,  
 'Abdallāh b. Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik, 123,  
 'Abdallāh b. Yazid b. Abī Sufyān, 117 n.  
 620, 132,  
 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad,  
 descendant of, 117,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 13 n. 41, 28 n. 72,  
 31, 43, 51, 58 n. 235, 66, 85, 85 n. 404,  
 115, 121, 121 n. 654, 129 n. 705, 151,  
 151 n. 811, 152 n. 813, 167, see also  
 Zubayr and Zubayrid families  
 son(-s) of, 44, 85,  
 daughter of, 85,  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 95 n.  
 469,  
 'Abs (tribe), 24, 93 n. 453,  
 al-Abṭahī, Muḥammad 'Alī, 148 n. 800, 160  
 n. 859,  
 Abū Abūn b. 'Abdallāh al-Aswār b. Yazid  
 b. Mu'āwiya, 119 n. 635,  
 Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b.  
 Ṣabra b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b.  
 Dūdān b. Asad b. Khuzayma, 84 n.  
 397,  
 Abū al-'Āṣ b. Umayya, 101, 118 n. 629,  
 Abū al-Baddāh, 55 n. 206,  
 Abū Bakr (first of the Rightly Guided  
 Caliphs), 5 n. 11, 52, 81, 83, 83 n. 395,  
 99, 104, 133, 146 n. 788, 154, see also  
 Bakrid(-s)  
 eulogizing, 52,  
 appointment by, 58,  
 granddaughter of, 59 n. 243,  
 family of, 59 n. 243, 195 n. 1050,  
 diplomatic acumen of, 106,  
 a descendant of, 117,  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Malik, 97 n. 489, 160  
 n. 858,  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son  
 of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd  
 al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b.  
 Ḥishām, 69 n. 312,  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,  
 mother of, 59 n. 243,  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī  
 Bakr, 100,  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Abī  
 Ṣabra b. Abī Ruḥm b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī  
 Qays, 63 n. 274,  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Alī (son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see  
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Abū Bakr b. al-Hārith b. al-Hakam (grandchild of  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 154 n.  
 825,  
 Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī  
 Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Abū Bakr b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī  
 Mulaika b. 'Abdallāh b. Jud'an (of the Ka'b  
 b. Lu'ayy), 67,  
 Abū Bakra, 69,  
 Abū al-Faḍl al-Mutakallim al-Ash'arī, 69 n. 308,  
 Abū Fudayk (Khārijite), 82 n. 388, 97, 98, see  
 also the Khārijites  
 Abū al-Ghayth b. al-Mughīra b. Ḥumayd, 73,  
 Abū Ḥamza al-Khārijī, 121 n. 654,  
 Abū Ḥāshim, 127, 127 n. 694, 127 n. 695, 170,  
 189, 189 n. 1015,  
 Abū Ḥāshim b. Muḥammad (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Abū al-Ḥis' al-Haysar b. Rāfi' b. Imrī' al-Qays,  
 a daughter of, 76-7,  
 Abū Hurayra, 145,  
 Abū al-Ḥusayn, 132, 144 n. 776,  
 Abū Ishāq Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b.  
 Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa,  
 90,  
 Abū Jahl, 5 n. 11, 93 n. 457, 115,  
 paternal cousin of, 109,  
 family of, 115 n. 609, 144 n. 776,  
 a daughter of, 138 n. 744, 144 n. 776,  
 Hanfā' bt. Abī Jahl, 143,  
 Abū al-Kaysam al-Kindī, 30,  
 Abū Lahab, 5 n. 11,  
 a son of, 110,  
 the family of, 133,  
 Abū Lughod, Lila, 13 n. 41, 14 n. 43, 165 n. 884,  
 Abū Marwān Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Khālid b.  
 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān,  
 112, 131 n. 713,  
 Abū Mas'ūd 'Uqba b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba al-

- Khazrajiyya al-Anṣariyya, 146, 147, 147 n. 789.
- Abū Mihjan al-Thaqafi, 25 n. 60.
- Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, 71 n. 321.
- Abū Muḥammad Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Uthmān b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra, *see* Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.
- Abū Murra b. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd, a daughter of, 168.
- Abū Mūsā 'Abdallāh b. Qays al-Ash'arī, 40 n. 138, 92, 92 n. 446, 94, 107 n. 545, 146 n. 786, a daughter of, 94 n. 467, 102, Umayyad leanings of, 94 n. 460.
- Abū Qatīfa 'Amr b. al-Walīd b. 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayy, 132.
- Abū Qays b. 'Abd Wadd, 63, 63 n. 274.
- Abū al-Qulūs al-Shibāmi, 31.
- Abū Sabra b. Abī Ruḥm of the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, 144 n. 775.
- Abū al-Sāj, 88.
- Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), *see* 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.
- Abū al-Sarāyā b. Maṣṣūr al-Shaybāni, 149, 149 n. 805, 165, 173 n. 929, 175, 180, 180 n. 960, 184.
- Abū Sufyān, 81, 101, a daughter of, 104, 113.
- Abū Sufyān b. 'Abdallāh al-Aswār b. Yazīd, 119, 119 n. 635.
- Abū Ṭālib (father of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), *see* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.
- Abū 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh (nephew of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), *see* 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.
- Abū Ummā, 172 n. 917.
- Abū Umayya, 59 n. 243.
- Abū 'Uṭba b. 'Abdallāh al-Aswār b. Yazīd, 119.
- Abū 'Uthmān b. Marwan, 114 n. 594.
- Abū 'Uwāḍ b. Yahyā b. ... b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 71 n. 324.
- Abyssinia, 23 n. 48, 164, migration to, 76.
- Abbyssinian migrations, 50, 76, 81, 106, 144 n. 775.
- second Abyssinian Emigration, 46, 85, to Mecca, 101.
- 'Adawī, 63 n. 269.
- 'Adī b. Aws, descendants of, 94 n. 462.
- 'Adī b. Nawfal, 171, a daughter of, 95 n. 469.
- Advisory Council (*Shūrā*), 52.
- 'Affān b. Abī al-'Ās (father of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.
- Affila, 47, *see also* Ifil.
- Africa, 39 n. 137, north, 62.
- the Afrihiyyah (Fathīyya), 183 n. 978.
- al-Afās, 165 n. 883.
- Agha, Saleh Sayed, 32 n. 100, 35 n. 119, 137 n. 740.
- agnates, 12, 13, 13 n. 41.
- Aḥmad, *see* Muḥammad (Prophet).
- Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, 194.
- Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr b. al-Hārith b. Zurāra b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 66.
- Aḥmad b. 'Isā b. Zayd, 179.
- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra, 122 n. 664.
- Aḥmad b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, 71 n. 321.
- Aḥmad b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, 71 n. 321, 71 n. 325.
- Aḥmad b. Zurāra b. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 66, 66 n. 294.
- Ahmed, Assad, 4 n. 6, 23 n. 53, 25 n. 62, 26 n. 64, 28 n. 73, 28 n. 75, 28 n. 76, 29 n. 82, 30 n. 88, 32 n. 101, 34 n. 110, 36 n. 129, 48 n. 178.
- al-Ahwāz, 98, 149, 149 n. 805.
- 'Ā'isha bt. 'Abd al-Malik, 118 n. 629.
- 'Ā'isha bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 124.
- 'Ā'isha bt. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra, 122.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Abī Bakr (wife of Muḥammad), *see* Muḥammad (Prophet).
- 'Ā'isha bt. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdallāh

- b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 100.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Mūsā (grandchild of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh), *see* Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'id b. 'Abdallāh, 112 n. 575.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'id b. 'Uthmān (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa (daughter of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh), *see* Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa b. 'Umar al-Taymī, 160 n. 858.
- 'Ā'isha bt. 'Umar b. 'Āṣim b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, 117.
- 'Ā'isha bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Yahyā b. Marwān b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 171.
- 'Ā'isha bt. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, 123.
- the 'Ajlān, 54.
- al-Ajnādāy, 115 n. 606.
- al-'Alā' b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād b. Akbar of the Ṣāḍīf (uncle of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh), *see* Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.
- al-'Alī, Ṣāliḥ, 2 n. 4, 107 n. 545.
- 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 98 n. 489, 99, 128, 189, the 'Abbāsids of the line of, 188.
- 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, 88.
- 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya, 189.
- 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 1, 5 n. 11, 13 n. 33, 15, 19, 26 n. 67, 28, 30 n. 87, 43, 52 n. 196, 69, 76 n. 354, 77, 83, 83 n. 395, 85, 90, 91, 94, 112 n. 572, 112 n. 581, 113, 117, 129, 135, 138 n. 744, 142, 142 n. 760, 145, 146, 147, 147 n. 792, 159 n. 852, 166 n. 855, 169 n. 899, 187, 190, 195, 195 n. 1049, 195 n. 1050, 197, *see also* 'Alīd(-s) and Ṭālibid(-s).
- wives of, 138.
- Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad, *see* Muḥammad (Prophet).
- Khawla bt. Ja'far al-Hanafīyya, 138, 186.
- Umm al-Banīn bt. Hīzām al-'Āmirīyya, 138, 190.
- Sahbā' bt. Rabī'a al-Taghlibīyya, 138, 193.
- Umm Sa'd bt. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi, 153, 195.
- Asmā' bt. Umayy al-Khath'amiyya, 195, 195 n. 1050.
- Laylā bt. Mas'ūd b. Khālid b. Mālik al-Tamīmīyya, 195.
- brother of,
- Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, 23 n. 48, 25, 46, 191, 195 n. 1050, three sons of, 140.
- 'Aqīl b. Abī Ṭālib, children of, 196.
- sister of,
- Umm Hāni', 195 n. 1049.
- sons of, 139 n. 746, 196 n. 1054.
- al-'Abbās b. 'Alī, 147 n. 796, 155 n. 833, 175 n. 935, 191, 191 n. 1022, 192, 192 n. 1029, 198.
- Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 135, 147 n. 795, 148 n. 801, 158, 160 n. 858, 186, children of, 186-7, 186 n. 994-5, 187 n. 1001, death of, 188.
- Muḥassin Muḥsin b. 'Alī, 139.
- 'Umar b. 'Alī, 152, 158, 167, 175 n. 937, 182 n. 968, 191, 191 n. 1022, 192 n. 1029, 193, 194 n. 1042, 198.
- 'Umar (al-Asghar) b. 'Alī, 168 n. 895, 193, 193 n. 1041, 195.
- al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 11, 15, 19, 86, 92, 92 n. 446, 104, 125, 129, 135, 140, 142, 142 n. 760, 142 n. 764, 143, 143 n. 773, 144 n. 776, 145 n. 786, 146, 148 n. 796, 151, 166, 166 n. 885, 167, 168, 191 n. 1026, wives of, 140-2, 140 n. 755, descendants of, 140-68, death of, 142, 142 n. 764, 143, 143, 143 n. 768, poisoning of, 143 n. 768.
- al-Husayn b. 'Alī, 15, 16, 30, 31, 31 n. 94, 32, 65, 104, 125, 129, 129 n. 705, 135, 140 n. 748, 142 n. 760, 147, 147 n. 795, 154 n. 825, 158, 160 n. 859, 164 n. 874, 166, 166



n. 885, 168, 176 n. 942, 191 n. 1026, family of, 30,  
movement of, 32 n. 102,  
murder of, 37, 48, 147, 172, 191 n. 1027,  
‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Alī, 195,  
Abū Bakr b. ‘Alī,  
disputed identity of, 195 n. 1051,  
daughters of, 140 n. 754, 196 n. 1054,  
Zaynab al-Kubrā bt. ‘Alī, 128 n. 702,  
139, 140,  
Zaynab al-Ṣughrā bt. ‘Alī, 140 n. 754,  
Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā bt. ‘Alī, 140,  
140 n. 750, 140 n. 752, 140 n. 753,  
Umm Kulthūm al-Ṣughrā bt. ‘Alī, 140  
n. 750, 196,  
Umm al-Ḥasan bt. ‘Alī, 140 n. 754,  
195,  
Umm al-Ḥusayn bt. ‘Alī, 195,  
Ramla bt. ‘Alī, 153, 153 n. 819, 195,  
Ruqayya bt. ‘Alī, 193, 196,  
Umm Hānī bt. ‘Alī, 196,  
father of,  
Abū Ṭālib, 73, 109,  
mother of,  
grandmother of, 135,  
Fātima bt. ‘Amr al-Madaniyya, 135,  
195 n. 1049,  
grandchildren of,  
Fātima bt. al-Ḥusayn, 104, 125, 153,  
153 n. 818, 154, 154 n. 826, 154 n.  
828, 168, 169,  
Fātima bt. al-Ḥasan, 141 n. 755, 141 n.  
756,  
Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, 19, 138, 147, 147 n.  
795, 147 n. 796, 148, 150, 151 n.  
809, 167, 167 n. 890, 188, 191, 197,  
Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn, 148 n. 796,  
‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn,  
138, 153, 158, 158 n. 843, 167, 167  
n. 890, 168, 169, 169 n. 901, 170,  
172, 175 n. 935, 188, 197, 198,  
details about the children of, 169 n.  
901,  
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, 141 n. 755,  
Ja‘far b. al-‘Abbās, 191 n. 1024,

Ja‘far b. al-Ḥasan, 141 n. 755, 149 n. 802,  
Ja‘far b. al-Ḥusayn, 168,  
Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, 182 n. 968, 191 n.  
1022,  
Ja‘far (al-Asghar) b. Muḥammad, 186, 186 n.  
997,  
Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan, 141 n. 755,  
‘Alī al-Akbar b. al-Ḥusayn, 31, 168, 169 n.  
898,  
Umm Salama bt. al-Ḥasan, 141 n. 755, 167,  
Umm al-Ḥasan Nafisa, 147,  
al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 86, 89, 104, 125, 126 n.  
686, 152, 152 n. 813, 154, 154 n. 828, 158,  
159, 169, 170, 194,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan, 148 n. 799, 155 n. 833, 167,  
167 n. 890,  
Nafisa bt. al-Ḥasan, 148 n. 800,  
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, 155 n. 833,  
Kulthūm bt. al-Ḥasan, 163 n. 872,  
Umm al-Ḥusayn bt. al-Ḥasan, 167,  
Umm ‘Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 167, 167 n. 890,  
169,  
al-Ḥusayn al-Athram b. al-Ḥasan, 167 n. 890,  
Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn, 70, 70 n. 318, 116,  
116 n. 615, 168, 168 n. 892,  
Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥusayn, 168 n. 894,  
Umm Mūsā bt. ‘Umar, 175, 194,  
‘Awn b. Muḥammad, 90, 186, 189,  
Abū Ḥāshim b. Muḥammad, 188,  
‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, 190,  
‘Ubaydallāh b. al-‘Abbās, 191, 192,  
Muḥammad b. ‘Umar, 70, 170 n. 908, 194,  
companions of, 31, 147 n. 789,  
assassination of, 37, 137, 187, 199,  
army of, 43 n. 154,  
Traditions from, 44,  
appointment by, 45,  
opponent of, 124, 144,  
sadoqāt of, 129, 149 n. 802, 152, 174, 175 n.  
937, 176, 176 n. 941, 181, 185, 188, 192,  
193, 193 n. 1041,  
‘Alī al-Akbar b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan,  
156,  
‘Alī al-Akbar b. al-Ḥusayn (grandchild of ‘Alī b.  
Abī Ṭālib), see ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
‘Alī b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, 171, 173, 189 n.  
1016,

‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥsas, 171 n. 915,  
‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Ja‘far al-Sādiq, 182,  
‘Alī b. Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b.  
Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,  
179,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan (grandchild of ‘Alī b. Abī  
Ṭālib), see ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥsas, 171,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, 158,  
159, 162 n. 868,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b.  
‘Alī, 90, 156, 162 n. 868,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, 149 n.  
805, 150,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (son of al-Ḥusayn b. Abī  
Ṭālib), 31, 114, 115,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn,  
171,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī,  
180,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asghar, 172,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, 90,  
170,  
‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ‘Alī, 179,  
‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām, 170 n. 910,  
‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl b. Ja‘far al-Sādiq, 182,  
‘Alī b. b. Ja‘far al-Sādiq, 184, 185,  
‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Sādiq, 184,  
184 n. 980, 190,  
‘Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far al-Sādiq, 184,  
‘Alī b. ‘Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asghar,  
173 n. 929,  
‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn,  
a grandson of, 179,  
‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥsas, 171 n.  
915,  
‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, 7,  
descendants of, 19, 20,  
al-Bāqir (son of), 7,  
‘Alid(-s) (of or relating to ‘Alī b. Abī  
Ṭālib), 7 n. 15, 13 n. 33, 14, 14 n. 43,  
19, 20, 28 n. 72, 38 n. 134, 43, 45, 59,  
70, 70 n. 316, 70 n. 318, 83 n. 395, 84,  
85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 90 n. 431, 90 n.  
435, 91 n. 444, 92, 94 n. 462, 101, 102  
n. 519, 104, 105, 108, 116, 117, 122,  
125, 126, 129, 131 n. 716, 132 n. 716,

134, 137, 143, 146, 146 n. 788, 148 n. 796,  
149, 149 n. 804, 150, 151, 152 n. 813, 152 n.  
817, 153, 154, 158, 161, 161 n. 865, 162 n.  
865, 163, 164 n. 874, 164 n. 880, 165, 166,  
166 n. 885, 167, 169, 169 n. 897, 172 n. 922,  
172 n. 923, 173, 176, 176 n. 939, 178, 179,  
184, 186, 187, 188, 190, 190 n. 1020, 191 n.  
1022, 191 n. 1027, 193, 194, 194 n. 1045,  
198, 199, 200,  
internal cooperation of distinct lines of the, 16,  
pro-, 16, 17, 18, 26 n. 63, 29, 43 n. 152, 44, 45,  
48, 58, 58 n. 237, 89, 94, 97, 100 n. 511, 105  
n. 537, 125, 128, 132 n. 717, 147 n. 796, 155  
n. 831, 157 n. 840, 162,  
anti-, 160 n. 858,  
minor lines of the, 32 n. 102,  
leanings of the, 40 n. 138,  
legitimist arguments by the, 135, 159,  
names of ‘Alid mothers, daughters, and sisters  
from the first century, 136,  
military movements of, 160 n. 858,  
Hasanid-, 143, 151 n. 812,  
Husaynid-, 139, 153,  
‘Alid genealogy, see genealogy  
‘Abbāsī absorption of certain, 143,  
al-‘Āliya, 54,  
‘Alqama b. Waqqās, 28,  
amat al-Hamid bt. al-Mughīra, 95 n. 471, see also  
Rabiha bt. al-Mughīra and Umm al-Banīn bt.  
al-Mughīra  
amat al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān (daughter of  
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf), see ‘Abd al-  
Rahmān b. ‘Awf  
amat al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān (daughter of  
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf, from Umm  
Kulthūm), see ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf  
Amatallāh bt. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh b. Abī  
Bakr al-Siddīq, 141 n. 755, 141 n. 756,  
Amhazdūn, Muḥammad, 107 n. 548,  
al-Amin, 149, 184,  
Āmina bt. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf (daughter of  
‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf), see ‘Abd al-  
Rahmān b. ‘Awf  
Āmina bt. al-Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan, 149  
n. 801,  
Āmina al-Kubrā bt. al-Ḥusayn al-Akbar b. ‘Alī  
Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, 189,

- Āmina al-Kubrā bt. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 172 n. 923, 189, Āmina bt. Sa'id (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Āmina bt. 'Umar (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Āmina bt. Wāḥ (mother of Prophet Muḥammad), 40  
 'Āmir (governor of Mecca), 144 n. 779,  
 'Āmir b. Abi Waqqāṣ (brother of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ)  
 'Āmir b. al-Hadramī, 107  
 'Āmir b. Harza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 121, 121 n. 654,  
 the 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy, 57 n. 230, 63, 76, 120,  
 'Āmir b. Mālik b. Ja'far b. Kilāb,  
 a descendant of, 158  
 'Anmār b. al-Arqam b. Abi al-Arqam, 68 n. 305,  
 'Anmāra b. al-Hārith b. 'Awf b. Abi 'Awf b. Abi Hārith al-Murri, 118 n. 628,  
 'Anmāra b. 'Uqba, 30,  
 'Amr (brother of Ibn al-Zubayr), 65,  
 'Amr (grandfather of Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab), 115,  
 'Amr b. 'Abd b. Zam'a (qāfi of Medina), 57 n. 230,  
 'Amr b. 'Amr (father of Makīta Umm 'Amir bt. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Ka'b...b. 'Amr), 39,  
 'Amr b. al-'Ās, 40 n. 138, 51 n. 187, 63, 68, 68 n. 303, 69, 72, 107 n. 545, 143,  
 'Amr b. al-Hajjāj, 31, 31 n. 96, 32,  
 'Amr b. Ma'di Karib al-Zubaydī (of the Madhij), 25, 25 n. 63, 26 n. 63,  
 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. 'Amr b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 125, 131 n. 713,  
 'Amr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr, 167,  
 'Amr b. Muthāra b. 'Umayr, 28,  
 'Amr b. Nāḥid al-Himyarī, 81 n. 378,  
 'Amr b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ  
 'Amr b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās (governor of Medina), 35 n. 116, 65, 95 n. 469,  
 'Amr b. Taghlīb line, 44,  
 'Amr b. 'Utba (brother of Makhrama b. 'Utba), 40 n. 142,  
 'Amr b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Amr b. Zayd b. 'Uthmān, 70,  
 'Amr b. al-Zubayr, 32 n., 95 n. 469, 102,  
 Anas b. Rāfi' al-Anṣārī, 55 n. 210,  
 al-Andalus, see Spain (Muslim)  
 anfal, 27 n. 69,  
 Anmār,  
 northern, 26 n. 63,  
 'Anbasa b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Anbasa b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās, 103,  
 'Anbasa b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 the Anṣār, 32 n. 102, 34, 53, 54, 55, 57 n. 230, 73, 74, 77, 87, 99 n. 499, 110, 110 n. 558, 137, 146 n. 788, 201,  
 Anṣārī links, 76, 99, 110, 187, 190,  
 notables of, 96,  
 genealogies of the, 189 n. 1010,  
 the Anṣār of the Baḥr al-Qudā'a, 189 n. 1010,  
 anti-Shi'i blocs, 5 n. 11,  
 'Aqaba, 146,  
 'Aqil b. Abi Tālib (brother of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 al-'Aqīq (valley in the south of Medina), 28, 28 n. 72, 158 n. 844,  
 al-'Aqrabā', 109 n. 553,  
 Arabia(-n), 200,  
 crown lands, 27 n. 69,  
 trade routes of Arabia, 50,  
 in south of the, 82, 96 n. 477, 139, 199,  
 in east of the, 82, 90 n. 434, 96, 98, 150 n. 808,  
 north east of the, 137, 139, 197,  
 Arabo-Islamic historiography, 3, 6,  
 Arazī, A., 116 n. 615,  
 'arīf, 26 n. 68,  
 Arioli, A., 165 n. 883,  
 al-'Arj, 120, 120 n. 649,  
 Arnab bt. Kurayz, 107,  
 al-Arqam b. Abi al-Arqam, 68 n. 305,  
 al-Arqam, the house of, 84 n. 397, 106, 144 n. 775,  
 'Arrām al-Sulamī, 6 n. 13,  
 Arwā bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 81, 107,  
 Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabi'a b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd

- Shams (mother of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Arwā bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 al-'Ās b. Sa'id, 119 n. 631,  
 the Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, 70 n. 318, 123,  
 asḥāb al-muzil, see saḥāb al-muzil  
 al-Aṣghar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, 70, 116 n. 615, 118 n. 629,  
 descendants of, 70 n. 317,  
 al-'A'sha, 62,  
 al-'Ash'ath b. Quys al-Kindī, 24, 25 n. 63,  
 26 n. 63, 142, see also Sa'd b. Abi Waqqāṣ  
 ashār, 13,  
 'Ashara Mubashshara, 23, 47-8, 52, 81,  
 al-'Āsī b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams, 68,  
 Asid b. Abi al-'Īs b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 123, 143-4,  
 'Āsim b. 'Adī (father of Sahla bt. 'Āsim b. 'Adī), see Sahla bt. 'Āsim b. 'Adī  
 'Āsim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (son of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb  
 'Āsima bt. Hind b. Abi Hāla, 141 n. 758,  
 aslāf, 13,  
 Aslam b. Zur'a, 102 n. 521,  
 Asmā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmī, 124, 127 n. 696,  
 Asmā' bt. Ja'far b. Hishām (wife of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Asmā' bt. Abi Salama b. 'Umar b. Abi Salama al-Makhzūmī, 90,  
 Asmā' bt. 'Awn b. Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya, 189,  
 Asmā' bt. Ja'far al-'Sādiq, 182,  
 Asmā' bt. Salama of the Banū Tamīm (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Asmā' bt. Umays al-Khath'amiyya (wife of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Asmā' bt. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, 124 n. 682, 130,  
 Astārāhūd, 190,  
 al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghūth b. Wāḥ al-Zuhri (nephew of Āmina bt. Wāḥ), 40, 'atā', 26 n. 68, 38 n. 134,  
 Athamina, Khālīl, 5 n. 12, 119 n. 634,  
 'Ātika bt. 'Abd al-Malik al-Makhzūmiyya, 159 n. 853,  
 'Ātika bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 73,  
 'Ātika bt. Asid b. Abi al-'Īs b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 123,  
 'Ātika bt. al-Fadl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 155 n. 833,  
 'Ātika bt. Furāt b. Mu'āwiya al-Bakkā'i, 74,  
 'Ātika bt. Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 71,  
 'Ātika bt. Wāḥ b. 'Abd b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb, 81,  
 'Ātika bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, 118 n. 629,  
 'Attāb b. Asid b. Abi al-'Īs b. Umayya, 138 n. 744, 144 n. 776,  
 'Awf (father of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Hārith b. Zuhra, daughter of (mother of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 'Awf b. al-Qa'qā, 96 n. 475,  
 Awfā b. al-Hārith b. 'Awf b. Abi Hāritha al-Murri,  
 a daughter of, 92, 92 n. 451, see also Mulaika bt. Awfā b. al-Hārith  
 'Awfid(-s) (of or relating to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), 14, 14 n. 43, 17, 18, 30 n. 86, 39 n. 136, 40 n. 143, 53, 57 n. 230, 59, 61, 62 n. 268, 63, 64, 64 n. 276, 64 n. 278, 66 n. 294, 68, 69 n. 315, 70 n. 317, 71 n. 323, 72, 76, 84, 132 n. 716, 137, 200,  
 'Awn b. Ja'far b. Abi Tālib, 140,  
 'Awn b. Muḥammad (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 'Awna bt. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Ayla, 39 n. 137,  
 'Ayn Abi Nayzar, 129,  
 'Ayn Tamr, 193,  
 al-'Ayal bt. Khālid b. Mālik b. Aḥbāsh b. Kūz b. Maw'ala of the Tha'laba b. Dūdān, 100,  
 Ayyūb b. Maslama b. 'Abdallāh al-Makhzūmī, 153, 153 n. 823,  
 father of, 153 n. 823,  
 Ayyūb b. Salama b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd al-



Makhzūmī, 93.  
 Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, 123,  
 the Azd, 42, 58, 70 n. 317, 136, 177,  
 southern, 115,  
 a woman of, 158.  
 Azd-Tamīm rivalry, see *Rabi'a*-Tamīm  
 rivalry  
 al-Azraqī, Abū al-Walid Muḥammad b.  
 'Abdallāh, 2 n. 4.  
 'Azzān, M. S., 172 n. 917.  
 Babba, see 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal  
 Bādiya bt. Ghaylān b. Salama b. Mu'attib  
 al-Thaqafiyya (wife of 'Abd al-  
 Raḥmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Raḥmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 Badr, the battle of, 23, 54, 76, 76 n. 354, 81,  
 85, 99, 101, 106, 110, 113, 113 n. 588,  
 158 n. 844,  
 on the day of, 119 n. 631.  
 Baghdād, 58, 59, 63 n. 274, 70 n. 320, 71,  
 71 n. 321, 71 n. 322, 71 n. 323, 71 n.  
 325, 90, 91, 100, 164 n. 874, 171 n.  
 912, 180 n. 957, 190, 192,  
 of, 71, 71 n. 325.  
 al-Baghdādī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, 55 n. 213, 71  
 n. 325, 110 n. 560, 122 n. 664.  
 al-Baghdādī, Ismā'il, 90 n. 430.  
 Bahkana bt. 'Umar b. Salama al-Hujaymī.  
 160 n. 858.  
 Bahrā' (of the Qudā'a), 29, 41, 64,  
 al-Baḥrayn, 82, 82 n. 388, 90, 90 n. 434, 97,  
 107 n. 545, 144.  
 Bahriyya bt. Ḥānī b. Qabiṣa b. Mas'ūd b.  
 Abī Rabi'a of the Banū Shaybān, 77.  
 Bajila (tribe), 24, 24 n. 57, 26, 26 n. 63,  
 al-Bajjā, 60.  
 Bajjād/Najjād b. Mūsā (grandson of Sa'd b.  
 Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 al-Bajjī, Abū al-Walid Sulaymān, 44 n. 159,  
 81 n. 378.  
 Bakkār b. 'Abd al-Malik, 123 n. 674,  
 Bakkār b. Salama, 120.  
 Bakr b. 'Abdallāh (grandchild of 'Uthmān  
 b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 the Bakr b. Wā'il, 25 n. 60, 29, 41, 43 n.  
 154, 44, 45, 45 n. 162, 47, 186, see

also Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 al-Bakrī, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 26 n. 67, 28  
 n. 72, 39 n. 137, 43 n. 156, 91 n. 442, 107 n.  
 546, 120 n. 649, 136 n. 737.  
 Bakrīs (of or relating to Abū Bakr), 15, 57 n.  
 230, 99, 182, 185.  
 Bakrīs (of or relating to Bakr b. Wā'il), 41, 42, 43,  
 45, 45 n. 164, 48,  
 women of, 44,  
 daughters of, 48 n. 179.  
 political maneuvers of, 46,  
 cognates of, 46.  
 al-Balādhurī, Ahmad b. Yahyā, 5 n. 12, 25, 25 n.  
 60, 26 n. 63, 28 n. 73, 28 n. 74, 28 n. 77, 28  
 n. 78, 37 n. 130, 38 n. 132, 39 n. 135, 39 n.  
 137, 45 n. 161, 46 n. 166, 46 n. 167, 47 n.  
 174, 50, 50 n. 183, 50 n. 184, 51 n. 189, 51 n.  
 191, 51 n. 192, 52 n. 196, 52 n. 198, 53 n.  
 201, 59 n. 244, 62 n. 264, 64 n. 280, 65 n.  
 281, 65 n. 288, 65 n. 289, 70 n. 318, 76 n.  
 356, 77 n. 358, 77 n. 359, 83 n. 395, 85 n.  
 402, 87 n. 416, 90 n. 430, 90 n. 435, 90 n.  
 436, 91 n. 440, 92 n. 451, 94 n. 467, 95 n.  
 468, 95 n. 469, 100, 101 n. 514, 106 n. 541,  
 106 n. 542, 110 n. 560, 113 n. 584, 113 n.  
 585, 114 n. 589, 116 n. 610, 116 n. 613, 116  
 n. 615, 119 n. 633, 119 n. 635, 120 n. 643,  
 120 n. 649, 121 n. 650, 123 n. 670, 127 n.  
 690, 127 n. 692, 127 n. 695, 128 n. 701, 128  
 n. 703, 132 n. 722, 140 n. 748, 140 n. 752,  
 140 n. 753, 142 n. 760, 143 n. 773, 149 n.  
 802, 153 n. 823, 154, 154 n. 825, 154 n. 826,  
 155 n. 832, 156 n. 837, 156 n. 838, 157 n.  
 841, 160 n. 858, 161 n. 860, 164 n. 878, 167  
 n. 890, 168 n. 892, 176 n. 942, 186 n. 992.  
 the Balḥārith, 99.  
 Balī, 54, 54 n. 203, 168,  
 north of, 39 n. 137.  
 Balqā', 114.  
 Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, 189.  
 Banū 'Adī, 63.  
 Banū 'Amir b. Lu'ayy, 144 n. 775, 189.  
 Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf of Aws, 54.  
 Banū Asad, 65.  
 Banū Aslam, 120.  
 Banū Bahrā' of the Qudā'a, 39, 39 n. 137, 40,  
 Banū Dabba, 44.

Banū Dībāb, 43.  
 Banū Dīl b. Bakr, 86.  
 Banū Dūdān b. Asad, 78.  
 Banū Ghanm b. Dūdān, 85.  
 Banū Ghaym, 141 n. 755.  
 Banū Ghurayr (in Yawn), 73.  
 Banū al-Ḥakam, 102 n. 519.  
 Banū al-Ḥārith (in Iraq),  
 settlement of, 35 n. 115.  
 Banū al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 155 n.  
 833.  
 Banū Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, 99.  
 Banū Ḥārith b. Zuhra, 29, see also Sa'd b.  
 Abī Waqqās  
 Banū Hāshim, 13, 65, 70 n. 318, 82, 85, 172  
 n. 919, 178, 186 n. 998.  
 Banū Jadhima,  
 a member of, 50.  
 Banū Ja'far b. Kilāb, 160 n. 858.  
 Banū Khārja b. Hudhāfa al-'Adawī, 63.  
 Banū al-Khaṣṣā, 149 n. 803.  
 Banū Ma'arib, 141 n. 755.  
 Banū Makhzūm, 125, 189.  
 Banū Māzin, 141 n. 755.  
 Banū Murra b. 'Awf, 118 n. 628.  
 Banū al-Nadīr, 51.  
 Banū al-Najjār, 135, 136, 187.  
 Banū al-Namir b. Qūsīt, 47.  
 Banū Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams, 76.  
 Banū Rabi'a b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-  
 Muṭṭalib, 89.  
 Banū Sahn, 63 n. 271.  
 Banū Shaybān, 77,  
 a woman of, 149.  
 Banū Sulaym, 54 n. 203, 136, 177.  
 Banū Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-  
 'Abbās, 153.  
 Banū Taghlīb, 44, 103,  
 conversion to Christianity, 44.  
 Banū Tamīm, 76.  
 Banū Taym, 64 n. 280.  
 Banū 'Ubayd b. Zayd b. Malik b. 'Awf b.  
 'Amr, 54 n. 204, 183 n. 978.  
 Banū 'Udhayr b. al-Mukhrīd of the Qabṭān,  
 73 n. 334.  
 Banū Umayya, 32, 53, 54, 73, 115, 116,  
 200, see also Umayyad(-s)

Banū Yahsub, 61.  
 Banū Zuhra, 57 n. 230, 64 n. 280, 73, 77.  
 Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb, 81.  
 al-Baqī', 28, 51, 53 n. 202.  
 Baqī' al-Khayl, 51 n. 191.  
 al-Bāqir b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 7, 43, 155 n.  
 831, 177 n. 946, 178 n. 947.  
 Barīha bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 Mukammil b. 'Awf al-Zuhri (wife of Abū  
 Salama b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān), 61.  
 Barīha bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (daughter of  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
 Raḥmān b. 'Awf  
 Barīha bt. Ja'far al-'Sādiq, 183.  
 Barīha bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.  
 Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, 66.  
 Barmakid(-s), 71 n. 323.  
 Barth, Fredrik, 14 n. 42.  
 Basra (city of), 31, 36, 38 n. 134, 58, 59, 60, 61,  
 61 n. 255, 74, 75, 77, 82, 82 n. 388, 83, 90,  
 96, 96 n. 477, 98 n. 490, 101 n. 512, 107, 107  
 n. 545, 110 n. 560, 123 n. 670, 157, 184, 190,  
 195,  
 province of, 42.  
 Baṣra(-s), 43, 77, 89, 97, 98,  
 governor of, 45, 97 n. 488, 144,  
 revolts in, 184.  
 Batieus, 60.  
 the Battle of Siffin, see Siffin  
 the Battle of the Camel, see Camel (battle of)  
 the Battle of Yarmūk, see Yarmūk (battle of)  
 Bayān b. Sam'ān, 155 n. 831.  
 al-Bayda' bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim  
 (maternal grandmother of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, see also  
 Umayyā bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib  
 Bayhaq, 178.  
 al-Bayhaqī, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī b. Abī al-Qāsim,  
 89 n. 426.  
 al-Bayhaqī, Ahmad b. al-Husayn, 136 n. 738, 141  
 n. 755, 141 n. 756, 141 n. 758, 147 n. 790,  
 170 n. 905, 171 n. 911, 171 n. 912, 171 n.  
 915,  
 the Berbers, 70 n. 317, 164.  
 Bilāl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (son of 'Abd al-  
 Raḥmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.  
 'Awf

- Bīn, 73,  
Bishr b. Marwān,  
governorship of, 61,  
Bishr b. Rabi' al-Khath'amī, 25 n. 60,  
Bistām b. Maqāla,  
bay'a to, 34 n. 109,  
Bosworth, C. E., 110 n. 560, 119 n. 631,  
Bridge (Battle of the), 42,  
Bughaybiha, 129, 129 n. 707, 176 n. 942,  
Buhl, Fr., 148 n. 798,  
Bujayra, 77 n. 358,  
Bukayr b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
al-Bukhārī, Abū Naṣr Sahl b. 'Abdallāh,  
147 n. 790, 181 n. 965,  
al-Bukhārī, Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm, 46 n. 167, 47  
n. 174, 59 n. 243, 65 n. 288, 88 n. 418,  
102 n. 517,  
Burayka bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-  
Hanafiyya, 189,  
Burayka bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b.  
al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr, 172,  
al-Burri/Birri, Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr, 34 n.  
114, 51 n. 189, 51 n. 192, 55 n. 210, 55  
n. 211, 62 n. 264, 65 n. 288, 67 n. 299,  
68 n. 303, 69 n. 314, 70 n. 320, 77 n.  
358, 83 n. 395, 91 n. 440, 94 n. 462, 94  
n. 467, 95 n. 468, 101 n. 512, 102 n.  
516, 110 n. 560, 120 n. 648, 127 n.  
695,  
Busr b. Abī Artāh (the general of  
Mu'āwīya), 77,  
Byzantium (the Byzantine empire), 39 n.  
137, 94,  
the Byzantine frontier, 114,  
Caetani, Leone, 3 n. 6, 94 n. 460,  
Calmar, Jean, 135 n. 730,  
Camel, the Battle of the, 43 n. 153, 44, 83,  
86, 87 n. 416, 96, 99 n. 496, 119, 127,  
142-4, 151, post-, 97,  
the Camp of al-Mahdī (in Baghdād), 55 n.  
213,  
Carney, T. F., 4 n. 7, 202 n. 1056, 203 n.  
1057, 204 n. 1060,  
Caskel, Werner, 4 n. 11, 5 n. 12, 13 n. 41,  
42 n. 149, 44 n. 160,  
the Caspian region, 148,  
Chastagnol, A., 4 n. 7,  
Chelchod, J., 13 n. 41,  
Christianity, 42,  
conversion to, 85,  
chronography, 6,  
Civil war, 144, 155,  
first, 27 n. 71, 28, 182,  
second, 147, 176 n. 942, 187,  
Cl. Cahen, 26 n. 68, 38 n. 134,  
CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche  
Scientifique), 3 n. 6,  
cognates, 12, 13, 13 n. 41,  
attraction as a generality in Arabo-Islamic  
prosopography, 18,  
importance in 'Abd al-Rahmān's family, 54, 60,  
75, see also 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
links in Sa'd's family, 29, see also Sa'd b. Abī  
Waqūs  
importance for ascendancy in early Islam, 54,  
135, 184-5,  
the Community, 177 n. 946,  
Companion(-s), 114 n. 589,  
descendants of, 108,  
the Conquest of Mecca, 68 n. 305, 116 n. 610,  
133, 144 n. 775  
Conrad, Lawrence, 2 n. 2, 3 n. 5,  
Cook, Michael, 2 n. 2,  
Cordell, Dennis D., 10 n. 27,  
Cordua, 47,  
cousins, 13 n. 40,  
Cron, Patricia, 4 n. 11, 29 n. 83, 36 n. 121, 40 n.  
140,  
Dabība, 41,  
Dabība bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh  
al-Makhzūmī, 158,  
al-Dahhāk, Ibn Abī 'Āṣim, 146 n. 788,  
al-Dahhāk b. al-Mundhir b. Salāma b. Dhī Fā'ish  
b. Yazīd b. Murra, 62,  
Dāhīs wa-l-Ghabrā',  
war of, 93 n. 453,  
Damascus, 35 n. 118, 78, 93, 119, 156, 188, 189,  
189 n. 1015, 190,  
Dāniya, 61 n. 253,  
Dār al-Kubrā, 72,  
Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 170,

- Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
170,  
Dāwūd b. Muḥammad b. Talha (grandchild  
of Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Talha b.  
'Ubaydallāh  
Dāwūd b. Sa'id (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
Day of al-Madā'in, 74 n. 345,  
the Day of Nahr Abī Farṭas, see Nahr Abī  
Farṭas  
Day of Resurrection, 13,  
Daylam (province of), 30, 150 n. 808, 151  
n. 809, 164,  
Dayr al-Jamājim, 36, 36 n. 121, 36 n. 123,  
al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 28 n.  
74, 39 n. 137, 46 n. 167, 55 n. 214, 65  
n. 289, 70 n. 320, 71 n. 323, 94 n. 465,  
107 n. 545, 121 n. 654,  
Dhū Fā'ish, 61, 61 n. 258, 62, 62 n. 263,  
Dhū Qār  
the battle of, 77,  
Dhubayn, 93,  
al-Dībāj, see Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b.  
'Amr (al-Dībāj) b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
Dihya b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Aṣbagh, 70 n. 317,  
al-Dimashqī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 138 n.  
743, 139 n. 746,  
Dinawarī, Abū Hanīfah, 123 n. 670,  
Donner, Fred, 2 n. 3,  
al-Dūlābī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 135 n.  
730,  
Dūmat al-Jandal (ancient city in Arabia), 27  
n. 71, 40, 51 n. 187, 59, 94,  
Dūrī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1 n. 1, 3 n. 5, 4 n. 10, 5  
n. 12, 13 n. 41, 26 n. 68,  
Durkheim, 14 n. 42,  
early Islam, 4,  
Egypt, 23 n. 48, 39 n. 137, 51 n. 187, 53,  
55, 55 n. 214, 57, 61 n. 253, 62 n. 264,  
62 n. 268, 63, 64, 70 n. 317, 72, 76, 79,  
107, 107 n. 545, 128 n. 701, 143, 150  
n. 808, 182 n. 970, 183 n. 978,  
Egyptian(-s), 62, 83, 144,  
conquest of, 25 n. 63,  
Egyptian grain passing through the holy  
cities, 130 n. 709,  
Egyptian-Hijazi connections, 70 n. 317,  
Elad, Amikam, 2 n. 2, 155 n. 831, 157 n. 841, 157  
n. 842, 159 n. 854, 195 n. 1047,  
El-Hibri, Tayeb, 3 n. 5,  
elegization, 62,  
Ella Landau-Tasseron, 92 n. 450,  
endogamy, 12, 14, 19, 150, 151, 158 n. 843, 159,  
163 n. 872, 165, 165 n. 884, 166, 170 n. 904,  
171 n. 915, 173, 175, 178, 182, 183, 184,  
185, 190, 195, 195 n. 1049, 196, 198,  
gradual increase in, 16, 20, 181, 201,  
Eustache, D., 164 n. 875, 164 n. 876,  
Evans-Pritchard, E. E., 14 n. 42,  
exogamy, 13, 14 n. 43, 150, 159, 159 n. 858, 160  
n. 858, 165, 168, 170, 172, 173, 174, 177,  
195, 196,  
fadā'il, 3 n. 4,  
Fadak, 174,  
al-fadl (surplus resource), 27 n. 69,  
al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. Rabi'a b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd  
al-Muṭṭalib al-Hāshimī (brother of 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. al-'Abbās), 35, 66 n. 294,  
al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-'Abbās b. Rabi'a  
b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 155, 179 n.  
952,  
al-Faḍl b. Sahl, 71, see also al-Ḥasan b. Sahl  
al-Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, 164,  
Fākhitā (wife of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān  
Fākhitā bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 78,  
Fākhitā bt. Fulayh b. Muḥammad b. al-Mundhir b.  
al-Zubayr, 159 n. 858,  
Fākhitā bt. Sa'id b. al-'Āṣi b. Umayya, 68, 68 n.  
307,  
Fakhkh, 141 n. 755, 160 n. 859, 161 n. 864, 163,  
164 n. 874, 165 n. 883, 171, 171 n. 911, 171  
n. 912,  
Fākhihi, 2 n. 4,  
Famm al-Sulh, 71, 71 n. 323,  
Fārs, 97 n. 488, 98 n. 492, 149 n. 803, 190,  
al-Fāsi, Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad, 2 n. 4, 57 n. 230,  
67 n. 300,  
Fātima (daughter of Muḥammad), see Muḥammad  
(Prophet)  
Fātima (granddaughter of Abū Jahl), 116 n. 610,  
Fātima bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Sādiq, 182,



- Fātima bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 170,  
Fātima bt. 'Amr al-Madaniyya  
(grandmother of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), see  
'Alī b. Abī Tālib
- Fātima bt. Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-  
'Abbās, 170,
- Fātima bt. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
(grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), see  
'Alī b. Abī Tālib
- Fātima bt. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 88, 93,  
Fātima bt. Hishām b. Ibrāhīm of the 'Amir  
b. Lu'ayy, 172,
- Fātima bt. al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
(granddaughter of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib),  
see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib
- Fātima bt. al-Husayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b.  
Abī Tālib, 181 n. 968, 182 n. 973,  
confusion over which Ja'far was married to,  
182 n. 968,
- Fātima bt. al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī, 180,  
180 n. 963,
- Fātima bt. Idrīs b. 'Abdallāh, 163 n. 872,  
Fātima bt. 'Isā b. Zayd, 179,  
Fātima bt. Ja'far al-Sādiq, 182, 183,  
Fātima bt. Ja'far b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr,  
153,  
Fātima al-Makhzūmiyya (grandmother of  
'Alī b. Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib
- Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-  
'Abbās, 189,  
Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abidin, 183,  
Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 159, 160 n. 858, 168 n.  
895,  
Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b.  
Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, 189,  
Fātima bt. Muḥammad b. Zayd, 180,  
Fātima bt. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf),  
see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf
- Fātima bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far  
b. Abī Tālib, 160 n. 858,  
Fātima bt. 'Umar b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr,  
121,  
Fātima bt. 'Umar (daughter of 'Umar b. al-  
Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb
- Fātima bt. 'Uthmān b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, 125,  
Fātima bt. al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams b. al-Mughira  
(probable wife of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Fawātim, 13,  
al-Fayyād (*laqab*), see Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh, 83,  
the Fazāra, 110,  
Fijār wars, 23,  
al-Firūzābādī, Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, 10 n. 24,  
*fitna*, see Civil war  
al-Fur', 55,  
Fustāt, 25 n. 63,
- van Gelder, G. J., 13 n. 41, 14 n. 43,  
genealogy, 4, 4 n. 11, 5, 5 n. 11, 5 n. 12, 6 n. 13,  
136,  
reliability of sources on, 8, 9,  
'Alīd, 5 n. 12, 8, 11 n. 29, 136, 139, 141 n. 758,  
'Uthmānid, 8,  
invention of, 10,  
parasitism in, 6 n. 13, 10 n. 27, 11, 11 n. 29,  
*tabrij*, 8,  
writing of, 38 n. 134,  
alternative, 55 n. 210,  
early non-Shi'i, 141 n. 755,  
reshuffling of, 149 n. 805,  
fixing a genealogy, 167,  
al-Ghaydāq (Nawfal) b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (uncle  
of Prophet Muḥammad; uncle of 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
'Awf
- Ghazāl bt. Kisrā (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf
- al-Ghurayd the Berber, 62,  
Ghurayr b. Humayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
(grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf
- Ghurayr b. al-Mughira, 73,  
Gibb, H. A. R., 149 n. 805,  
Gilliot, C., 4 n. 8,  
Goldziher, Ignaz, 1 n. 2  
the Great Sins, 127 n. 695,  
the Gulf, 96,  
Günther, 2 n. 2,
- Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams,  
great granddaughter of, 68,

- Ḥabība bt. Khārija b. Zayd b. Abī Zuhayr  
al-Anṣārī, 99,  
Ḥabība bt. 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥṣa, 171  
n. 915,  
al-Ḥādī Mūsā b. al-Mahdī, 63 n. 274, 122,  
161, 162, 162 n. 869, 163,  
descendants of, 68 n. 305, 70 n. 317, 73,  
*hadith*, 4, 5 n. 11, 10 n. 26, 12, 13, 28,  
29, 98, 136, 138, 154,  
*ahādith* (pl.; also *hadiths*), 23, 28 n. 73,  
*muhaddith*(-in), 39, 44, 47, 69,  
scholar of, 112,  
transmitters of, 43, 59 n. 243, 50, 60, 71,  
71 n. 325, 72, 75, 86, 90 n. 430, 91, 92,  
94, 97, 100, 102, 125,  
Medinan sanctifying, 34 n. 110,  
pro-'Abbāsīd, 47,  
transmitter of the Imāmis, 58,  
al-Sufyānī, 119 n. 637,  
the Hadramawt, 81 n. 378, 82 n. 387, 83,  
Ḥadramī, 104,  
Ḥāfi line of the Qudā'a, 39 n. 137,  
root of the three *butūn* ('Imrān, 'Amr and  
Aslam), 39 n. 137,  
Ḥafṣ b. 'Umar (son of 'Umar b. Sa'd), see  
Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ
- Ḥafṣa bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 143,  
143 n. 773, 146, 168, 168 n. 893,  
Ḥafṣa bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān, 124,  
Ḥafṣa bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar (grandchild of  
'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-  
Khaṭṭāb
- Ḥafṣa bt. 'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad  
b. Talha, 90, 90 n. 435,  
Ḥafṣa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Dībāj,  
122,  
maternal aunt of, 122 n. 666,  
Ḥafṣa bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b. Abī  
Waqqāṣ; wife of Mughira b. Shu'ba),  
see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ
- Hafsi, Ibrahim, 4 n. 8,  
*haji*,  
leading the, 52, 52 n. 201,  
al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf, 34, 34 n. 114, 35, 35 n.  
121, 36 n. 121, 56, 74, 86, 87, 95 n.  
471, 98, 128, 128 n. 703, 152,
- war against, 36,  
rule of, 56 n. 220,  
removal of, 95,  
Ḥājib b. Zurāra, 96, 99 n. 500,  
al-Hājūbiyya, 43,  
al-Hakam b. 'Abd al-Malik, 116, 116 n. 613,  
al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ, 92, 121,  
al-Hakam b. al-'Āṣ, 167 n. 890,  
al-Hakam b. Abī Bakr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān  
b. al-Hakam, 95 n. 471,  
al-Hakam b. Bishr b. Marwān, 61, see also Bishr  
b. Marwān
- al-Hakam b. al-Muṭṭalib al-Makhzūmī,  
maternal grandfather of, 74,  
al-Hakam b. al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik,  
120,  
al-Hakam b. Yahyā b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Āṣ, 92  
n. 448,  
al-Hakam b. Yahyā b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, 92 n.  
448,  
Ḥakamīd(-s) (w.r.t. al-Hakam b. 'Abd al-Malik),  
118, 153, 154, 159,  
Halab, 119,  
Hamadhān (city of), 30,  
Ḥamdūna bt. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥṣa, 171 n.  
915,  
Ḥammāda bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣafwān al-Jumhūrī,  
172,  
Ḥammāda bt. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 152,  
Ḥanna bt. Jalsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Ṣabra b.  
Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b. Asad  
b. Khuzayma (wife of Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
see Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Ḥanna bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-  
Ḥārith, 128,  
Ḥanna bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ),  
see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ
- Ḥanna bt. Sufyān b. Umayya b. Abd Shams  
(mother of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ), see Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqāṣ
- Ḥamza (uncle of Prophet Muḥammad), see  
Muḥammad (Prophet)
- Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Husayn al-Aṣghar, 173,  
185,  
Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 182,  
183 n. 978,  
Ḥamza b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 85, 86 n. 405,

- 160 n. 858,  
 Hamza b. al-Hasan (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 'Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 Hamza b. al-Hasan b. 'Ubaydallāh, 192,  
 Hamza b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr,  
 a daughter of, 172,  
 Hanafi law, 131 n. 716,  
 Hanafiyya (of or relating to Muhammad b.  
 al-Hanafīyya), 16, 20, 179, 183, 190,  
 191, 198, 201,  
 Hanbali law, 131 n. 716,  
 Hanfā' bt. Abī Jahl (daughter of Abū Jahl),  
 see Abū Jahl  
 Hānī b. 'Urwā, 31,  
 Hanifa (branch of the Bakr), 42,  
 Harb b. Umayya, 81, 81 n. 378, 85, 104,  
 al-Hārith b. 'Abdallāh,  
*shurta* of, 31,  
 al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 32 n. 102, 58  
 n. 237, 74, 155 n. 833, 167, 175, 179,  
 186,  
 al-Hārith b. 'Awf, 92 n. 450, 92 n. 451, 93,  
 93 n. 453,  
 al-Hārith b. al-Hakam b. Abī al-'Ās, 114,  
 115,  
 children of, 118 n. 629,  
 al-Hārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, 89,  
 al-Hārith b. Nawfal, 58 n. 234,  
 mother of, 58,  
 settlement in Basra, 58,  
 Hārith b. Nu'mān, 41 n. 145,  
 al-Hārith b. Waqqās, 28,  
 al-Hārith b. Ya'mur b. Sharāḥil, 41,  
 al-Hārith b. Zuhra, 46, see also 'Abd Manāf  
 Hārithī(-s), 35, 201,  
 Hārithī Hāshimī, 35,  
 al-Harra, the battle of, 32, 32 n. 102, 34, 35,  
 35 n. 116, 36, 37, 45 n. 164, 46, 55, 62,  
 65, 65 n. 288, 67 n. 300, 78, 95 n. 469,  
 102, 169 n. 899, 186 n. 997, 199,  
 a list of those who were killed at, 67 n.  
 300,  
 on the day of, 99, 146 n. 788,  
 at the time of, 118,  
 the Harra revolt, 110,  
 Harrān, 190,  
 Hārūn b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b.
- Kuthayyir b. Ma'n al-Madanī al-Mālikī, 55,  
 55 n. 213, 55 n. 214,  
 Hārūn al-Rashid, 70 n. 320, 71, 73,  
 Harūriyya,  
 first, 43 n. 154,  
 al-Hasan (near ascendant of Muḥammad al-Nafs  
 al-Zakiyya), 11,  
 Hasan, S. M. Waris, 135 n. 730,  
 Hasanid(-s) (of or belonging to al-Hasan b. 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib), 15, 16, 18, 19, 132 n. 717, 154 n.  
 827, 154 n. 828, 155 n. 833, 161, 162, 194,  
 revolution(-aries) of the, 113, 126,  
 -'Alids, 126,  
 Hasanid-Husaynid links, 167,  
 al-Hasan b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan b. Ja'far b. al-  
 Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 180 n. 963,  
 a Hasanid-Zubayrid-Tālibid enclave, 126 n. 686,  
 al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (son of 'Alī b. Abī  
 Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin,  
 175,  
 Hasan b. Farqad,  
 daughter of, 44,  
 al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 al-Hasan b. al-Hasan al-Aḥsas b. 'Alī Zayn al-  
 'Ābidin, 171, 171 n. 912,  
 al-Hasan b. al-Hasan al-Muthallath, 156, 158, 160  
 n. 858,  
 al-Hasan b. al-Husayn al-Asghar, 172,  
 al-Hasan b. al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī, 180,  
 al-Hasan b. Ibrāhīm,  
 wife of, 161 n. 860,  
 al-Hasan b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b.  
 'Abd al-Rahmān, 56,  
 al-Hasan b. Ja'far b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, 158,  
 159,  
 al-Hasan al-Aḥsas b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidin, 171,  
 al-Hasan al-Madanī, 86,  
 Hasan b. Maḥmūd, 5 n. 12,  
 al-Hasan b. Mu'āwīya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, 140  
 n. 748,  
 al-Hasan al-Muthannā, 10 n. 25, see also al-Hasan  
 b. al-Hasan  
 al-Hasan b. Sa'd b. al-Hārith b. al-Ṣimma, 187,  
 al-Hasan b. Sahl, 71, 71 n. 323, see also al-Faḍl b.  
 Sahl

- al-Hasan b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 al-Hasan b. Zayd, 28 n. 72, 72,  
 al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abī  
 Tālib, 148, 148 n. 798, 149, 150, 150 n.  
 808, 160 n. 858,  
 Hasanid(-s), 91 n. 440, 91 n. 443, 99 n. 499,  
 122 n. 661, 137, 147, 147 n. 792, 148,  
 149, 149 n. 802, 149 n. 803, 150, 150  
 n. 808, 151, 152, 152 n. 817, 154, 155  
 n. 831, 158, 158 n. 843, 161 n. 862,  
 163, 163 n. 872, 164, 164 n. 880, 165,  
 165 n. 883, 165 n. 884, 166, 167, 168,  
 169 n. 897, 169 n. 902, 170, 171, 172,  
 173, 173 n. 929, 174, 174 n. 937, 177,  
 181, 183, 188, 189, 190, 197, 200,  
 demography of, 163 n. 873,  
 Hāshim b. 'Abd Manāf, 136-7 n. 740, 137,  
 Hāshim b. 'Amr b. 'Uṭba b. Nawfal b.  
 Ubayy,  
 granddaughter of, 40 n. 142,  
 Hāshim b. Hāshim b. 'Uṭba, 44,  
 Hāshim b. 'Uṭba b. Abī Waqqās (nephew of  
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī  
 Waqqās  
 Hāshimī(-s), 58, 94, 104, 110, 135, 137,  
 144, 187, 190, 197,  
 the Hāshimīyya, 20, 73, 74, 107, 108 n. 549,  
 155 n. 833, 166 n. 885, 190 n. 1020,  
 197, 198, 200,  
 Hāshimīs, 68, 74, 84, 91 n. 440, 108 n.  
 549, 196,  
 meaning of, 136, 136 n. 740, 137 n. 740,  
 201,  
 endogamy in, 195 n. 1049,  
 Hāshimī-'Abd Shamsī divide, 68,  
 al-Hāshsh, 51,  
 Hāssān b. Thābit,  
*Divān* of, 29, 29 n. 83,  
 Hātib b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams, 144 n. 775,  
 Hawting, G. R., 23, 38 n. 134,  
 Heine, Peter, 14 n. 42,  
 Hellenic tradition, 2,  
 Henninger, 4 n. 8,  
 Hījāz, 1, 2, 2 n. 4, 15, 29, 51 n. 187, 53, 55,  
 55 n. 214, 56, 58, 64 n. 280, 71, 75, 79,  
 80, 83, 84, 87, 91, 91 n. 443, 99 n. 495, 101,  
 102 n. 517, 103 n. 530, 105, 107 n. 546, 110  
 n. 559, 112, 115, 117, 118, 125, 128, 129,  
 134, 137, 143, 145 n. 785, 147, 150, 150 n.  
 808, 153, 164, 166, 180, 190,  
 elite of the, 15, 16, 19, 20, 29, 54, 79, 95, 110,  
 113, 116, 122, 126, 137, 145, 151, 153, 154  
 n. 828, 158, 162, 163, 165, 190, 197, 197 n.  
 1055, 198, 200,  
 government service in the, 16,  
 delegates of the, 56,  
 internal politics of the, 56 n. 218,  
 revolutionaries of the, 67,  
 dark period of the history of the, 79-80,  
 construction project of the, 130 n. 709,  
 Hījāz-Iraq relations, 59,  
*hijra*, 50, 68 n. 305, 85, 101, 106,  
 Hīllit, 43,  
 al-Hilqām b. Nu'aym b. al-Qa'qā', 96 n. 475,  
*himā*, 39,  
 Hims, 39 n. 137, 119,  
 Hind, 46, see also Qayla bt. Abī Qayla b. Ghālib  
 Hind (mother of caliph Mu'āwīya), 76,  
 Hind bt. Abī Sufyān b. Harb b. Umayya, 58,  
 Hind bt. Abī 'Ubayda b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-  
 Muṭṭalib, 159,  
 Hind bt. al-Aḥbagh (sister of Tumādīr bt. al-  
 Aḥbagh), 131,  
 Hind bt. Marwān b. al-Hārith b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b.  
 Mu'adh al-Anṣārī, 73,  
 Hind bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās),  
 see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Hind bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd  
 Wadd al-Qurashī of the 'Amir b. Lu'ayy,  
 143, 143 n. 774, 144, 146,  
 Hind bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. al-  
 Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 58,  
 Hind bt. 'Uṭba, 101,  
 Hind bt. Wāḥb (mother of Sa'd's brother 'Uṭba),  
 46, see also Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Hinds, M., 57 n. 230, 82 n. 391,  
 al-Hīra, 42, 47,  
 Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, 13, 69 n. 314, 86, 87 n.  
 414, 416, 90 n. 435, 91 n. 440, 93, 93 n. 454,  
 112 n. 572, 113, 119, 120, 121, 121 n. 650,  
 123, 127 n. 690, 148, 155, 166, 172, 175,  
 176, 176 n. 939, 182, 189, 193, 193 n. 1041.



- 194, 194 n. 1042,  
 Hishām b. 'Amr, 712 n. 919,  
 Hishām b. al-Walid b. al-Mughira, 24,  
 Honigsmann, E., 55 n. 212,  
 House, the Day of the, 121,  
 al-Hudaybiya, the Day of, 144 n. 775,  
 al-Hujr b. 'Adi, 96, 101, 102,  
 Humayda (wife of 'Abd al-'Aziz b.  
 'Imrān... b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 al-Zuhri, 59 n. 243,  
 Humayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of 'Abd  
 al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Humayda bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān (daughter of  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Humayda bt. 'Umar (daughter of 'Umar b.  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Humayma, 188,  
 al-Husayn b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b.  
 al-'Abbās, 153, 153 n. 820,  
 al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (son of 'Alī  
 b. Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 al-Husayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 171,  
 al-Husayn al-Akbar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 181 n. 965,  
 Husayn b. 'Alī b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. al-  
 Hasan b. 'Alī, 162, 162 n. 866, 162 n.  
 869,  
 Husayn b. 'Alī Sāhib Fakkh, 141 n. 755,  
 al-Husayn al-Akbar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 172,  
 al-Husayn al-Ashghar b. 'Alī Zayn al-  
 'Ābidīn, 172, 181 n. 965,  
 al-Husayn al-Athram b. al-Hasan  
 (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), see  
 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 170,  
 al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. 'Alī Zayn  
 al-'Ābidīn, 165 n. 883, 171,  
 al-Husayn b. Numayr, 65,  
 al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 175, 179 n. 954, 180, 185,  
 Husaynid(-) (of or belonging to al-Husayn  
 b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), 15, 16, 19, 20, 37,  
 117, 138, 140, 147 n. 792, 147 n. 795,

- 149 n. 802, 149 n. 803, 151, 154 n. 828, 157,  
 157 n. 840, 158 n. 843, 159, 160 n. 859, 161  
 n. 860, 165 n. 883, 166, 166 n. 886, 169 n.  
 897, 169 n. 902, 170, 170 n. 904, 172, 174,  
 175 n. 937, 176, 177, 184, 189, 190, 190 n.  
 1020, 191, 192, 193, 194, 194 n. 1042, 195,  
 195 n. 1047, 197, 198, 201,  
 -'Alids, 126,  
 -(Imāmī)-'Abbāsīd kinship ties, 157 n. 840,  
 -'Abbāsīd-Hanafiyya, 188,  
 Zaydīd, 201,  
 demography of, 163 n. 873,  
 al-Husnā 'al-Khansā' bt. Zabbār b. al-Abrad b.  
 Maṣār b. 'Adī b. Aws, 94 n. 462,  
 Hussain, Ali J., 135 n. 730,  
 Hypomnema, 2,  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Yūsuf b. 'Abdallāh, 77 n. 358,  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Abū al-Qāsim, 107 n. 548,  
 Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, Ahmad b. Muhammad, 131 n.  
 715,  
 Ibn 'Abdallāh, Bakr Abū Zayd, 5 n. 12,  
 Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, 63 n. 269, 112 n. 572,  
 Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur, Abū al-Faḍl, 128 n. 702,  
 Ibn al-'Adīm, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. Ahmad, 94  
 n. 463,  
 Ibn 'Asākir, 'Alī b. al-Hasan, 27 n. 71, 37 n. 130,  
 45 n. 161, 51 n. 193, 60 n. 246, 61 n. 255, 63  
 n. 271, 66 n. 289, 68 n. 307, 69 n. 308, 78 n.  
 364, 92 n. 448, 92 n. 450, 94 n. 462, 96 n.  
 482, 97 n. 488, 112 n. 575, 113 n. 585, 114 n.  
 590, 115 n. 606, 118 n. 626, 119 n. 631, 119  
 n. 633, 119 n. 635, 120 n. 644, 121 n. 654,  
 154, 154 n. 828, 155 n. 830, 155 n. 832, 156  
 n. 837, 178 n. 949,  
 Ibn al-Ash'ath, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad,  
 26 n. 63, 30 n. 87, 31, 32 n. 101, 33-4 n. 109,  
 35, 35 n. 116, 35 n. 121, 36, 36 n. 121, 36 n.  
 123, 37, 45 n. 164, 69 n. 315, 96 n. 475,  
 rebellion of, 38 n. 134, 46, 89,  
 Ibn Athir, 'Izz al-Dīn, 76 n. 355, 92 n. 451, 94 n.  
 467, 96 n. 475, 109 n. 550, 116 n. 611, 117 n.  
 619, 121 n. 654, 132 n. 718, 157 n. 840, 161  
 n. 862, 162 n. 868,  
 Ibn Bakkār, 66 n. 294, 87 n. 416, 153 n. 824,  
 Ibn al-Diyā, 2 n. 4,  
 Ibn Ḥabīb, Muhammad, 10 n. 24, 14 n. 44, 38 n.

- 132, 39 n. 135, 45 n. 161, 47 n. 174, 50  
 n. 181, 62 n. 264, 68 n. 303, 70 n. 318,  
 72 n. 329, 78 n. 364, 89 n. 429, 90 n.  
 431, 90 n. 438, 92 n. 446, 100 n. 509,  
 101 n. 512, 110 n. 560, 115 n. 610, 116  
 n. 610, 118 n. 629, 128 n. 703, 140 n.  
 753, 146 n. 788, 148 n. 796, 186 n.  
 992,  
 Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, 14 n. 44, 32 n. 99,  
 44 n. 159, 55 n. 206, 55 n. 215, 59 n.  
 243, 63 n. 269, 72 n. 329, 78 n. 364, 81  
 n. 378, 128 n. 701, 146 n. 788,  
 Ibn Ḥawkal, Muhammad, 39 n. 137, 107 n.  
 546,  
 Ibn Ḥazm, 'Alī b. Ahmad, 40 n. 138, 44 n.  
 160, 46 n. 172, 47 n. 174, 55 n. 215, 61  
 n. 253, 64 n. 280, 65 n. 288, 68 n. 307,  
 71 n. 321, 76 n. 356, 77 n. 359, 82 n.  
 388, 85 n. 401, 85 n. 402, 87 n. 416, 90  
 n. 431, 90 n. 438, 91 n. 440, 95 n. 468,  
 109 n. 556, 110 n. 560, 113 n. 585, 116  
 n. 613, 120 n. 645, 121 n. 654, 122 n.  
 664, 122 n. 666, 124 n. 682, 127 n.  
 690, 132 n. 722, 140 n. 753, 141 n.  
 755, 148 n. 799, 149 n. 802, 149 n.  
 803, 149 n. 804, 150 n. 808, 151 n.  
 809, 153 n. 819, 153 n. 823, 153 n.  
 824, 154 n. 825, 162 n. 868, 163 n.  
 874, 170 n. 908, 170 n. 910, 171 n.  
 911, 171 n. 912,  
 Ibn Ḥibban, Muhammad, 59 n. 243, 65 n.  
 288, 66 n. 294, 91 n. 440, 114 n. 589,  
 119 n. 631, 147 n. 789,  
 Ibn 'Inaba, Jamāl al-Dīn Ahmad, 136 n.  
 738,  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī, 45 n.  
 161, 71 n. 321, 78 n. 364, 91 n. 440,  
 100 n. 509, 101 n. 512, 117 n. 616, 120  
 n. 645, 151 n. 809,  
 Ibn al-Jazari, Muhammad b. Muhammad,  
 71 n. 323,  
 Ibn al-Kalbi, Hishām b. Muhammad, 5 n.  
 12, 10, 28, 39 n. 135, 81 n. 378, 95 n.  
 468, 102 n. 516,  
 Ibn Kathir, Abū al-Fida' Ismā'īl, 27 n. 71,  
 39 n. 137, 112 n. 578,  
 Ibn Khaldūn, 'Abd al-Rahmān, 61 n. 253,

- 98 n. 492, 149 n. 804,  
 Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad b. Muhammad, 70 n. 318,  
 Ibn Khārja al-Ansārī, 87,  
 Ibn Khayyāt, Khalfāh, 54 n. 205, 59 n. 243, 64 n.  
 277, 65 n. 281, 67 n. 300, 69 n. 314, 72 n.  
 333, 114 n. 600, 121 n. 654, 123 n. 670,  
 Ibn al-Muhallab, 132,  
 Ibn al-Nadīm (bio-bibliographer), 10, 90 n. 430,  
 Ibn Qudāmah, 'Abdallāh, 109 n. 556,  
 Ibn Qutaybah, 'Abdallāh b. Muslim, 45 n. 161, 56  
 n. 223, 70 n. 318, 96 n. 482, 113 n. 584, 120  
 n. 648, 128 n. 703,  
 Ibn Rasūl, 'Umar b. Yūsuf, 5 n. 12,  
 Ibn Sa'd, 30 n. 87, 37 n. 130, 38 n. 132, 39 n. 135,  
 39 n. 137, 45 n. 161, 46 n. 167, 46 n. 169, 47  
 n. 174, 51 n. 189, 52 n. 201, 58 n. 234, 59 n.  
 243, 63 n. 274, 65 n. 281, 65 n. 289, 70 n.  
 318, 71 n. 323, 76 n. 356, 77 n. 358, 77 n.  
 359, 78 n. 364, 81 n. 377, 82 n. 389, 84 n.  
 397, 93 n. 454, 94 n. 462, 94 n. 465, 95 n.  
 468, 99 n. 499, 101 n. 514, 102 n. 516, 102 n.  
 520, 106 n. 538, 106 n. 542, 110 n. 559, 113  
 n. 586, 114 n. 589, 114 n. 600, 117 n. 620,  
 119 n. 631, 119 n. 633, 132 n. 718, 143 n.  
 774, 144 n. 775, 148 n. 796,  
 Ibn al-Samī, 24 n. 60,  
 Ibn Shabbah, 2 n. 4, 3 n. 4, 26 n. 67, 51 n. 193, 52  
 n. 196, 52 n. 198,  
 Ibn Taghribirdī, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, 107 n. 545,  
 168 n. 894,  
 Ibn Ṭayfur, see Ibn Abī Ṭāhir  
 Ibn Zabāla, 3 n. 4,  
 Ibn Zam'a al-'Āmirī, 64-5 n. 281,  
 Ibn Ziyād, 31, 31 n. 96, 32 n. 102, 37, 89,  
 Ibn al-Zubayr (caliph), 15, 28, 32 n. 102, 33, 33 n.  
 107, 34, 44, 56, 57 n. 230, 58, 65, 66, 66 n.  
 289, 67, 68 n. 305, 72 n. 329, 74, 75, 79, 83,  
 86, 87, 97 n. 488, 112, 116 n. 615, 123 n.  
 670, 129, 132, 147, 148 n. 796, 150, 169,  
 187,  
 Ibrāhīm (brother of Muhammad al-Nafs al-  
 Zakiyya), 156 n. 837, 156 n. 838, 161, 178,  
 181,  
 Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son-in-law  
 of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās; husband of Umm al-  
 Qāsim and later Umm Kulthūm), see Sa'd b.  
 Abī Waqqās

- Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 13, 56, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 127 n. 692, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 90, 126, 127, 127 n. 691, 152 n. 813, 160 n. 858, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 156, 158, sons of, 158, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, 149, Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b. Ismā'il al-Makhzūmī, 121, 121 n. 650, 121 n. 651, Ibrāhīm b. al-Husayn al-Asghar, 172, Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, 149, 161 n. 860, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Janafiyya, 189, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 58, see also Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 173, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 170, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Hishām b. Ismā'il, 69 n. 314, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba (grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā b. Muḥḥir b. Yahyā b. Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid, 47, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Kāzim, 184, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥḥir b. Sa'ib al-Sahmī, 66, Ibrāhīm b. Qāriḡ b. Khālid al-Kināntī (son-in-law of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 70, 71, 72, descendant of, 71 n. 324, Ibrāhīm b. Ṭāliba b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī, 160 n. 858, Ibrāhīm b. al-Zubayr, 63, Iḍām (in the north of Medina), 122, Iḍris I b. 'Abdallāh, 164 n. 875, Iḍris II b. Iḍris I, 164 n. 876, Iḍris b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, 159 n. 853, 164, Iḍlī, see Afīla Ifriqiya, 76, the conquest of, 76, 77, 'Ijlī (branch of the Bakr), 42, al-'Ijlī, Aḥmad b. 'Abdallāh, 37 n. 130, the Imāmī(-s), 138, 153, 169, 185, transmitter of, 58, 94, Imāmī line, 20, 189, 198, Imāmī biographical works, 141 n. 755, marriage ties of, 151 n. 809, Imāmīyya, 190, 'Imrān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 100, 'Imrān b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 59, 'Imrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba, 90, 'Imrān b. Ṭāliba (son of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh Imru' u l-Qays (half brother of Tumāḡir bt. al-Ashbagh), 60, Imru' u l-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws of the Kalb, 142, 142 n. 760, 168, daughters of, 168, 168 n. 891, India, 157 n. 840, *irafa* system, 26 n. 68, Iraq, 16, 23, 25 n. 63, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 38 n. 134, 42, 43, 44, 46, 53, 54, 61, 65, 69 n. 315, 74, 75, 76, 79, 82, 82 n. 388, 83 n. 395, 84, 96, 98, 98 n. 490, 101, 102, 103, 103 n. 530, 104, 112, 137, 139, 150, 152, 155 n. 832, 156, 176, 178, 197, 199, 200, Iraq(-s), 35 n. 118, 66, 69 n. 315, 77, 83, 98, 101, north of, 35, southern tribes of, 16, 17, 48, 67, tribal elite of, 32, 45 n. 164, army of, 35, revenues of, 35 n. 118, *umayr* of, 35 n. 119, grievances in, 35 n. 121, possible birthplace of 'Umar b. Sa'd and

- Muḥammad b. Sa'd, 37, Azd-Tamīm rivalry in, 42 n. 148, Rabi'a-Azd alliance in, 43, Sa'd's campaigns in, 43, significance of a branch of the Ṭalhids in, 97, Iraqi-Medinan southern connection, 75, al-'Is (in Medina), 57, 'Isā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 159 n. 853, 'Isā b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, 195 n. 1047, 'Isā b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 161, 161 n. 860, 'Isā b. 'Isā (grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh 'Isā b. Ismā'il b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib 'Isā b. Ja'far al-Akbar b. al-Manṣūr, 180, 'Isā b. al-Manṣūr, 95, 'Isā b. Mūsā (grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh 'Isā b. Ṭāliba (son of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh 'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī, 175, 178, 179, 181, al-'Isāmī, 'Abd al-Malik b. Husayn, 149 n. 803, 149 n. 804, 162 n. 865, Isbahān, 71, al-'Isbahānī, Abū l-Faraj, 120 n. 648, 148 n. 799, 149 n. 804, 158 n. 843, 159 n. 853, 160 n. 859, 162 n. 869, 164 n. 874, 169, 171 n. 911, 192 n. 1029, al-'Isbahānī, 'Alī b. al-Husayn, 62 n. 268, 90 n. 431, 113 n. 588, 115 n. 602, 124 n. 681, Isfahān, 171 n. 912, al-'Isfahānī, Lughdah, 39 n. 137, 43 n. 156, 136 n. 737, Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh, 185, Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Madani, 117, Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal, 58, Ishāq b. Ghurayr, 73, Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 150, Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 156, 158, 160 n. 858, 161, 161 n. 862, 162 n. 866, Ishāq b. Ja'far al-'Sādiq, 148 n. 800, Ishāq b. Ṭāliba (son of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh Ishāq b. Yahyā (grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Hārith b. al-Hakam, 152, 152 n. 817, Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf Ismā'il b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far, 89, Ismā'il b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 185, Ismā'il b. b. Ayyūb b. Salama, 93, Ismā'il b. b. al-Faḍl, 58, Ismā'il b. b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan, 147 n. 795, 149, Ismā'il b. b. Hishār b. al-Aswad b. al-Muḥḥir b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, 64 n. 280, Ismā'il b. b. Hishām, daughter of, 56, Ismā'il b. b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 156-8, Ismā'il b. b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, 89, Ismā'il b. b. Ishāq, 71 n. 321, Ismā'il b. b. Ja'far al-'Sādiq, 183 n. 977, Ismā'il b. b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib, 88, Ismā'il b. b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhir, 185, Ismā'il b. b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Zakariyyā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 100, Ismā'il b. b. Ṭāliba (son of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh *ismād*, 4 n. 8, 'Izza bt. 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 123 n. 674, Ja'far b. al-'Abbās (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib Ja'far al-Akbar b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 179, Ja'far al-Akbar b. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 175, Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf (son-in-law of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās; nephew of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās



- Ja'da bt. al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, 103, 142, 143.  
 Ja'da b. Hubayra al-Makhzūmī, 195, 195 n. 1049.  
 Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib (brother of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Ja'far b. Ḥanzala, 40.  
 Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 156, 158,  
 a daughter of, 161 n. 860.  
 Ja'far b. al-Husayn (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm, 184.  
 Ja'far b. 'Imrān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 59.  
 Ja'far b. Muḥammad (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Ja'far (al-Asghar) b. Muḥammad  
 (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Ja'far al-Asghar b. Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya, 188,  
 disputed identity of the wife of, 188, 188 n. 1006.  
 Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 182.  
 Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, 180.  
 Ja'far b. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, 153.  
 Ja'far al-Sādiq, 160 n. 859, 171 n. 911, 173, 178 n. 950, 180, 181 n. 968, 184, 185, 193,  
 most children of, 182,  
 a descendant of, 149 n. 801,  
 death of, 181 n. 966.  
 Ja'far b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 95.  
 Ja'far b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, 171 n. 912.  
 Ja'far (s), 140, 176 n. 942.  
 Ja'farid-Husaynid 'Alid alliance through, 139.  
 Ja'farid-'Alid land disputes, 128.  
 Ja'farites, 129.  
 jāhiliyya (period of), 40 n. 142, 96,  
 Jalīb, 28.  
 al-Jalūlā (town in Iraq), 23, 24,  
 battle of, 26,  
 commander at the battle of, 40 n. 142,

- Jamāl bt. Qays b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manāf, 187.  
 Jarīr al-Bajālī, 24, 24 n. 57, 24 n. 60, 26,  
 a daughter of, 119.  
 al-Jāsir, Ḥamad, 2 n. 4, 3 n. 4,  
 al-Jazīra, 44, 47.  
 Jerusalem, 71 n. 324.  
 Judd, Steven, 120 n. 645.  
 the Juḥayna, 157 n. 841.  
 Jundab b. 'Amr, 115 n. 660.  
 Jundab b. Jundab (brother of Umm 'Amr), 115.  
 Junaydib b. Jundab (brother of Umm 'Amr), 115.  
 al-Jurf, 51 n. 191.  
 Justān (King of Daylam), 164.  
 al-Juwānī al-Misrī, 5 n. 12.  
 Juwayriyya bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Juwayriyya bt. Abū 'Amr b. 'Adī b. 'Ilāj b. Abī Salama al-Thaqafi, 72, 72 n. 333.  
 Kabsha bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Nu'mān of the Tanūkh, confusion of name, 64.  
 Kaḥḥāla, 'Umar Riḍā, 39 n. 137, 90 n. 430,  
 the Kalb, 42 n. 150, 51 n. 187, 59, 59 n. 244, 60, 61, 142,  
 sadaqāt of, 59 n. 244.  
 Kalbis, 18, 61, 132,  
 line of, 36 n. 121.  
 Karbalā', 7, 30, 32, 140 n. 748, 147 n. 796, 154, 154 n. 825, 163, 166, 168, 169, 169 n. 897, 170, 170 n. 903, 181, 191,  
 Kathir b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 140.  
 Kaydama, 51, 51 n. 186, see also Banī al-Nadīr  
 Kaysaniyya movement, 166 n. 885, 186,  
 al-Kāzīm, 94, 178 n. 947.  
 Kennedy, Hugh, 26 n. 68, 27 n. 69, 35 n. 118, 38 n. 134, 149 n. 805.  
 Khadija (wife of Muḥammad), see Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 Khadija bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 181, 194.  
 Khadija bt. 'Alī b. al-Husayn, 170 n. 908.  
 Khadija bt. al-Husayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 152 n. 817.  
 Khadija bt. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭāliba b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Taymī, 160 n. 858,  
 Khadija bt. Ishāq b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 182, 191 n. 1024.  
 Khadija bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Husayn al-Asghar, 173.  
 Khadija bt. 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 175, 180 n. 963.  
 Khālid b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Ḥārith, 148.  
 Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 124, 124 n. 681, 125 n. 685, 130.  
 Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 130.  
 Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid, 123 n. 670, 130 n. 711.  
 Khālid b. 'Abdallāh al-Qasrī, 70, 87 n. 416, 155 n. 832, 176.  
 Khālid b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Khālid b. 'Artafa al-'Udhri, 25 n. 60.  
 Khālid b. al-'Ās b. Hishām b. al-Mughithra al-Makhzūmī, 107 n. 545.  
 Khālid b. Asid, 132 n. 725.  
 Khālid b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Khālid b. 'Uqba,  
 distant descendant of, 60 n. 253.  
 Khālid b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Khālid b. al-Walid b. 'Uqba, 132, 193.  
 Khālid b. Yazid al-Sufyānī, 114, 118 n. 629, 128 n. 703, 132.  
 Khālidī, Tarif, 4 n. 9, 5 n. 12.  
 al-Khāminī, al-Sayyid 'Alī, 191 n. 1022.  
 Khārija b. 'Abdallāh (grandson of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Khārija b. Zayd (Companion), 99, see also Abū Bakr (first of the Righteously Guided Caliphs)  
 the Khārijites, 97, see also the Khawārij  
 the Khawārij, 31, 65 n. 289, 97 n. 488, see also the Khārijites  
 Khawla bt. 'Amr b. 'Aws b. Salāma (wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Khawla bt. Ja'far al-Ḥanafīyya (wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
 Khawla bt. Manzūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār al-

- Fazāriyya, 13 n. 41, 85, 86, 125, 141, 146, 151, 151 n. 811, 154 n. 828, 157, 158, 166.  
 Khawla bt. al-Qa'qā' b. Ma'bad b. Zurāra (wife of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Khaybar, 83.  
 Khayzurān,  
 a slave girl of, 73 n. 338.  
 Khazraj,  
 Khazraj woman, 147 n. 790.  
 Khoury, R. G., see Vida, G. Levi Della  
 Khubayb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 85, 86 n. 405.  
 Khubayb b. Thābit, 122.  
 al-Khū'tī, Abū al-Qāsim, 94 n. 462, 178 n. 950.  
 Khulayda bt. Marwān b. 'Anbasa b. Sa'd b. al-'Āsī b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 172.  
 Khurāsān, 35 n. 119, 36, 42, 71, 102, 103, 107, 112, 112 n. 579, 157 n. 840, 163, 163 n. 874, 178, 180, 195,  
 governor in, 40.  
 Khurāsāniyya, 166.  
 Kilāb b. Murra, see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Kināna of Egypt, 11.  
 the Kinda (south Arabian tribe), 25 n. 63, 29, 30, 31, 32 n. 101, 35, 38 n. 132, 45 n. 164,  
 a group of, 31.  
 being brethren by the virtue of being, 32.  
 Kindermann, H., 42 n. 150.  
 al-Kindī, Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, 70 n. 317, 107 n. 548.  
 Kisra,  
 two daughters of, 142 n. 760.  
 Kister, M. J., 4 n. 11, 32 n. 102.  
 Kohlberg, E., 169 n. 898.  
 Koran, see the Qur'ān  
 Krenkow, Fritz, 1 n. 2  
 Kūfa, 20, 23, 24, 25 n. 63, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32 n. 102, 36 n. 123, 37, 38 n. 134, 39, 44, 60, 61, 61 n. 255, 82, 83, 86, 88, 92, 94, 96, 96 n. 477, 97, 98 n. 490, 100, 103, 107, 114, 119 n. 631, 123, 132, 142, 143, 145, 145 n. 786, 146, 146 n. 786, 151, 158 n. 844, 162 n. 869, 163 n. 874, 173 n. 929, 177, 180, 187, 190 n. 1021, 198.  
 Kufan(s), 27, 31, 86, 97, 98, 100, 102, 137, 176, 191 n. 1022, 197.  
 Kulthum bt. 'Abdallāh, 185.

- Kulthum bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 180,  
debate over the identity of, 180 n. 961,  
Kulthum bt. Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b.  
al-'Abbās, 170,  
Kulthum bt. al-Ḥasan (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
Kulthum bt. al-Husayn b. Zayd, 175,  
Kurds, 14 n. 42,  
Kurdūs b. Hānī' b. Qabīṣa b. Mas'ūd b. Abī  
Rabī'a, 77,  
Kuthayyir b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
196,  
L. Vecchia Vaglieri, 35 n. 117,  
Labīd (poet),  
a niece of, 190,  
Lambton, Ann K. S., 82 n. 391,  
Lammens, Henri, 5 n. 11, 135 n. 730,  
Lane, Edward William, 24 n. 60,  
Lassner, Jacob, 3 n. 5, 157 n. 840, 159 n.  
854,  
the Law, 185 n. 987,  
Laylā bt. al-Aswad b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b.  
'Abd b. al-Ḥarith b. Zuhra, 66,  
Laylā bt. Mas'ūd b. Khālid b. Mālik al-  
Tamīmīyya (wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib),  
see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
Laylā bt. 'Uṭayr b. Ḥājib b. Zurāra, 99,  
Layth (division of the Tha'laba tribe), 42,  
Lecker, Michael, 3 n. 6, 44 n. 158, 51 n.  
191, 96, 110 n. 563, 136 n. 737,  
Leder, Stefan, 1 n. 2,  
legal scholars, 4,  
Lewis, B., 137 n. 740,  
Lubāba bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 88, 90,  
102, 102 n. 519, 126 n. 690, 143, 147,  
147 n. 796, 148 n. 796,  
Lubāba bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās b.  
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 191,  
Ma'bad b. Zurāra, 96,  
al-Madā'in (city in Iraq), 23, 36,  
al-Madā'ini, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, 6 n. 14, 14  
n. 44,  
Madelung, Wilfred, 27 n. 69, 28 n. 76, 28 n.  
77, 29 n. 83, 35 n. 115, 39 n. 135, 40 n.

- 138, 43 n. 153, 44, 58 n. 235, 58 n. 237, 77 n.  
359, 82 n. 391, 89 n. 427, 97 n. 484, 108 n.  
549, 109 n. 551, 109 n. 554, 110 n. 562, 115  
n. 609, 116 n. 615, 118 n. 623, 118 n. 626,  
118 n. 627, 119 n. 637, 124 n. 678, 125, 128  
n. 704, 132 n. 716, 132 n. 722, 135 n. 730,  
137, 140 n. 755, 141 n. 755, 142, 142 n. 761,  
142 n. 764, 143 n. 773, 144 n. 775, 146 n.  
788, 148 n. 796, 155 n. 833, 157 n. 840, 178  
n. 947, 178 n. 950, 182 n. 970,  
Madhij, 25 n. 63, 25 n. 63, 31,  
Madina, 120, 121, 122, 124, 128, 130,  
Madani(-s), 121 n. 654, 123, 125, 126, 171,  
governor in, 124, 127,  
al-Maghrib, 164,  
al-Maghribi, Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān b.  
Muḥammad, 138 n. 744,  
al-Mahdī (the Pure), see 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b.  
al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī  
the Mahdī, 66, 96, 97 n. 483, 155, 155 n. 831,  
180,  
al-Mahdī, 57 n. 230, 61, 63 n. 274, 71, 73, 88, 89  
n. 427, 91, 122, 122 n. 666, 125, 137, 148,  
150, 161, 161 n. 860, 162, 162 n. 865, 162 n.  
869, 163 n. 874, 164 n. 874, 178, 179, 180 n.  
957,  
post-Mahdī, 122,  
Mahdī, 163,  
Majd bt. Yazīd al-Ḥimyarīyya (wife of 'Abd al-  
Raḥmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Raḥmān b.  
'Awf  
al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir, 26 n. 67, 158 n.  
844,  
the Makhzūm, 18, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 85, 87, 99,  
109, 110, 115, 115 n. 609, 117, 136, 144, 144  
n. 775, 144 n. 776, 152, 171, 185, 195 n.  
1049, 201,  
Makhzūmī(-s), 57 n. 230, 84, 89, 90, 91 n. 440,  
91 n. 444, 104, 110, 113, 147, 159, 168 n.  
895, 194,  
Makhzūm-Anṣār connections, 110 n. 559,  
Makhrama b. 'Uṭha (brother of 'Amr b. 'Uṭha), 40  
n. 142,  
Makīta Umm 'Amir bt. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b.  
'Amr b. Zur'a b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Jusham b.  
Ka'b b. 'Amr, see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ  
Mālik al-Ashtar (of the Nakha' of Madhij), 26 n.

- 63,  
Mālik b. Hizām, 190 n. 1021,  
Mālik b. Ḥayy (father of Sa'd b. Abī  
Waqqāṣ), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ  
Mālikī law, 131 n. 716,  
al-Ma'mūn, 55, 55 n. 213, 66, 71, 72, 87,  
112, 120, 129, 149, 171, 175, 183, 184,  
192, 194 n. 1046, 201,  
Ma'n b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (son of 'Abd al-  
Raḥmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Raḥmān  
b. 'Awf  
Ma'n b. 'Adī (brother of 'Āsim b. 'Adī), 54,  
Ma'n b. 'Umar b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n,  
descendants of, 55 n. 214,  
Sahla (daughter of), 55 n. 214,  
manāzil, 28 n. 72,  
manfūha (region in Arabia), 42,  
al-Manṣūr, 13, 13 n. 36, 56, 56 n. 223, 72,  
88, 88 n. 418, 89, 91, 91 n. 440, 91 n.  
443, 91 n. 444, 95, 127, 127 n. 692,  
140 n. 748, 148, 148 n. 799, 150, 156,  
157, 159 n. 854, 161, 161 n. 860, 162,  
162 n. 865, 162 n. 868, 165 n. 883,  
178, 179, 185, 197,  
wife of, 95, see also Muḥammad b.  
Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Ṭālib  
sons of, 95,  
Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, 122,  
Manṣūrīd(-s), 163,  
Manṣūr b. Zabbān, 86, 86 n. 405,  
Manṣūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār b. Manṣūr  
al-Fazārī, 86 n. 407,  
al-Maqdisī, Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, 140 n. 751,  
140 n. 754,  
Māriyya/Māriyya bt. Qays b. Ma'dī  
Karīb... b. 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya al-Kindī  
(wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ), see Sa'd  
b. Abī Waqqāṣ  
Marj Rāhit, 42 n. 150,  
marriage, 15,  
circulation of a woman between different  
tribes, 15,  
Ma'rūf b. 'Amir b. Khamaq,  
a daughter of, 72,  
Marw, 112 n. 576, 178, 180,  
Marwān, 56, 62 n. 264, 64, 70, 70 n. 316,  
169,

- Marwān b. Abān (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 72, 83, 96, 107, 114, 117,  
118, 118 n. 626, 129, 129 n. 705, 145, 169,  
sister of, 92 n. 448,  
Marwān b. Muḥammad, 123, 123 n. 674,  
Marwānīd(-s), 45, 45 n. 164, 48, 108, 113, 113 n.  
586, 118, 118 n. 629, 119, 130, 133, 133 n.  
727, 153, 154 n. 828, 170, 173, 175, 191,  
200,  
period of the, 17, 169, 183, 187,  
house of Marwān, 33 n. 106,  
kinship of, 91 n. 440,  
Maryam (from the 'Abd Shams), 68,  
Maryam bt. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf (daughter of  
'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
Raḥmān b. 'Awf  
Maryam bt. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqāṣ (possible wife  
of 'Umar b. Abī Waqqāṣ), see Sa'd b. Abī  
Waqqāṣ  
Maryam bt. al-'Āṣi b. al-Rabī', 68,  
Maryam bt. Lijā' b. 'Awf, 93 n. 454,  
Maryam bt. Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b.  
Ṭālib, 88,  
Maryam bt. Ṭāliba (daughter of Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh  
Maryam bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
al-Marzubānī, Muḥammad b. 'Imrān, 132 n. 717,  
Maskin, 36, 193 n. 1041,  
Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, 93, 94, 132,  
campaigns of, 121,  
al-Maṣṣāfa, 55, 71 n. 325,  
Mas'ūdi, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī, 13, 25 n. 60,  
mathlūbān, 5 n. 11,  
matrilineality, 12, 13,  
importance of matrilineality in early Islam, 136 n.  
735,  
al-Maydānī, Ahmad b. Muḥammad, 93 n. 453,  
Maymūna bt. Ḥanzā b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b.  
Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 151 n. 809,  
Maymūna bt. al-Husayn b. Zayd b. 'Alī, 180,  
the Māzin b. Manṣūr b. 'Ikrima b. Khāṣafa, 186 n.  
998,  
Mecca, 33, 34, 39 n. 137, 50, 54, 54 n. 203, 65, 68  
n. 305, 81, 81 n. 378, 82, 83, 85, 87, 87 n.  
416, 91, 93, 98, 100, 101, 106, 107 n. 545,



- 109, 112, 112 n. 581, 125, 130, 136, 147, 165 n. 883, 192.  
 Meccan(-s), 34, 56 n. 219, 101, 144, 184, *qāḍī* of, 55, 63 n. 274, dependencies of, 58, governorship of, 58, 121 n. 650, 122, 123, 123 n. 670, 123 n. 674, 124 n. 681, 127 n. 693, 148 n. 796, 191, 192 n. 1036, sieges of, 65 n. 288, aristocracy of, 76, 79, 84, 85, 104, 108, 110, 113, 117, 133, 137, 144 n. 775, 197, the Conquest of, 109, 133, Medina, 25, 26, 28 n. 72, 28 n. 78, 33, 33 n. 106, 34, 35, 35 n. 116, 36 n. 121, 37, 38, 39 n. 137, 43, 51, 54 n. 203, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 65 n. 283, 68, 69, 69 n. 314, 72, 72 n. 330, 73, 74, 78, 78 n. 364, 86, 87, 87 n. 416, 88, 89, 90 n. 431, 91, 91 n. 442, 93, 95, 95 n. 469, 96, 100, 101, 103, 104, 106 n. 542, 136, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 148 n. 796, 149 n. 802, 149 n. 803, 150, 151, 151 n. 809, 152 n. 813, 155, 156 n. 837, 157, 157 n. 840, 157 n. 841, 158 n. 843, 158 n. 844, 160 n. 858, 162 n. 865, 163, 164 n. 880, 165 n. 883, 166, 168, 168 n. 894, 169, 180 n. 957, 189, 189 n. 1015, 190, 191, 192, 193, 197, Medinan(-s), 17, 28 n. 72, 32, 33, 33 n. 107, 33 n. 109, 34, 45 n. 164, 47, 55, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 65 n. 288, 66, 67, 69, 69 n. 315, 71 n. 325, 72, 75, 85, 86, 86 n. 405, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95 n. 469, 101, 102, 157 n. 841, 163, 176, Yazīd's governor of, 32, 124, 154, landowners in, 32 n. 102, incitement of the people of, 33, independent movement in, 34, élite of, 37, 63, 102, 146, aristocracy of, 45 n. 164, 75, Muhammad's, 50, northern gate of, 51 n. 191, *quḍāh* of, 57 n. 230, 63 n. 274, dependencies of, 57, Medina-Syria clash, 35, 35 n. 120, Minā, 118.
- al-Miqdād b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba (Companion of the Prophet), 40, see also al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad  
 al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad (also known as al-Miqdād b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba)  
 al-Miswar b. Makhrama, 65, 76, Modarressi, Hossein, 178 n. 947, 178 n. 948, 181 n. 966, Motzki, Harald, 2 n. 2, Mu'adh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar al-Taymī, 64 n. 280, mu'akkah, 99, Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib, 153, three sons of, 153 n. 823, Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, 10, 15, 25, 26 n. 68, 28, 28 n. 77, 37, 43, 43 n. 154, 45, 60, 62, 64, 65 n. 281, 67, 69 n. 312, 70 n. 316, 72, 76, 77, 80, 91, 93, 94, 96, 97 n. 484, 102, 102 n. 520, 107 n. 545, 112, 112 n. 578, 113 n. 583, 115, 117, 118, 119, 119 n. 631, 123 n. 670, 125, 128, 129, 130 n. 709, 142, 143, 144, 145, 147 n. 796, 148 n. 796, 186, 191, 199, see also Ziyād b. Abīhi and Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Utha  
 Mu'āwiya b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, 78, Mu'āwiya b. Ishāq b. Talha (grandchild of Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Mu'āwiya b. Marwān, 153, see also 'Abd al-Malik  
 Mu'āwiya b. Sa'id (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 al-Mubārak, 71 n. 323, al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, 120 n. 648, 128 n. 703, Muḥarris (grandson of Manẓūr b. Zabbān), 86 n. 407, *mufaḍḍalūn*, 5 n. 11, al-Mufīd, 144 n. 775, al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, 93, al-Mughīra b. Ḥātim b. 'Anbasa, 132 n. 717, Mughīra b. Khubayb b. Thābit, 122, al-Mughīra b. Sa'id, 155 n. 831, Mughīra b. Shu'ba (son-in-law of Sa'id b. Abī Waqqās; husband of Ḥafsa bt. Sa'd), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 al-Mughīra b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar, 103, *muhaddith(-ūn)*, see *ḥadīth*  
*muhājir(-ūn)*, 72, 81,

- muhājir(-at)*, 114 n. 589, 135, the Muhājirūn, 67 n. 300, 96, Muhallabids, 35 n. 119, Muḥammad (Prophet), 2, 5 n. 11, 5 n. 12, 11, 23, 25 n. 60, 28, 50, 51, 51 n. 187, 59, 59 n. 243, 60, 68, 68 n. 302, 68 n. 305, 81, 82, 84 n. 397, 85, 96, 106, 106 n. 542, 114 n. 589, 115, 117, 144 n. 775, 147, 148 n. 797, Companion(-s) of, 16, 23, 47, 50, 56, 63, 82, 96, 96 n. 475, 99, father of, 'Abdallāh, 135, daughters of, Ruqayya bt. Muḥammad, 5 n. 11, 9 n. 23, Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad, 5 n. 11, Fātima bt. Muḥammad, 128 n. 702, 138 n. 744, 139, 197, 201, Zaynab bt. Muḥammad, 139 n. 745, adopted daughter of, Zaynab bt. Ḥanzala b. Qasāma, 68, 68 n. 307, 103, uncles of, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 13, Ḥamza, 28 n. 72, death of, 25 n. 63, 133, grandchildren of, al-Ḥusayn, see al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Tālib  
 al-Ḥasan, see al-Ḥasan b. Abī Tālib  
 Umāma, 139, religion of, 39 n. 137, 44, cognates of, 40, time of, 42, 73, death of, 42, 144 n. 779, wives of, 43, 51, 51 n. 189, 52 n. 201, 83, Khadija, 141 n. 758, Umm Ḥabība bt. Abī Sufyān, 58, Umm Salama, 59 n. 243, 73, 85, 97, Sawda bt. Zam'a, 78, 'Ā'isha bt. Abī Bakr, 83, 96, 99, involvement in the Battle of the Camel, 43 n. 153, 127, 144, 145, Zaynab bt. Jaḥsh, 85, 104, 107, a sister of, 107, stepson of, 90, 90 n. 433, lifetime of, 43, maternal grandfather of, Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, 46, mother of, 46 n. 169, breaking of the tooth of, 46 n. 172, *mawla* of, 51, family of, 51 n. 189, 78, appointment by, 58, judgment about ablution by, 75, hostility towards, 92 n. 450, message of, 106, 114 n. 589, boycott against, 109, early period of the mission of, 114, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 58, 59, generation younger than, 56 n. 226, birth to a concubine, 57, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Majīd, 63, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, 66, 88, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Siddīq, 71-2, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 90, 120, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Bāhir, 185, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, 185, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, 89, 127, 163 n. 874, revolt of, 59, 88, 148 n. 799, 150, as Muḥammad al-Asghar, 127 n. 692, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra, 122, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Madānī, 88 n. 418, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 127 n. 692, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr (al-Dībāj) b. 'Uthmān, 13, 102 n. 519, 120, 120 n. 644, 126, 126 n. 687, 127, 131, 132 n. 717, 154, niece of, 126, the line of, 131 n. 716, al-Dībāj al-'Uthmānī, 157 n. 840, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 97, 143, 182 n. 970, mother of, 15, 182 n. 970, Muḥammad b. Abī Faraj, 43,

Muhammad b. 'Alī ('Abbāsīd), 160 n. 858, 188  
 Muhammad b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 181 n. 965,  
 Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās b. al-Hasan b. Hasan b. 'Alī, 163 n. 874,  
 Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 163 n. 874,  
 Muhammad b. 'Amr b. al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayy, 132,  
 Muhammad b. 'Aqil b. Abi Tālib, 140, 193,  
 Muhammad al-Arqaṭ b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 181,  
 Muhammad al-Asghar b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, 88 n. 418,  
 Muhammad al-Asghar b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 89,  
 Muhammad al-Bāqir, 153, 176 n. 941, 181, sister of, 167,  
 children of, 181,  
 Muhammad b. Bilāl b. Abi Bakr b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, daughter of, 59 n. 243,  
 confusion in the genealogy of, 59 n. 243,  
 Muhammad b. al-Hanafīyya, 31, 34, 127, 167 n. 890, 175, 177, 179, 180, 189, 191, 192,  
 the descendants of, 20, 138, 188, 198,  
 Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Aṭlas, 171,  
 Muhammad b. al-Hasan (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 158, 159 n. 853, 168 n. 895,  
 daughters of, 158-9,  
 Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Ja'far b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib, 189 n. 1007,  
 Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan, 149 n. 803,  
 Muhammad b. Hind bt. Marwān, 73,  
 Muhammad b. al-Husayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 171,  
 Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, 156,  
 Muhammad b. Iḥābīm b. Muhammad b.

'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 182, 183,  
 Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tabāṭabā'ī (Hasanīd), 149 n. 805,  
 Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 90, 91 n. 440, 127 n. 691, 161 n. 860, 180,  
 Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Imām b. Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 127 n. 691,  
 Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan (Hasanīd), 165 n. 883,  
 Muhammad b. Imrān b. Ibrāhīm, 89, 90, 91, 91 n. 440,  
 Muhammad b. Imrān b. Tālha (grandchild of Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Muhammad b. Isā b. Tālha (grandchild of Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Muhammad b. Ismā'īl b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan, 180,  
 Muhammad b. Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm, 90 n. 430,  
 Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, 173, 184,  
 Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Abi Tālib, 140,  
 Muhammad al-Jawād b. 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, 184,  
 Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Mu'tim, 45,  
 Muhammad b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abi Tālib, 90,  
 Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hasan b. Zayd, 149,  
 descendants of, 149 n. 803,  
 Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Isā b. Tālha, 95, a daughter of, 95,  
 Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Zayd, 175, 180,  
 Muhammad b. Mūsā (grandchild of Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Muhammad b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad b. Tālha, 88,  
 Muhammad b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās; brother of 'Umar), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās,  
 Muhammad b. al-Saffāh, 161,  
 Muhammad b. Sa'id (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Muhammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Hasan, 165 n. 883,  
 Muhammad b. Tālha (son of Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Muhammad b. Tālha b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-

Rahmān b. Abi Bakr, 100,  
 Muhammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, 88,  
 Muhammad b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71 n. 325,  
 Muhammad b. 'Umar (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Muhammad b. 'Urwa, mother of, 92 n. 448,  
 Muhammad al-Nafis al-Zakiyya, 11, 13, 13 n. 36, 122, 127 n. 691, 132 n. 717, 151, 151 n. 809, 151 n. 812, 153 n. 823, 154, 154 n. 827, 155, 155 n. 831, 157, 157 n. 840, 157 n. 841, 158 n. 843, 159, 159 n. 854, 159 n. 858, 160 n. 859, 161, 161 n. 860, 162, 164, 165 n. 883, 166, 172 n. 922, 176 n. 939, 178, 181, 189, 195 n. 1047, 197 n. 1055,  
 names of some supporters of the revolution of, 158 n. 843,  
 Muhammad b. Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 163 n. 872,  
 Muhammad b. Zayd b. 'Abdallāh (al-Asghar) b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib, 149, 149 n. 805,  
 Muhammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 179, 180, 180 n. 957, 181,  
 Muhammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn, 157 n. 840,  
 Muḥassin b. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib (son of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see Muḥassin b. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 al-Mukhtār b. Abi 'Ubayd al-Thaqafi, 16, 24 n. 57, 37, 96, 123, 187, 190 n. 1021, 195,  
 Mulaika bt. Awfa b. al-Harith b. 'Awf b. Abi Hāritha al-Murri, 92, 92 n. 451,  
 Mulaika bt. Dāwūd b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, 158, 159,  
 Müller, Christian, 3 n. 6,  
 al-Mundhir b. al-Zubayr, 143 n. 773,  
 al-Mundhir b. Sāwī, 82,  
 al-Muqaddasī, Muhammad b. Ahmad, 136 n. 737,  
 muqātila (Iraqi), 35 n. 118,

al-Muqtadir, 55,  
 Murānī, Miklos, 1 n. 2  
*murjī'ite*, 15, 68,  
 Murjī'ite, quasi-Murjī'ite attitude, 28,  
 Murphy, Robert, 14 n. 43,  
 the Murra, 92 n. 450, 93 n. 453, 104,  
 the Murra-Ghatafān, 92 n. 450,  
 Murri lineage, 92, 93, see also Murra  
 Murri-Umayyad connections, 93, 93 n. 454,  
 Murtaḍā, Ja'far, 5 n. 11,  
 Mūsā b. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 59,  
 Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh, 160 n. 858, 161,  
 Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Ishāq b. Tālha, 102,  
 Mūsā b. Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 170,  
 Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Šādiq, 183 n. 978,  
 Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muhammad, 160 n. 859,  
 Mūsā al-Kāzim, 160 n. 859,  
 Mūsā b. Muhammad b. Imrān b. Ibrāhīm, 91,  
 Mūsā b. Tālha (son of Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Muṣ'ab b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf (nephew of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Muṣ'ab b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Muṣ'ab b. Thābit b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 153,  
 Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim (a Companion), 85,  
 Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, 69 n. 312, 101 n. 512, 102, 116 n. 615, 191 n. 1023, 193, 193 n. 1041, 195,  
 Mūsīm, 123 n. 670,  
 Muslim b. 'Aqil, 30, 193, 196, episode of, 31,  
 Muslim b. 'Uqba, 32 n. 102, 33, 33 n. 106, 34, 35, 92 n. 450, 104, 115, 118,  
 al-Mustakfi (Umayyad caliph), 47, 100,  
 al-Mu'tadid, 55,  
 al-Mu'tamid, 125, 149 n. 803,  
 al-Mu'tasim, 55 n. 215, 212,  
 al-Mutawakkil, 179,  
 Mu'tazila, 157 n. 840,  
 al-Mu'tazz, 88,



al-Muthannā b. Hāritha, 42,  
widow of, 25 n. 60, 45, see also Sa'd b.  
Abi Waqqās  
Mu' b. al-Aswad b. Hāritha b. Nadla b.  
'Awf b. 'Ubayd b. 'Uwayj b. 'Adī b.  
Ka'b,  
a daughter of, 72,  
the Muzayna, 157 n. 841,

Nāfi' b. 'Alqama, 87, 88,  
Nafisa bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
Abi Bakr, 100, 100 n. 509,  
Nafisa bt. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī, 147,  
147 n. 796, 191,  
Nagel, T., 155 n. 833, 165 n. 883, 195 n.  
1047,  
Nahr Abi Furtus, 117,  
Nā'ila, 187 n. 1001,  
Nakhla, 85,  
Najjād, 43,  
al-Nābigha (poet), 61, 62 n. 266,  
Nā'ila bt. al-Furāfiṣa al-Kābiyya (wife of  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān  
al-Namāzī, 174 n. 932,  
naqib, 5 n. 12,  
nasab, 4, 4 n. 8, 4 n. 9, 5 n. 12, 9, 10, 11,  
29,  
Nashtāstaj, 82, 91,  
Nasr b. Sayyār, 178,  
al-Nasr, ḥṣn, 5 n. 12,  
the Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy, 45,  
Nawfal b. al-Hārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
a descendant of, 189, 194 n. 1045,  
al-Nawfalī, 89 n. 427,  
New Testament, 4,  
Nicolet, C., 4 n. 7,  
Nihāwand, 180,  
battle of, 26, 42,  
al-Nisābūrī, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad,  
144 n. 775,  
Nishāpūr, 171 n. 912,  
Nöldeke, Theodor, 2 n. 3,  
Noth, Albrecht, 2 n. 2, 3 n. 5,  
al-Nu'ayni, a, 129, 129 n. 707,  
Nubians, 39 n. 137,  
Nuḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b.

'Ubaydallāh, 170,  
Nuḥ b. Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥa (grandchild of Ṭalḥa b.  
'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh  
al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, 30,  
al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir b. Imri'ī l-Qays, 60 n.  
248, 61, 61 n. 259,  
Nuṣaybin, 149 n. 803, 190,  
Nuṣayr (mawla of al-Faḍl b. 'Abbās), 35 n. 116,  
al-Nuwayrī, Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 70 n.  
320,

Old Testament, 3,  
Omar, F., 157 n. 840,  
Orthmann, Eva, 4 n. 11, 13 n. 41, 14 n. 42,

Palestine, 78, 117 n. 616,  
papyrological evidence,  
Arabic, 204 n. 1059,  
Paradise, 23,  
patrilineality, 12,  
Pellet, Ch., 89 n. 427,  
Persia,  
emperor of, 96 n. 476,  
Peters, Emrys, 14 n. 42,  
philosophers, 4,  
the Pilgrimage, 117,  
season of, 162 n. 869,  
plague of 'Amwās, 23 n. 48,  
Plessner, M., 4 n. 11,  
prison, 150, 156, 161, 161 n. 860, 161 n. 862, 162  
n. 868, 165 n. 883, 171, 185, 188, 189,  
prisoner(-s), 193,  
prosopography, 1, 3, 3 n. 6, 6, 7, 11-2, 79, 202-4,  
proto-Syrian 'nationalism', 32 n. 102,

Qadisa bt. 'Awn b. Khārīja, 63 n. 272,  
Qadisa bt. al-Rabī' b. 'Awn b. Khārīja, 63,  
al-Qādisiyya (region in Iraq), 23, 24 n. 57, 25, 26,  
28,  
battle of, 25 n. 60, 25 n. 63, 26 n. 68,  
al-Qāli, Abū 'Alī, 120 n. 648,  
al-Qalqashandī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, 62 n. 264, 110 n.  
560, 113 n. 585, 127 n. 695, 128 n. 701, 140  
n. 753,  
the Qarāmūja, 55,  
Qurība bt. Abī Umayya, 97,  
Qurība bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī

Umayya b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdallāh b.  
'Umar b. Makhzūm, 59 n. 243, 73,  
Qurība bt. Mūsā (grandchild of Ṭalḥa b.  
'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh  
al-Qarīnayn, 81 n. 377,  
al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of 'Abd  
al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf  
al-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, 90 n. 435, 126,  
family of, 126,  
al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥasan b.  
Zayd, 149,  
descendants of, 150 n. 808,  
al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 155  
n. 833,  
al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,  
154 n. 825,  
al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b.  
'Alī, 151, 151 n. 809,  
descendants of, 149 n. 801,  
al-Qāsim b. al-Husayn b. Zayd, 157 n. 840,  
al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, 68, 189,  
al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 182 n.  
970,  
al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī  
Ṭālib, and Abān b. 'Uthmān, 128, 129,  
al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b.  
Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b.  
Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 148 n. 801,  
al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b.  
Zakariyā b. Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh, 100,  
al-Qāsim b. al-Walīd b. 'Uṭba, 148 n. 796,  
Qasima bt. al-Ḥasan, 153,  
Qayla bt. Abī Qayla b. Ghālib, 46, see also  
Hind  
Qays b. Tha'laba line, 41, 42, 43 n. 153,  
anti-Tamīmī-Qaysī attitude, 43 n. 152,  
Qazwīn, 151 n. 809,  
Qinnasrīn, 119,  
quantitative methods and analyses, 6, 13,  
al-Qubā, 54,  
Qudā'a, 17, 29, 39, 39 n. 137, 42 n. 150,  
Hāfi line of the, 39 n. 137,  
Qudayd, 121 n. 654, 123, 123 n. 674, 125,  
al-Qumh, 82,  
the Qur'ān,

the Revelations, 79,  
teaching, 85,  
being taught, 124,  
chapter IV: verse 23 of, 109, 109 n. 556,  
'Uthmān's copy of, 130,  
Qurashī (-s), 29, 36, 36 n. 121, 60, 88, 94, 96, 108  
n. 549, 144,  
Medinan, 37,  
Umayyad, 131,  
the Quraysh, 11, 34, 57 n. 230, 72, 73, 81, 81 n.  
381, 109, 122, 124, 144 n. 775, 160 n. 858,  
172 n. 919,  
al-Qurtubī, Muḥammad b. Ahmad, 62 n. 266,  
quṣṣās, 1, 1 n. 1,  
Qutb al-Dīn al-Hanafī, 2 n. 4,  
Qutham b. al-'Abbās, 112 n. 581,  
Qutham b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, 77,  
Rabī' b. Murayyīn (father of Umm Hilāl bt.  
Rabī'), 39, 39 n. 135,  
Rabī'a, 42,  
Rabī'a-Azd alliance, 43,  
the Rabī'a b. 'Abd Shams, 77, 113 n. 588,  
Rabī'a b. al-Hārith,  
a descendant of, 155 n. 833, 189,  
Rabī'a b. Nizār, 42 n. 150, 47,  
Rabī'a-Tamīm rivalry, 42 n. 148,  
Rabī'a bt. al-Mughira b. al-Hārith, 95, see also  
amat al-Hamid bt. al-Mughira and Umm al-  
Banīn bt. al-Mughira  
Ramla bt. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (daughter of 'Alī b.  
Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
Ramla bt. Khālid b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, 118,  
Ramla bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid  
b. Asid, 124 n. 681,  
Ramla bt. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 114,  
Ramla bt. Mu'āwiya, 116 n. 611, 117, 117 n. 620,  
118, 120,  
Ramla bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās),  
see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
Ramla bt. Sa'id b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, 158,  
Ramla bt. Sa'id b. 'Amr b. Zayd, 159 n. 853,  
Ramla bt. Shayba b. 'Abd Shams (wife of  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
Ramla b. Umayya b. 'Amr b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd  
al-Malik b. Marwān, 120,  
al-Raqqā, 55,

Ra's al-'Ayn, 47, see also al-Jazira  
 al-Rashid (caliph), 30, 73, 87, 88, 89, 91, 91  
 n. 443, 91 n. 444, 95, 122, 150, 160 n.  
 858, 165, 171, 171 n. 912, 173 n. 927,  
 185, 192, 201.  
 Rayta of the Banū Hamadhān, 141 n. 755.  
 Rayta bt. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib, 177, 189.  
 Rayta bt. Abī Hāshim 'Abdallāh b.  
 Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya, 178.  
 Rayta bt. al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith b.  
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 178 n. 949.  
 Rayy (city of), 30, 179.  
 al-Rāzi, Fakhr al-Dīn, 7 n. 15, 90 n. 431,  
 148 n. 796, 148 n. 799, 149 n. 804, 149  
 n. 805, 150 n. 808, 151 n. 809, 161 n.  
 860, 162 n. 868, 163 n. 872, 163 n.  
 874, 167 n. 890, 168 n. 892, 168 n.  
 896, 170 n. 908, 171 n. 911, 171 n.  
 912, 186.  
 al-Rāzi, Ibn Abī Hātim, 59 n. 243, 65 n.  
 288, 66 n. 294, 148 n. 800.  
 Red Sea, 39 n. 137.  
 Ridda wars, 25 n. 63, 32 n. 99, 42, 193.  
 Riyād (city in present-day Saudi Arabia),  
 42.  
 Riyāh al-Murri the Syrian, 157 n. 840.  
 Robinson, Chase, 2 n. 2, 4 n. 9, 5 n. 11.  
 Rosenthal, F., 4 n. 11, 5 n. 12.  
 Rubāb of the Banū Ma'arib or the Banū  
 Māzin, 141 n. 755.  
 al-Rubāb bt. Inru'u l-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws  
 of the Kalb, 168, 168 n. 892.  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
 Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 161.  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (daughter of  
 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, 162, 162 n.  
 866, 162 n. 866.  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Amr b. Khālid b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 'Amr, 125.  
 Ruqayya al-Sughrā bt. Muḥammad b.  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr (al-Dihāj) b.  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 90, 127.  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 85.  
 Ruqayyah bt. 'Isa b. Zayd, 179.  
 Ruqayya bt. Muḥammad (daughter of

Muḥammad), see Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 Ruqayya bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr (al-  
 Dihāj), 126, 127 n. 690, 127 n. 691.  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (daughter of  
 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-  
 Khaṭṭāb  
 al-Ṣa'ba bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Imād al-Ḥadramiyya,  
 81, 82.  
 al-Ṣa'ba bt. 'Abdallāh b. Rabi'a b. Abī Umayya b.  
 al-Mughira b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-  
 Makhzūmī, 59 n. 243.  
 al-Ṣa'ba bt. Talha (daughter of Talha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
*sahab al-muṣūl*, 68 n. 302.  
*sābiqa* system, 24, 27, 83 n. 395.  
 Sa'd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf  
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 1, 5 n. 11, 10 n. 26, 11-2, 23-  
 4, 24 n. 56, 24 n. 57, 24 n. 60, 25, 25 n. 60,  
 25 n. 61, 26, 26 n. 66, 27, 27 n. 69, 27 n. 70,  
 27 n. 71, 28, 28 n. 73, 29, 30, 30 n. 87, 37,  
 39, 39 n. 135, 40 n. 142, 41, 43 n. 152, 45,  
 47, 52 n. 196, 54, 67, 69, 74 n. 345, 138-9,  
 family of, 16,  
 children of, 45 n. 164,  
 descendants of, 16, 17, 40, 67, 104-5, 131 n.  
 716,  
 categories along cognate lines, 29,  
 inclinations toward cognate lines, 47,  
 descendants from a Kindī woman, 16,  
 marriage of, 40 n. 140,  
 marriage to the woman of the Bahra' of the  
 Quḍā'a, 16,  
 marriage with Zuhri woman, 17,  
 marriage mostly with southern women, 47, 53,  
 Zuhri cousins, 14,  
 Zuhri patriline, 16, 17,  
 conversion to Islam, 23,  
 daughter(-s) of, 14, 44, 48, 69 n. 315,  
 Hafsa bt. Sa'd, 30, 38 n. 132.  
 Umm al-Qāsim bt. Sa'd, 30, 69,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Sa'd, 30, 69, 71.  
 Umm 'Imrān bt. Sa'd, 39,  
 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'd, 41, 43,  
 Hind bt. Sa'd, 43.

Umm al-Ḥakam al-Sughrā bt. Sa'd, 43,  
 74.  
 Umm Ishāq bt. Sa'd, 45.  
 Umm Ayyūb bt. Sa'd, 45.  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Sa'd, 46.  
 Ramla bt. Sa'd, 47.  
 Ḥanna bt. Sa'd, 47.  
 sons-in-law of,  
 Mughira b. Shu'ba (married to Hafsa),  
 30,  
 Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 (married to Umm al-Qāsim and later  
 Umm Kulthūm), 30, 68,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hāshim b. 'Amr b.  
 'Utha b. Nawfal b. Uhayb (married  
 to Umm 'Imrān), 40,  
 Ṭulayb b. Hāshim b. 'Amr b. 'Utha b.  
 Nawfal b. Uhayb (married to Umm  
 'Imrān), 40,  
 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 (married to Umm al-Ḥakam al-  
 Sughrā), 43, 74,  
 Jābir b. al-Aswad b. 'Awf (married to  
 Umm al-Ḥakam al-Sughrā), 43, 66,  
 74.  
 grand-children of,  
 Sa'd (son of Ibrāhīm), 30,  
 Hafsa b. 'Umar (son of 'Umar), 31,  
 Umm 'Amr (daughter of 'Umar), 38 n.  
 132.  
 Yahyā (son of Ismā'īl), 40.  
 Bajjād/Najjād b. Mūsā, 43,  
 Khārīja (son of 'Abdallāh), 44,  
 Ṣafīyya (daughter of 'Abdallāh), 44,  
 al-Ash'ath (son of Ishāq (al-Akbar)),  
 46, 75,  
 'Uthmān (son of Ramla), 47,  
 father of,  
 Mālik b. Uhayb, 23, 28,  
 mother of,  
 Ḥanna bt. Sufyān b. Umayya b. Abd  
 Shams, 23,  
 brothers of,  
 'Umayr b. Abī Waqqās, 23,  
 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās, 23, 24 n. 54, 46,  
 marriage of son of, 47,  
 'Utha b. Abī Waqqās, 23, 46,  
 controversy surrounding, 46, 46 n. 172,  
 sons of,  
 Muḥammad b. Sa'd, 16, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35,  
 36, 36 n. 123, 37, 38, 45 n. 164, 46, 48, 57  
 n. 230, 65, 67, 69, 69 n. 314,  
 Kinda kinsmen of, 34,  
 'Umar b. Sa'd, 16, 24 n. 57, 29, 30, 30 n. 90,  
 31, 32, 32 n. 101, 36, 37, 38, 38 n. 132, 40  
 n. 142, 45, 47, 48, 48 n. 178, 67, 69, 69 n.  
 314,  
 possible marriage of Maryam bt. 'Amir b.  
 Abī Waqqās to, 38 n. 132,  
 'Amir b. Sa'd, 39,  
 marriage of, 40,  
 Ismā'īl b. Sa'd, 39,  
 marriage of, 40,  
 children of, 40,  
 Ishāq al-Aṣghar b. Sa'd, 39,  
 Ishāq (al-Akbar) b. Sa'd, 46,  
 Muṣ'ab b. Sa'd, 40 n. 142, 44,  
 Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, 43,  
 'Abdallāh b. Sa'd, 44,  
 'Umayr al-Aṣghar b. Sa'd, 46,  
 'Amr b. Sa'd, 46,  
 Ṣāliḥ b. Sa'd, 47,  
 Khālid b. Sa'd, 47,  
 nephew of,  
 Hāshim b. 'Utha b. Abī Waqqās, 23, 24, 24 n.  
 54, 46,  
 marriage of, 43, 45,  
 Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās, 46,  
 favorites of,  
 al-Ash'ath b. Qays al-Kindī, 24, 25 n. 63,  
 Shurahbīl b. al-Sam' al-Kindī, 24 n. 60,  
 25 n. 61, 25 n. 63,  
 a slave of,  
 Zabara', 24 n. 60, 25,  
 conqueror of Iraq, 23,  
 wives of,  
 Umm Zabara', 25 n. 60, 41,  
 Salmā bt. Hafsa (sic) b. Thaqaf b. Rabi'  
 (widow of al-Muthannā' b. Hāritha), 25 n.  
 60, 45,  
 Unnūn Hilāl bt. Rabi' b. Murayyīn (of the  
 Madhijj of the Kinda), 30, 30 n. 87, 39.  
 Māriyya/Māriyya bt. Qays b. Ma'dī Karīb, 30,  
 37, 67, 69.



- Makita Umm 'Āmir bt. 'Amr b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Zur'a b.  
 'Abdallāh b. Abī Jusham b. Ka'b b. 'Amr (a woman of the Bahra' of the Qudā'a), 39.  
 Zayn bt. al-Hārith b. al-Nu'mān b. Sharihl b. Janāb, 41.  
 Salmā, 41, 44.  
 Khawla bt. 'Amr b. 'Aws b. Salāma, 41, 44.  
 two Taghlibi wives, 44.  
 daughter of Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh, 46.  
 Zabya, 47.  
 Umm Hujayr, 47.  
 Umm Hukaym/Umm Ḥakīm, 47.  
 staying behind lines in war and compromising reports about, 25 n. 60.  
 controversy(-ies) about handling spoils of war, 24, 26, 48.  
 controversy with 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 48.  
 questionable genealogy of, 40 n. 139.  
 seclusion—and quasi-Murji'ite attitude—of, 28.  
 Tradition about, 28-9.  
 doubts about his Qurashī identity, 29, 47.  
 authority of Sa'd w.r.t. Traditions, 34 n. 110.  
 famous Testament of, 43, 43 n. 157.  
*mawlā* of, 44.  
 'Alid leanings of, 44, 48.  
 life in Hijāz, 47-8.  
 in Iraq, 47 n. 177, 48.  
 summary of life of, 47-9.  
 Sa'd b. al-Hārith b. al-Ṣimma, 187.  
 Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71, 71 n. 323.  
 Sa'd b. Madhhij (of Kinda), 29, see also Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.  
 Sa'd b. Rabi' of the Balhārith (made brother of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 Sa'd b. Ya'qub b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71.  
 Sa'da bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 123.  
 sadaqa, 26 n. 67, 44.  
 sadaqāt, 28 n. 72.  
 Sa'did(-s) (of or relating to Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), 14, 14 n. 43, 16, 17, 29, 30 n. 86, 32, 35, 37, 41, 43, 43 n. 152, 44, 53, 64 n. 280, 66 n. 294, 84, 132 n. 716, 137, 199.  
 descendants, 43.  
 descendants inclined towards their cognates, 17-8.  
 link of, 40 n. 142.  
 political program of, 45.  
 Sa'did-Kinda political alliance and its failure, 38 n. 134.  
 al-Sādiq ('Alid *imām*), 30, 178 n. 947.  
 Sadūsī, Mu'arrij b. 'Amr, 5 n. 12, 82 n. 388, 101 n. 512.  
 al-Safādī, Khalīl b. Aybak, 68 n. 305, 77 n. 358.  
 al-Safāhī, 72, 93, 119, 155, 155 n. 832, 156, 156 n. 837, 161, 166.  
 Šafiyya bt. 'Abdallāh (granddaughter of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.  
 Šafiyya bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Asghar, 173.  
 Šafiyya bt. Abī 'Ubayd, 123.  
 al-Šahārī, Salama b. Muslim al-'Awtabī, 25 n. 60, 45 n. 161.  
 Šahbā' bt. Rabi' al-Taghlibiyya (wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.  
 Sahla bt. 'Āsim (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 Sahla bt. Ma'n b. 'Umar b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n, 55 n. 214.  
 Sahla bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams of the 'Amir b. Lu'ayy (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 Sahlid-Ma'mūnid split, 71 n. 323.  
 Sahlid(-s), 71 n. 323.  
 Sahrī, 63 n. 269, 63 n. 271.  
 al-Šahārī, Salama b. Muslim al-'Awtabī, 169 n. 899.  
 Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'id b. Khālid, 120.  
 Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, 146 n. 788.  
 Sa'id b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b. al-Walīd b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 112 n. 575.  
 Sa'id b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd b. 'Uthmān, 112 n.

572.

- Sa'id b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya b. Abī Sufyān, 112 n. 575.  
 Sa'id b. Amr, 158 n. 844.  
 Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Umayya, 115, 115 n. 610, 119 n. 631, 131, 132, 132 n. 722.  
 Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās, 60, 114, 115 n. 608, 119, 119 n. 631.  
 Sa'id b. Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, 120.  
 Sa'id b. Khālid b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, 118, 119, 120, 120 n. 644.  
 Sa'id b. Khālid b. 'Uthmān (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.  
 the Sa'id Mīṣr, 107 n. 548.  
 Sa'id b. Qays al-Hamadhi, a daughter of, 142.  
 Sa'id b. Sulaymān b. Nawfal b. Musāhiq b. 'Abdallāh b. Makhruma b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b. Abī Qays, 63 n. 274, 112.  
 Sa'id b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān.  
 Sa'id b. al-Walīd b. Yazīd, 120.  
 Sa'id b. Yahyā b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 75.  
 Sa'id b. Yahyā b. Sa'id b. al-'Ās, 35 n. 116, grandson of, 38 n. 132.  
 al-Sakhāwī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 2 n. 4, 46 n. 167, 59 n. 243, 70 n. 320, 71 n. 323, 71 n. 325, 91 n. 440, 94 n. 467, 100 n. 509, 102 n. 521, 116 n. 611, 117 n. 620, 149 n. 803.  
 Sakīna bt. al-Ḥulays b. Hāshim b. 'Uṭba (wife of Muṣ'ab b. Sa'd), 44.  
 Salama (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 Salama b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī, 93.  
 Salama b. Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa (grandchild of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.  
 Salāma b. Yazīd b. Salāma b. Dhī Fā'ish b. Yazīd b. Murra (great grandson of Dhī Fā'ish), 62.  
 Salāma, Šalah 'Abd al-'Azīz, 3 n. 4.  
 Šālīh (from Maryam bt. Ṭalḥa), see Ṭalḥa b.

- 'Ubaydallāh  
 Šālīh b. 'Abdallāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Afī, 163 n. 872.  
 Šālīh b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 Šālīh b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa, 88.  
 Šālīh b. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh b. Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa, 102.  
 Šālīh b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.  
 Šālīh b. Ṭalḥa (son of Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh.  
 Salih A. el-Ali, 26 n. 68.  
 Sālim al-Akbar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf.  
 al-Salīl, 51.  
 Salmā (wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.  
 Salmā of the Banī Ghaym, 141 n. 755.  
 Salmā bt. Hafsa (sic) b. Thaqaf b. Rabi' (widow of al-Muthanna' b. Hāritha; wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās.  
 Salmā bt. Imru' u l-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws of the Kalb, 142.  
 Salmā bt. Sa'id b. Khālid, 120, 120 n. 645.  
 Sam'ānī, 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad, 47 n. 174, 63 n. 271, 71 n. 325, 120 n. 649.  
 Samarqand, 112.  
 Samhūdī, 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, 3 n. 4.  
 sanad, 6 n. 13.  
 al-Sarāwī, 'Abd al-Muhsin, 135 n. 730.  
 Sarjūn (*mawlā* of Mu'āwīya), 30.  
 Sāsānid, 169, see also Sassanids.  
 Sassanids, 23.  
 Sawād, 23, 25, 26, 27 n. 69, 45.  
 sawāfin lands, 82 n. 391.  
 Sawda bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith, 93.  
 Sawda bt. Zam'a (wife of Muḥammad), see Muḥammad (Prophet).  
 Sayed, Redwan, 35 n. 117.  
 Sayf, 'Abdallāh M., 20.  
 Sayyāla, 73.  
 Schoeler, Gregor, 1 n. 2, 92 n. 448.  
 Sellheim, Rudolf, 1 n. 2.  
 Sezgin, Fuat, 1 n. 2.  
 Shabath b. Rabi', 31.

- Shabath Abū 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Kūfī, 31,  
Shabīb al-Khārijī, 97, 98 n. 492, *see also*  
Khārijites
- Shabība b. Naṣṣāh, 124,  
al-Shahīstārī, 'Abd al-Ḥusayn, 88 n. 423, 94  
n. 463,  
Shāfi'ī law, 131 n. 716,  
Shahbā' bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b.  
Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-  
Muṭṭalib, 187 n. 998,  
al-Sharīf, Aḥmad Ibrāhīm, 20 n. 45,  
Sharon, Moshe, 136 n. 740, 137 n. 740, 177  
n. 945, 189 n. 1015,  
Shayba b. 'Abd Shams, 101, 104, 113, 114  
n. 589,  
Shayba bt. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams (wife of  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), *see* 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf
- Shaybān (division of the Tha'laba tribe), 42,  
Shehrbānaway/Shehrbānoya bt.  
Yazdagird, 169, 182 n. 970,  
Shī'a, 163, *see also* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,  
anti-Shī'ite propaganda, 140 n. 755,  
Shī'ī law, 131 n. 716,  
Shī'ī sources, 162 n. 869,  
Shī'ī cause, 172 n. 917,  
legitimist argument of the, 166 n. 885,  
imām of the, 181,  
various branches of the, 181 n. 966,  
Twelve line of the, 183,  
Shihāb b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, (wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās),  
son of, 46,  
Shuqayq b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of) 'Abd  
al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), *see* 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf
- Shurabīl b. al-Samṭ al-Kindī (a favorite of  
Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), 24, 24 n. 60, 25  
n. 61, 25 n. 63, *see also* Sa'd b. Abī  
Waqqās
- shurrija, 24, 24 n. 59,  
siblings, 13,  
Siffin, 45, 77, 119, 143, 144, 146,  
the Battle of, 26 n. 63, 44, 115, 187,  
arbitration, 27 n. 71,  
before, 146,
- Sijistān, 36, 98, 98 n. 492, 112 n. 581,  
Sind (in the subcontinent), 157 n. 840,  
Sindī, 169 n. 898, 186 n. 992,  
Šinnīn (a place near Kūfa), 83,  
Smith, Robertson, 13 n. 41, 14 n. 43, 109 n. 555,  
social network, 1, 6, 12 n. 31, 204 n. 1058,  
sociopolitical history, 6,  
women in, 6 n. 15,  
role of marriage in, 7,  
problems in, 12,  
Sogdia (in ancient Persia),  
Sogdian slaves, 113, 113 n. 584,  
Spain (Muslim), 47, 60, 61 n. 253, 128 n. 701,  
Sublet, Jacqueline, 3 n. 6, 4 n. 10, 8 n. 21, 13 n.  
40, 13 n. 41,  
Su'dā bt. 'Awf b. Khārija b. Sinān b. Abī Ḥāritha  
al-Murri (wife of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), *see*  
Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Su'dā bt. Yahyā, 93,  
al-Sufyānī, *see* Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd  
Sufyānīd(-s), 15, 67, 80, 101 n. 514, 113, 113 n.  
586, 117 n. 620, 118, 118 n. 629, 119, 120,  
128, 129, 130, 133, 133 n. 727, 143, 145,  
153, 170, 187, 195,  
Sufyānīd-Marwānīd relationships, 118 n. 629,  
119, 120,  
Suḥayqa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith  
b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
167,  
Suḥayl b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān, 62, 62 n. 264,  
Suḥayl Abū Aḥyaḍ b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 62, 63,  
64,  
grandchildren of, 63,  
Suḥayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams, 144 n. 775,  
children of, 144 n. 775,  
Suḥayqa bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥārith  
b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
89,  
paternal grandfather of, 89,  
Sukayna bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḥḡhar b.  
'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 151 n.  
809,  
Sukayna bt. al-Ḥusayn (grandchild of) 'Alī b. Abī  
Ṭālib, *see* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib
- Sukayna bt. Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, 121, 121 n. 654,  
al-Sulamī, 'Arrām b. al-Aḡbagh, 136 n. 737,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik, 93, 94, 118 n. 629,

- 119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81, 93,  
103, 106, 107 n. 545, 112 n. 575, 114,  
115, 120, 126, 144, 144 n. 775, 176,  
188, 199, 200,  
Syrian(-s), 34, 36, 118, 121, (fighting  
with), 36 n. 121 (line of), 104, 142,  
169,  
army of, 35, 35 n. 118, 37, 38 n. 134, 48,  
169,  
fiscal burdens of, 35 n. 118,  
conquest of, 39 n. 137,  
Umayyad, 40, 60,  
Syria-Yemen trade, 83,  
Szombathy, Zoltán, 10 n. 27, 11 n. 29,  
119, 121, 124, 156,  
appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
reign of, 116,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hammād  
b. 'Imrān b. Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh, 98,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b.  
'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 57,  
Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 160 n.  
858,  
Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās,  
100, 153 n. 824, 161 n. 860,  
Sulaymān b. 'Amir b. Abī Waqqās (nephew  
of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), *see* Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās
- Sulaymān b. Ayyūb b. Sulaymān b. 'Isā b.  
Mūsā b. Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh, 97,  
Sulaymān b. Aḡhar b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd  
al-Ḥārith b. Zuhra,  
daughter of, 40,  
Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan, 156, 158,  
Sulaymān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aḡhar b. 'Alī  
Zayn al-'Abīdīn, 172,  
Sulaymān b. al-Manṣūr, 95,  
Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba  
(grandchild of Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
*see* Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh
- Sulaymān b. Sa'd (grandchild of) 'Uthmān  
b. 'Affān, *see* 'Uthmān b. 'Affān
- Suqyā, 130,  
Syria, 17, 25, 33, 33 n. 105, 42 n. 150, 46,  
47, 51, 51 n. 187, 54, 56, 61, 81,



- Umm Hurayth Jarbā' of the Tayyī', 102 n. 520,  
 Umm al-Hārith bt. Qasāma b. Hanẓala  
 b. Wahb b. Qays of the Tayyī', 103,  
 sons of,  
 Muhammad b. Ṭalḥa, 85, 86, 91, 151,  
 151 n. 811,  
 'Imrān b. Ṭalḥa, 85, 91, 92 n. 451, 95,  
 146 n. 786,  
 Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥa, 90,  
 Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa, 93, 94, 102,  
 Ismā'il b. Ṭalḥa, 88, 94, 101, 101 n.  
 514, 102, 102 n. 519, 143,  
 'Isā b. Ṭalḥa, 94, 103,  
 Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa, 94 n. 462, 101, 102,  
 102 n. 520, 102 n. 521, 104, 125,  
 143,  
 Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, 96, 97, 100,  
 sons of, 98,  
 children of, 101,  
 Yūsuf b. Ṭalḥa, 99,  
 Zakariyā b. Ṭalḥa, 99,  
 Ya'qūb al-Madani b. Ṭalḥa, 99 n. 499,  
 101, 142,  
 descendants of, 103,  
 Sālih b. Ṭalḥa, 103,  
 daughters of, 145 n. 785,  
 'Ā'isha bt. Ṭalḥa, 97, 97 n. 488, 99,  
 100, 100-1 n. 512, 101,  
 Umm Ishāq bt. Ṭalḥa, 15, 102 n. 520,  
 103, 104, 125, 141 n. 755, 143, 146,  
 154, 154 n. 825, 154 n. 826, 168,  
 al-Sa'ba bt. Ṭalḥa, 103,  
 Maryam bt. Ṭalḥa, 103,  
 grandchildren of, 94 n. 462, 98,  
 Dāwūd b. Muhammad, 86,  
 Sulaymān b. Muhammad, 86,  
 Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad, 86, 87, 87 n.  
 416, 88, 90, 94, 102 n. 518, 151,  
 170,  
 a daughter of, 95,  
 children of, 95,  
 Umm al-Qāsim bt. Muhammad, 86,  
 Nūh b. Ibrāhīm, 90, 90 n. 431,  
 Muhammad b. 'Imrān, 92, 92 n. 448,  
 Ṭalḥa b. Yahyā, 94, 94 n. 462, 94 n.  
 467,  
 Ishāq b. Yahyā, 94,  
 Umm Ya'qūb bt. Ismā'il, 88, 88 n. 418, 90,  
 94, 102, 102 n. 519, 126 n. 690,  
 Salama b. Yahyā, 94,  
 'Abdallāh b. Ishāq, 94 n. 462,  
 'Isā b. 'Isā, 95,  
 Muhammad b. 'Isā, 95,  
 Yahyā b. Mūsā, 97,  
 Qarība bt. Mūsā, 97,  
 'Isā b. Mūsā, 97, 100, 103, 151 n. 809, 157,  
 161,  
 Muhammad b. Mūsā, 97, 98, 98 n. 492,  
 'Ā'isha bt. Mūsā, 97, 97 n. 489, 99, 100,  
 Umm Hārith bt. Zakariyā, 100,  
 Yahyā b. Zakariyā, 100,  
 Ya'qūb b. Ismā'il, 102,  
 Mu'āwiya b. Ishāq, 102,  
 Sālih (from Maryam), 103,  
 uncle of,  
 al-'Alā', 81 n. 378, 82, 82 n. 385, 96,  
 Ṭalḥa b. 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh, 160 n. 858,  
 Ṭalḥa b. Yahyā (grandchild of Ṭalḥa b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Ṭalḥatān (a stream near Baṣra), 83,  
 Ṭalḥid(-s) (of or relating to Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydallāh),  
 14, 14 n. 43, 15, 18, 83 n. 395, 84, 85, 86, 87,  
 88, 89, 90 n. 434, 96, 96 n. 477, 97, 97 n.  
 488, 98, 99, 101, 102 n. 519, 103, 104, 105,  
 108, 122, 125, 126, 127, 132 n. 716, 134,  
 137, 143, 146, 146 n. 788, 151, 151 n. 811,  
 154 n. 828, 158, 166, 199, 200,  
 Ṭalḥid-'Alid link, 86 n. 407,  
 Ṭalḥid(-s) (of or relating to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb), 18,  
 88, 88 n. 418, 89, 91, 91 n. 443, 102 n. 519,  
 123, 126, 128, 129, 130 n. 709, 132 n. 716,  
 137, 140, 140 n. 754, 150, 151, 151 n. 809,  
 153, 169 n. 897, 169 n. 902, 170, 173, 176,  
 177, 182, 190, 195, 197,  
 Shī'a (the party that developed from the line of  
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb), 19,  
 policies of, 129 n. 705,  
 land of the, 130, 130 n. 709,  
 Ṭalḥid-Taymī-Zubayrid network, 160 n. 858,  
 Tamīm, 31, 42, 43 n. 152, 44, 96, 96 n. 476, 99,  
 104, 146 n. 788,  
 Tamīmī, 31, 35 n. 121, 36 n. 121, 90 n. 430, 94  
 n. 463, 98, 98 n. 490, 101,

- alliance of the, 42,  
 northern, 43,  
 anti-Tamīmī-Qaysī attitude, 43 n. 152,  
 Tamīm b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,  
 104, 196,  
 Tamīm b. al-Mughira b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān al-Taymī, 103,  
 al-Tanūkhī, Abū 'Alī, 73 n. 338,  
 the Taym b. Murra, 81, 82, 97,  
 Taymī(-s), 94 n. 463, 97 n. 488, 104, 159,  
 172,  
 Taymī-Tamīmī alliance, 98 n. 490,  
 Taym-Tamīm graphic confusion, 98 n. 490,  
 the Taymallāt b. Tha'laba, 17, 25 n. 60, 29,  
 42, 45, see also Sa'd b. Abī Waqqas  
 Tayyī', 123,  
 Ṭhābit b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 85, 86 n.  
 405, 152 n. 813, 164 n. 880,  
 Tha'laba of the Bakr, 44, 45 n. 162,  
 Tha'laba b. 'Ukība (branch of the Bakr),  
 42,  
 al-Thaqafi, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, 142 n.  
 761,  
 Thaqafi al-Mughira b. Shur'ba, 38 n. 132,  
 the Thaqif, 53, 73, 74, 75, 77, 168 n. 895,  
 people of, 76, 159,  
 Thurayyā bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b.  
 Umayyā al-Aṣghar b. 'Abd Shams b.  
 'Abd Manāf (wife of Suhayl Abū  
 Ayyad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān), 62, 62 n.  
 264,  
 topoī, 5 n. 11, 141 n. 755,  
 Tradition(-s), see *ḥadīth*  
 Transoxania, 164,  
 Tribal Arabia, 4, 5 n. 12,  
 elite of, 17, 29,  
 tribal behavior, 32 n. 100,  
 Tulayb b. Hāshim b. 'Amr b. 'Uṭba b.  
 Nawfal b. Uhayb (married to Umm  
 'Imrān), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqas  
 Tulayb b. 'Umayr b. Wahb, 81,  
 Tumādīr bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Āsim b. 'Urwa b.  
 Mas'ūd al-Thaqafiyya, 159,  
 Tumādīr bt. al-Aṣghar (wife of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 Tumādīr al-Kalbiyya, 18,  
 Tumādīr bt. Manzūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār al-  
 Fazāriyya, 85, 125, 151, 152 n. 813,  
 Turayb b. Ismā'il, 72,  
 al-Tuṣī, Abū Ja'far, 109 n. 556, 147 n. 789, 168 n.  
 896,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās, 77, 148 n. 796, 189,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-'Abbās (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Ṭalīb), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb  
 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b.  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b.  
 Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71 n. 325,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uṭba, 69 n. 312,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra, 112 n. 581,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Alī (son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb), see  
 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Hārith b. Nawfal, 58,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-  
 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb, 66, 192,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar, 172, 172 n.  
 923,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 192,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Ishāq b. Ḥammād b. Mūsā b.  
 Ṭalḥa, 98,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Ishāq b. Ḥammād b. Mūsā b.  
 'Imrān b. Ṭalḥa, 92,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb b. Ya'mur b. Sabra  
 b. Murra b. Kabir b. Ghanm b. Dūdān b.  
 Asad b. Khuzayma, 84 n. 397, 85,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Marwān (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b.  
 Abī Ṭalīb, 181, 194, 194 n. 1045,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Nawfal b. 'Adī, 95 n. 469,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm  
 b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b.  
 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id b. al-Mughira, 122 n. 664,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Ziyād, 30, 58, 113 n. 582,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 181,  
 al-'Udhayb (near Kūfa), 96,  
 'Udhra, 29, 70,  
 'Udhri, 29 n. 83,  
 Uhayb b. Khālid b. 'Uqba, 60, 60 n. 246,  
 Uḥud (battle of), 33, 46 n. 172, 51 n. 187, 81, 85,

- 99,  
 'Ulayya bt. 'Abdallāh, 185,  
 'Ulayya bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 158, 170,  
 'Ulayya bt. Muḥammad b. 'Awn b.  
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, 175,  
 Ummāna bt. 'Abdallāh b. Sa'id al-Anṣārīyya,  
 189,  
 Ummāna bt. Abī al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī' b. 'Abd  
 al-'Uzzā b. 'Abd Shams, 139 n. 745,  
 'Umar II, 123 n. 670, 129,  
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 70 n. 316, 87 n.  
 416, 156,  
 appointments by, 57 n. 230,  
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh al-'Arjī, 121, 121 n.  
 654,  
 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a (poet), 62,  
 successor to, 120,  
 'Umar b. Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib (son of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 'Umar (al-Aṣghar) b. 'Alī (grandchild of  
 'Alī b. Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan/Husayn b. 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib, 89,  
 'Umar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 89, 152 n.  
 815, 174, 174 n. 933, 179, 179 n. 952,  
 194, 194 n. 1042,  
 'Umar b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Umar b. al-Ḥasan al-Aḥṣā, 171, 171 n.  
 912,  
 'Umar b. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar  
 b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 56,  
 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, I, 23, 23 n. 48, 23 n.  
 50, 24, 24 n. 57, 25, 25 n. 60, 26, 26 n.  
 66, 26 n. 68, 27, 27 n. 69, 27 n. 70, 39,  
 43 n. 152, 46, 51 n. 187, 52, 63, 69, 82,  
 83, 83 n. 395, 93 n. 457, 107 n. 548,  
 110 n. 560, 115 n. 602, 118 n. 626,  
 140, 140 n. 751, 142 n. 760, 154,  
 assassination, 26,  
 appointment by, 45,

- eulogizing, 52 n. 196,  
 after the death of, 52 n. 196, 115 n. 609,  
 good relations with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf,  
 52 n. 198,  
 sour relations with 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 52  
 n. 198,  
 appointment by, 58,  
 family of, 59 n. 243, 183 n. 977,  
 sons of,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, 95, 123, 181 n. 967,  
 Zayd b. 'Umar, 140,  
 'Asim b. 'Umar, 143 n. 773, 172,  
 daughters of,  
 Fāṭima bt. 'Umar, 115 n. 609, 140,  
 Ruqayya bt. 'Umar, 140,  
 nephew of,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 115  
 n. 609, 140 n. 752,  
 wife of,  
 Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, 115 n.  
 609,  
 grandchild of,  
 Ḥafsa bt. 'Abdallāh, 123,  
 descendants of, 89,  
 fierce warrior like, 106,  
 'Umar b. Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, 90,  
 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Uthmān b.  
 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Amr al-Taymī, 103,  
 'Umar b. Mūsā (brother of Muḥammad b. Mūsā b.  
 Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), 97, 97 n. 487, 98,  
 'Umar b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās;  
 brother of Muḥammad), see Sa'd b. Abī  
 Waqqās  
 'Umar-Sa'd relationship, 40 n. 142,  
 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Ma'mar b. 'Uthmān b.  
 'Amr b. Ka'b b. Tayn b. Murra, 82 n. 388,  
 97, 97 n. 488, 100,  
 'Umar b. 'Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b.  
 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Umar b. Sa'id b. al-Mughīra,  
 122 n. 664,  
 'Umar b. Yazīd b. 'Umayr al-Asadī, 74,  
 'Umar b. Zayd b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, 116,  
 'Umarī, 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibrāhīm, 107 n. 545, 107 n.  
 548,  
 'Umarī, 'Alī b. Muḥammad,  
 'Umarī-Zaydī ties, 175-6,  
 'Umarīd(-s), 57 n. 230, 93 n. 457, 163, 172, 181,

- 183, 201,  
 Umayma bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 78, 85, 107,  
 see also al-Bayḍā' bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib  
 b. Ḥāshim  
 Umayma bt. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥārith b. al-  
 Muṭṭalib, 187 n. 998,  
 'Umayr b. Abī Waqqās (brother of Sa'd b.  
 Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 'Umayr al-Aṣghar b. Sa'd (son of Sa'd b.  
 Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Umayya b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān  
 b. 'Affān, 123,  
 Umayya b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd, 92  
 n. 448,  
 Umayya bt. 'Abd Shams, 75-6,  
 granddaughter of (mother of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 the Umayya b. 'Abd Shams, 106,  
 Umayya bt. al-'Āṣ b. al-Rabī', 68 n. 307,  
 Umayyad(-s), I, 2, 11, 14, 14 n. 43, 15, 18,  
 19, 32 n. 102, 33 n. 106, 39 n. 135, 45,  
 55 n. 218, 56, 58, 61 n. 253, 65, 67, 68,  
 69 n. 315, 70, 70 n. 316, 70 n. 318, 75,  
 76, 78, 78 n. 368, 79, 79 n. 370, 79 n.  
 371, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 87 n. 416, 88,  
 89, 90 n. 435, 91 n. 440, 92, 92 n. 448,  
 92 n. 450, 93, 93 n. 457, 94, 96, 97, 99,  
 101, 101 n. 514, 103, 104, 105, 108,  
 113, 114, 115, 116, 117 n. 616, 117 n.  
 620, 119, 120, 120 n. 644, 121, 123,  
 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 129 n. 704,  
 129 n. 705, 130, 130 n. 709, 130 n.  
 711, 131 n. 716, 132 n. 716, 133, 134,  
 137, 143, 144, 145, 145 n. 785, 146,  
 147, 147 n. 792, 148, 150, 152, 152 n.  
 813, 152 n. 817, 154 n. 828, 156 n.  
 837, 156 n. 838, 158, 159, 159 n. 844,  
 159 n. 855, 160 n. 858, 166 n. 885,  
 167, 168 n. 895, 170, 172, 175, 176,  
 176 n. 939, 182 n. 970, 188, 191, 192,  
 193, 194, 197,  
 demise of, 16,  
 pro-, 17, 29, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 60, 95,  
 102 n. 519, 115, 130, 130 n. 711, 187,  
 anti-, 20, 26, 29, 34, 35, 37, 40, 43, 43 n.  
 152, 44, 48, 89, 95, 102 n. 519, 113,

- 122 n. 661, 126, 130, 131, 132 n. 717, 138,  
 153,  
 Medina, 33,  
 beginning of, 37,  
 early period of the, 38 n. 134, 59, 61, 64 n. 280,  
 68 n. 305, 69, 72, 74, 84, 92, 99, 103, 104,  
 132 n. 716, 133, 199,  
 period of the, 40, 53, 66 n. 294, 74, 91, 100,  
 101, 103 n. 530, 105, 114, 115, 125, 131 n.  
 716, 132 n. 717, 151, 153, 162, 181, 190,  
 192, 194, 199,  
 end of the period of, 117, 171, 196, 201,  
 period of the post-, 61, 130,  
 armies of the, 65, 98,  
 patterns of administrative appointments by, 56  
 n. 218, 57 n. 230, 79,  
 micromanagement given to local elite by, 57 n.  
 230, 79, 110 n. 559, 131 n. 713,  
 wars against the Khārijites, 100,  
 favor by, 102, 124, 125,  
 Umayyad-Byzantine frontier raids, 93,  
 Umayyad-Thaqafi context, 153 n. 819,  
 Umm Abān bt. Abī Mūsā, 94,  
 'Ubaydallāh, see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm Abān bt. Shayba (wife of Tālha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm Abān bt. 'Uthā b. Rabī'a, 101 n. 514,  
 Umm Abān bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Umm 'Abd al-Malik bt. Sa'id b. Khālīd, 120,  
 Umm 'Abdallāh bt. 'Abdallāh, 123,  
 Umm 'Abdallāh bt. al-Ḥasan, 7, 20, 172 n. 916,  
 174, 181, 182, 185, 190 n. 1020, 198, 201,  
 Umm 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 Umm Abihā (sister of Abū Ḥāshim), 189, 189 n.  
 1016,  
 Umm Abihā bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ubaydallāh b. al-  
 'Abbās b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, 172 n. 923,  
 Umm Abihā bt. Ma'bad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-  
 Muṭṭalib, 192,  
 Umm Abihā bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, 170  
 n. 910,  
 Umm 'Alī bt. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, 90 n. 431,  
 170,  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Abān b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān



Umm 'Amr bt. 'Abd al-'Aziz, 63,  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab b. 'Amr b. Humama  
 b. al-Hārith b. Rifa'a b. Sa'd b.  
 Tha'laba b. Lu'ayy b. 'Amir b.  
 Ghanam b. Duḥmān b. Munḥib b.  
 Daws (wife of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Marwān b. al-Hakam, 119,  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b.  
 Abi Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm 'Amr bt. 'Umar b. Jarir b. 'Abdallāh  
 al-Bajālī, 119,  
 Umm 'Amr bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān  
 Umm 'Awn bt. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Umm Ayyūb (daughter of Sa'd b. Abi  
 Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm Ayyūb bt. 'Amr (or 'Umar)  
 (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Umm al-Banīn Fātima bt. Ḥizām of the  
 'Amir b. Kilāb of the Ṣa'ṣa'a, 190,  
 Umm al-Banīn bt. Ḥizām al-'Amiriyya  
 (wife of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b.  
 Abi Tālib  
 Umm al-Banīn bt. al-Mughira, 95 n. 471,  
 see also Rabi'a bt. al-Mughira and  
 amat al-Hamid bt. al-Mughira  
 Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyayna b. Ḥisn (wife of  
 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān  
 Umm Bashīr/Umm Bishr al-Anṣāriyya, 141,  
 146, 146 n. 788, 147,  
 Umm al-Faḍl bt. al-Ma'mūn, 184,  
 Umm al-Faḍl bt. Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān (grandchild of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 Umm Farwa bt. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, 182, 182 n.  
 973,  
 Umm Farwa bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b.  
 Abi Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, 182,  
 Umm Fātima bt. Abi Mas'ūd, 147 n. 790,  
 Umm Ḥabīb Ḥabiba bt. Jaḥsh b. Ri'āb of

the Banū Dūdān b. Asad (wife of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf  
 Umm Ḥabiba bt. Abi Sufyān (wife of Prophet  
 Muḥammad), see Muḥammad  
 Umm Ḥabiba bt. Zam'a (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Umm al-Hakam al-Ṣuḥrā (daughter of Sa'd b.  
 Abi Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm al-Hakim bt. Asid b. al-Mughira b. al-  
 Akhnas b. Shariq al-Thaqafiyya, 181,  
 mother of, 181 n. 967,  
 Umm Ḥakīm bt. al-Hārith b. Hishām (wife of  
 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-  
 Khaṭṭāb  
 Umm Ḥakīm bt. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b.  
 'Aṣim b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 172,  
 Umm Ḥānī (sister of 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī  
 b. Abi Tālib  
 Umm Ḥānī bt. 'Alī (daughter of 'Alī b. Abi  
 Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Umm al-Hārith bt. Qasāma b. Ḥanzala b. Waḥb b.  
 Qays of the Tayyī (wife of Tālha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm Ḥārūn bt. Zakariyā (grandchild of Tālha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm al-Ḥasan bt. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib, 140 n. 754,  
 Umm al-Ḥasan bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 170,  
 Umm al-Ḥasan bt. Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim, 149 n.  
 801,  
 Umm al-Ḥasan bt. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan  
 b. 'Alī, 153 n. 824, 158, 161 n. 860,  
 Umm Ḥasan bt. Sa'd b. al-Aṣbagh b. 'Amr b.  
 Tha'laba al-Kalbiyya, 60,  
 Umm al-Ḥasan bt. al-Zubayr b. 'Awwām, 124,  
 Umm al-Ḥasan Nafisa (grandchild of 'Alī b. Abi  
 Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Umm Ḥilāl bt. Rabi' b. Murayyīn (wife of Sa'd b.  
 Abi Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm al-Ḥilāl bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Ayyāsh b. Abi  
 Rabi'a b. al-Mughira, 103,  
 Umm Ḥujayr (wife of Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās), see  
 Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm, 78,  
 Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abi  
 Bakr, 97,  
 Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm b. al-Hārith, 93 n. 457,

Umm Ḥukaym/Umm Ḥakīm (wife of Sa'd  
 b. Abi Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi  
 Waqqās  
 Umm Ḥukaym/Hakīm bt. Qāriḍ/Qāriḍ/Qāriḍ  
 b. Khālid b. 'Ubayd b. Suwayd al-  
 Kināniyya (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Umm Humayd bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Abdallāh b. Abi Rabi'a al-Makhzūmī,  
 99 n. 499,  
 Umm Hurayth al-Bahriyya (wife of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 Umm al-Ḥusayn Fātima bt. 'Abdallāh b.  
 Muḥammad b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 194,  
 Umm al-Ḥusayn (daughter of 'Alī b. Abi  
 Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Umm al-Ḥusayn bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn,  
 170,  
 Umm al-Ḥusayn bt. al-Ḥasan (grandchild of  
 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Umm Ibrāhīm bt. Ibrāhīm b. Hishām b.  
 Ismā'il b. Hishām b. al-Walid b. al-  
 Mughira al-Makhzūmiyya, 183 n. 977,  
 Umm 'Isā bt. 'Isā b. Nawfal b. 'Adī b.  
 Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā b.  
 Quṣayy, 95,  
 uncle of, 95 n. 469,  
 Umm Ishāq bt. Jabala b. al-Hārith of the  
 Kinda, 100,  
 Umm Ishāq bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. al-Hārith b.  
 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, 175,  
 Umm Ishāq bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b.  
 Abi Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm Isāq bt. Tālha (daughter of Tālha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm Ja'far bt. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abi  
 Tālib, 186,  
 Umm al-Qāsim bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 (daughter of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf),  
 see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Umm al-Qāsim bt. Muḥammad (grandchild  
 of Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm Khālid bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of

'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Umm Kulthūm (daughter of Muḥammad), see  
 Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 Umm Kulthūm (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b.  
 'Abdallāh b. Abi Rabi'a al-Makhzūmī), 99 n.  
 499,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, 162 n.  
 866,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abi  
 Tālib, 128, 129, 129 n. 705, 139,  
 marriages of, 128, 128 n. 703, 139,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Abi Bakr (wife of Tālha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Tālha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī b. Abi Tālib (daughter of  
 'Alī b. Abi Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abi Tālib  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 158, 170,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Faḍl b. al-'Abbās b. al-  
 Muṭṭalib, 92, 141 n. 755, 145 n. 786, 146 n.  
 786,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Hārith b. al-Hakam b. Abi  
 al-'Ās, 118, 118 n. 626,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. al-Ḥasan, 153,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Ibrāhīm, 89,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b.  
 Tālha, 126, 126 n. 690,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
 Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 161,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Mūsā b. 'Abdallāh, 162,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b. Abi  
 Waqqās; wife of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqās  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Suhayl b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams,  
 144 n. 775,  
 Umm Kulthūm al-Kubrā bt. Abi Salama  
 (grandchild of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Ubaydallāh b. Shihāb b.  
 'Abdallāh b. al-Hārith b. Zuhra, 66,  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayy b. Abi  
 'Amr b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams (wife of  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), 106 n. 541  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. 'Uthbā b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd  
 Shams (wife of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Umm Kulthūm bt. Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 158 n. 846,  
 Umm al-Maymūna bt. Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim b. al-

- Hasan b. Zayd, 149 n. 801,  
Umm Mūsā bt. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,  
175,  
Umm al-Qāsim bt. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b.  
'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, 153,  
Umm al-Qāsim bt. Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. al-  
Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 149,  
Umm al-Qāsim bt. Sa'd (daughter of Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās; wife of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd  
al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see Sa'd b. Abī  
Waqqās  
Umm al-Qāsim al-Sughrā bt. 'Abd al-  
Rahmān, 78,  
Umm Sa'id bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith  
b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, 127, 127 n.  
696,  
Umm Sa'id 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 127 n. 696,  
Umm Sa'id bt. al-Mukhāriq b. 'Urwa, 66 n.  
290,  
Umm Sa'id bt. Sa'id ('Uthmān b. 'Affān),  
see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
Umm Sa'id bt. 'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi  
(wife of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b.  
Abī Ṭālib  
Umm Sa'id bt. 'Uthmān (daughter of  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān  
Umm Salama (wife of Prophet  
Muḥammad), see Muḥammad  
Umm Salama bt. 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Alī b.  
al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd  
b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 149,  
Umm Salama bt. al-Ḥasan (grandchild of  
'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib  
Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 181,  
Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b.  
al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 159,  
Umm Salama bt. Muḥammad b. Ṭāliba b.  
'Abdallāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī  
Bakr, 160 n. 858,  
Umm Salama bt. Salama b. Abī Salama b.  
'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 66 n. 294,  
Umm Salama bt. Ya'qūb b. Salama, 93,  
Umm Shaybān bt. ... b. Yahyā b.  
Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad  
b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā b. Ṭāliba, 100,  
Umm Sulaymān, 121 n. 654,

- Umm 'Ubaydallāh bt. Ṭāliba b. 'Umar al-Taymī,  
172,  
Umm Unās bt. Abī Mūsā al-Ash'arī, 94 n. 462,  
102,  
Umm 'Uthmān bt. 'Abdallāh b. 'Awf al-Zuhri, 61  
n. 256,  
Umm 'Uthmān bt. Abī Hudayr b. 'Abda of the  
Anṣār, 189,  
Umm 'Uthmān bt. Bukayr b. 'Amr, 121,  
Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id b. al-'Ās b. Sa'id b. al-  
'Ās, 118, 119, 120,  
mother of, 119,  
Umm 'Uthmān bt. Sa'id b. Khālīd, 120,  
Umm 'Uthmān bt. 'Uthmān, 115 n. 610, 116 n.  
610,  
Umm Yahyā bt. Muḥammad b. 'Imrān, 92 n. 448,  
Umm Yahyā bt. Muḥammad b. 'Urwa b. al-  
Zubayr, 92,  
Umm Ya'qūb al-Ṭāhiyya, 126,  
Umm Ya'qūb bt. Ismā'il b. Ṭāliba (grandchild of  
Ṭāliba b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭāliba b.  
'Ubaydallāh  
Umm Yazīd bt. 'Abdallāh b. Yazīd, 119,  
Umm Yazīd bt. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, 118 n. 629,  
Umm Zabrā' (wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see  
Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
Unayf b. Hāritha b. La'am al-Tayyī',  
a daughter of, 168 n. 892,  
'Uqba b. 'Amr al-Anṣārī,  
a daughter of, 145,  
'Uqba b. Ja'wana, 64 n. 280,  
'Uqba b. Mu'ayt,  
descendants of, 15,  
al-Urdunn, 78, 114,  
'Urwa al-Akbar b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son  
of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
Rahmān b. 'Awf  
'Urwa b. Mas'ūd al-Thaqafi,  
daughters of, 138 n. 745, 159 n. 852, 168 n.  
895,  
a great granddaughter of, 168 n. 895,  
'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, 69 n. 312, 92, 92 n. 448, 175,  
Usāma b. Zayd b. Hāritha, 103, 143 n. 774,  
'Utba b. 'Abd Shams, 101,  
'Utba b. Abī Lahab, 110,  
'Utba b. Abī Sufyān,  
children of, 153 n. 819,

- 'Utba b. Abī Waqqās (brother of Sa'd b.  
Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
'Utba b. Ghazwān, 110 n. 560,  
'Utba b. Rabi'a b. 'Abd Shams, 76 n. 354,  
a son of, 76,  
'Utba b. 'Uthmān (son of 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
'Uthayma bt. Bukayr b. 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b.  
'Affān, 121,  
'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, (son-  
in-law of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās; husband  
of Umm al-Ḥakam al-Sughrā), see Sa'd  
b. Abī Waqqās  
'Uthmān b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (al-Madanī) b.  
Abīn b. 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, 128,  
'Uthmān b. Abī al-'Ās al-Thaqafi, 107 n.  
545,  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān b. Abī al-'Ās b. Umayyā  
b. 'Abd Shams, 1, 5 n. 11, 9 n. 23, 13,  
19, 27, 27 n. 69, 31 n. 94, 50, 51, 53 n.  
202, 69, 76, 79, 82, 83, 83 n. 392, 83 n.  
394, 83 n. 395, 106, 106 n. 542, 107 n.  
548, 109, 109 n. 557, 112, 115 n. 609,  
117 n. 620, 118 n. 626, 118 n. 629,  
119, 119 n. 631, 124, 130, 132 n. 725,  
133, 144, see also 'Uthmānid and  
'Uthmāniyya  
selection as a caliph of, 53 n. 201,  
rebellion against, 25 n. 63,  
murder of, 27 n. 71, 31, 37, 43, 83, 107,  
144,  
reign of, 39,  
hostility towards, 40,  
supporter of, 45,  
nepotism by, 52 n. 198, 82, 107,  
wealth of, 106,  
kātib for Muḥammad (Prophet), 106,  
impeccable lineage of, 106,  
cognate connections to the Prophet's  
family, 107-8,  
appointment by, 58,  
maternal grandmother of,  
al-Baydā' bt. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b.  
Hāshim, 107,  
sons of, 108-9, 109 n. 550,  
'Abdallāh al-Akbar b. 'Uthmān, 9 n.  
23, 78, 110, 110 n. 560,  
'Abdallāh al-Aṣghar b. 'Uthmān, 9 n. 23, 110  
n. 560,  
Abīn b. 'Uthmān, 78 n. 364, 123, 124, 127,  
127 n. 695, 127 n. 696, 128, 128 n. 701,  
128 n. 703, 129, 130,  
Sa'id b. 'Uthmān, 102, 102 n. 521, 112, 112  
n. 575, 112 n. 578, 112 n. 579, 112 n. 581,  
113 n. 582,  
'Amr b. 'Uthmān, 90 n. 435, 104, 108, 113 n.  
586, 117, 118, 118 n. 626, 118 n. 629, 120,  
133, 134,  
al-Mughira b. 'Uthmān, 109,  
'Abd al-Malik b. 'Uthmān, 110,  
'Umar b. 'Uthmān, 116, 117 n. 620, 118 n.  
626,  
'Utba b. 'Uthmān, 110 n. 562,  
Khālīd b. 'Uthmān, 130,  
'Anbasa b. 'Uthmān, 132, 132 n. 717,  
daughters of, 108-9, 109 n. 550,  
Umm Abīn bt. 'Uthmān, 114,  
Umm 'Amr bt. 'Uthmān, 114,  
'Ā'isha bt. 'Uthmān, 114, 115, 129 n. 705,  
Maryam bt. 'Uthmān, 115, 116 n. 610, 124,  
127 n. 696,  
Maryam al-Sughrā, 132, 132 n. 722,  
Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uthmān, 117 n. 620, 132,  
133 n. 727,  
Umm Sa'id bt. 'Uthmān, 123, 132,  
Arwā bt. 'Uthmān, 132,  
Umm Khālīd bt. 'Uthmān, 132,  
wives of, 110, 133, 133 n. 727,  
Fākhita bt. Ghazwān b. Jābir b. Nusayb of the  
Qays b. 'Aylān, 9 n. 23, 110 n. 560,  
Tumādīr bt. al-Aṣghar b. 'Amr b. Tha'laba b.  
Hishām b. Dāmdam b. 'Adī b. Janāb of the  
Kalb of Qudā'a, 60,  
Ramla bt. Shayba b. 'Abd Shams, 101, 102 n.  
519, 111, 113, 113 n. 586, 114, 114 n. 589,  
115,  
Ruqayya bt. Muḥammad, 106, 110, 110 n.  
560,  
Umm Kulthūm bt. Muḥammad, 106, 110,  
Asmā' bt. Abī Jahl b. Hishām, 109, 109 n.  
552, 109 n. 557, 116 n. 610,  
Fātima bt. al-Walīd b. 'Abd Shams b. al-  
Mughira, 109, 110, 111, 113 n. 586, 116 n.  
610,



- Umm al-Banīn bt. 'Uyayna b. Ḥṣn, 110,  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Jundab al-Azdiyya, 111, 115, 115 n. 602, 127, 130, 131 n. 716,  
 Nā'ila bt. al-Furāḥa al-Kalbiyya, 111, 131, 131 n. 716, 132,  
 father of,  
 'Affān b. Abī al-'Aṣ, 50,  
 brother-in-law of,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 52,  
 half-sister of, 68,  
 mother of, 15,  
 Arwā bt. Kurayz b. Rabi'a b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd Shams, 106,  
 grandchildren of,  
 'Abdallāh b. 'Amr, 34, 104, 123, 124, 125, 125 n. 685, 126, 127 n. 696, 158,  
 Bukayr b. 'Amr, 112, 113, 121, 121 n. 654, 122, 124,  
 'Ā'isha bt. Sa'id, 113,  
 Muḥammad b. Sa'id, 113,  
 Umm Sa'id bt. Sa'id, 113,  
 'Ubaydallāh b. Marwān, 114,  
 'Uthmān b. Marwān, 114,  
 Dāwūd b. Sa'id, 114,  
 Sulaymān b. Sa'id, 114,  
 'Uthmān b. Sa'id, 114,  
 Mu'āwiya b. Sa'id, 114,  
 Āmina bt. Sa'id, 114,  
 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥārith, 114,  
 Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith, 114,  
 Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, 115,  
 Umm Ayyūb bt. 'Amr (or 'Umar), 116, 116 n. 613,  
 Zayd b. 'Umar (or 'Amr), 116, 116 n. 614,  
 'Uthmān al-Akbar b. 'Amr, 118,  
 or 'Uthmān al-Aṣghar, 118 n. 628,  
 Khālid b. 'Amr, 118, 118 n. 629,  
 'Umar b. 'Amr, 120,  
 Āmina bt. 'Umar, 120,  
 al-Mughira b. 'Amr (poet), 121, 122, 124,  
 Umm 'Amr bt. Abān, 123, 127 n. 696,  
 'Abd al-Rahmān (al-Madani) b. Abān,

- 128,  
 Zaynab bt. Khālid, 130,  
 'Anbasa b. 'Amr, 130,  
 Sa'id b. Khālid, 130,  
 Marwān b. Abān, 153,  
 'Uthmān b. 'Amr (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Ḥakam (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Uthmān b. Ḥayyān al-Murri, 87 n. 416, 156 n. 837,  
 'Uthmān b. Ḥunayf al-Anṣārī, 45,  
 'Uthmān b. Marwān (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Uthmān b. Sa'id (grandchild of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 'Uthmān b. Zayd b. 'Umar b. 'Uthmān, 116,  
 'Uthmān b. al-Zubayr b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Walid b. 'Uthmān,  
 a daughter of, 112,  
 'Uthmānid(-s) (of or relating to 'Uthmān b. 'Affān), 14, 14 n. 43, 19, 108, 113 n. 586, 114, 117, 122, 125, 125 n. 685, 127, 128, 130 n. 711, 131 n. 713, 131 n. 716, 132 n. 716, 133, 133 n. 728, 134, 137, 151 n. 813, 154 n. 828, 159, 166, 185, 200,  
 groups that were anti-, 16,  
 'Alid-leaning, 102 n. 519,  
 cognates of, 124 n. 682,  
 'Uthmāniyya, 5 n. 11,  
 'Uyayna b. Ḥṣn, 110, 110 n. 563,  
 Vaglieri, L. Vecchia, 141 n. 755, 142 n. 764,  
 Vida, G. Levi Della [R.G. Khoury], 106 n. 538,  
 the Wādī al-Qurā, 54, 114, 192,  
 Wāḥb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra, see Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 Waki', Muḥammad b. Khalaf, 57 n. 230, 91 n. 440,  
 al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, 60 n. 246, 87 n. 416, 100, 116 n. 611, 118 n. 629, 123, 123 n. 674, 147, 148, 153, 158, 159 n. 855, 167, 170, 174, 177, 178, 178 n. 950, 182, 187, 190, 191, 193 n. 1041, 194, 194 n. 1042, 197, 198, 200,  
 al-Walid b. 'Abd Shams, 109, 109 n. 552, 109 n.

- 557,  
 al-Walid b. 'Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt, 39, 39 n. 135, 68, 107,  
 al-Walid b. 'Uṭba, 16, 19, 20, 35 n. 116, 64 n. 281, 76 n. 354, 147 n. 796, 148 n. 796, 191,  
 al-Walid b. Yazid, 63, 63 n. 271, 72, 86, 119, 120, 120 n. 645, 129, 130, 155,  
 Waqāsa Berbers, 11,  
 al-Wāqidī, 65 n. 288,  
 al-Wāsiṭ, 35 n. 119, 38 n. 134, 71, 180,  
 al-Wāthiq, 112,  
 Watt, W. M., 137 n. 740,  
 Werner, Karl F., 4 n. 7,  
 Wilken, 13 n. 41,  
 wine drinking, 25 n. 60, 121,  
 al-Yāfi'i, 70 n. 318,  
 Yahsub b. Mālik, see Banū Yahsub  
 Yahyā b. 'Abdāb b. 'Abdallāh b. Khālid b. Asid, 124 n. 682, 130,  
 Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf (son of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf  
 Yahya b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Hārūn b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Kuthayyir b. Ma'n, 55,  
 Yahyā b. 'Abdallāh, 141 n. 755, 160 n. 858, 162 n. 869, 164, 165,  
 Yahyā al-Barmakī, 160 n. 858,  
 Yahyā b. al-Ḥakam, 56, 78, 78 n. 364, 127 n. 693, 152,  
 very likely Yahya b. al-Ḥakam b. Abi al-'Ās b. Umayya, 56 n. 221, 110 n. 560,  
 Yahyā b. al-Ḥasan al-'Aqīf, 7 n. 15,  
 Yahyā b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Uthman b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 75,  
 Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 172,  
 Yahyā b. Ismā'il b. Sa'd (son of Ismā'il b. Sa'd), see Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas  
 Yahyā b. Jarir al-Bajali, 119,  
 Yahyā b. Kathir b. al-'Abbās, 140,  
 Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, 59,  
 Yahyā b. Khālid al-Qasri, 70,  
 Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh b. al-'Abbās, 189-90,

- Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā b. Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh, 100,  
 Yahyā b. Mūsā (grandchild of Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Yahyā b. Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh (son of Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Yahyā b. Zakariyā (grandchild of Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Yahyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, 177 n. 944, 178, 189, 190 n. 1020,  
 Ya'lā b. Munayya, 107 n. 545,  
 Yamāma (region in Arabia), 42, 43, 96, 109, battle of, 54,  
 Ya'mur b. Sharhīl b. 'Abd b. Awf, 41,  
 Yanbu', 39 n. 137, 192,  
 Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan, 158,  
 Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ṭalha, 88,  
 Ya'qūb b. Ismā'il b. Ṭalha (grandchild of Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Ya'qūb b. al-Mansūr, 95,  
 Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Hind bt. Marwān, 73,  
 Ya'qūb b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Zakariyā b. Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh, 100,  
 Ya'qūb b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, 71,  
 Ya'qūb al-Madani b. Ṭalha (son of Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh), see Ṭalha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 al-Ya'qūbī, Ahmad b. Abi Ya'qūb b. Ja'far, 53 n. 201, 113 n. 582, 178 n. 949,  
 Yāqūt, 39 n. 137,  
 Yarmūk, the Battle of, 82, 115,  
 Yayn, 73,  
 Yazid b. 'Abdallāh b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, 72 n. 330,  
 Yazid b. 'Abd al-Malik, 69 n. 314, 118 n. 629, 123, 124, 125, 125 n. 685, 129, 154, 154 n. 828,  
 Yazid b. Abi Sufyān, 78,  
 Yazid b. Mu'āwiya b. Abi Sufyān, 15, 16, 30, 31, 33, 35 n. 116, 37, 45, 58 n. 237, 62, 65, 65 n. 289, 67, 72, 72 n. 329, 89, 95, 97 n. 484, 102 n. 520, 112, 112 n. 578, 115, 118, 118 n. 629, 125, 128, 129, 143, 145, 168, 169, 169 n. 899, 187, 191, 191 n. 1027, 200,  
 governor appointed in Medina by, 32, 95 n. 469, 191,

marriage of, 103, 104,  
 Yazid b. al-Muhallab, 36, 74, 96 n. 475,  
 Yazid b. Salāma Dhi Fā'ish (father of Majd  
 bt. Yazid al-Himyariyya), 61,  
 Yazid b. al-Walid, 123,  
 Yazigi, Maya, 6 n. 13, 12 n. 32,  
 Year of the Elephant, 50,  
 Yemen, 25 n. 63, 107 n. 545, 184, 194 n.  
 1046,  
 tribe(-s) of, 25 n. 63,  
 Yemeni, 26 n. 63, 96 n. 477,  
 Yūsuf b. Talha (son of Talha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Yūsuf b. 'Umar, 69 n. 314, 178,  
 Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad b. Hind bt.  
 Marwān, 73,  
 Zabiyya, 121 n. 654,  
 Zabrā' (a slave of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see  
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Zabya (wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see  
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās  
 Zayla bt. Manẓūr b. Zabbān b. Sayyār al-  
 Fazāriyya, 85 n. 404,  
 Zakariyā b. Talha (son of Talha b.  
 'Ubaydallāh), see Talha b. 'Ubaydallāh  
 Zaman, Iḥḥikhar, 43 n. 157,  
 al-Zāwiya, 35 n. 116,  
 Zayd b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (son of 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-Rahmān  
 b. 'Awf  
 Zayd b. 'Abdallāh al-'Arjī, 121,  
 Zayd b. 'Alī, 13, 70,  
 Zayd b. 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, 174, 174 n.  
 933, 176, 176 n. 939, 177, 179 n. 952,  
 189, 190 n. 1020, 193, 198,  
 death of, 177,  
 Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn, 149 n. 802,  
 Zayd b. al-Hāritha al-Kalbī, 68, 68 n. 303,  
 106 n. 541,  
 Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (grandchild of 'Alī  
 b. Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn (grandchild of 'Alī b.  
 Abī Tālib), see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 the Zayd Manāt of Tamīm, 96,  
 Zayd b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm, 149 n. 801, 151 n.  
 809,

Zayd al-Nār b. Mūsā al-Kāzīm b. Ja'far al-Šādiq,  
 184,  
 Zayd b. 'Umar (or 'Amr) (grandchild of 'Uthmān  
 b. 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Zayd b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (son of 'Umar b. al-  
 Khaṭṭāb), see 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb  
 Zayd b. Zayd b. 'Uthmān, 116,  
 Zayd(-s), 157 n. 840,  
 line of the, 155 n. 833, 190 n. 1020,  
 proto-Zaydī persuasion, 164,  
 Zaydiyya, 157 n. 840, 162 n. 869, 164 n. 874, 178,  
 181, 183  
 reasons for the presence of the, 157 n. 840,  
 Zayn bt. al-Hārith b. al-Nu'mān b. Sharāhil b.  
 Janāb (wife of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās), see Sa'd  
 b. Abī Waqqās  
 Zaynab bt. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b.  
 Hishām b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmī, 56,  
 Zaynab bt. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan,  
 159, 162,  
 Zaynab bt. 'Alī (daughter of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib),  
 see 'Alī b. Abī Tālib  
 Zaynab bt. 'Awn b. 'Ubaydallāh b. 'Abdallāh b.  
 al-Hārith b. Nawfal b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, 172,  
 Zaynab bt. Hanẓala b. Qasāma (adopted daughter  
 of Muḥammad), see Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 103,  
 Zaynab bt. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 153,  
 Zaynab bt. Imru'ū l-Qays b. 'Adī b. Aws of the  
 Kalb, 142,  
 Zaynab bt. Jahsh (wife of Muḥammad), see  
 Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 Zaynab bt. Khālīd (grandchild of 'Uthmān b.  
 'Affān), see 'Uthmān b. 'Affān  
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad, see Muḥammad (Prophet)  
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, 172 n. 923, 181,  
 185,  
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Zayn  
 al-'Ābidīn, 173,  
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan  
 b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, 149,  
 Zaynab bt. Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, 161,  
 161 n. 860, 162, 194,  
 Zaynab bt. Muḥ'ab b. 'Umayr b. Hāshim, 85,  
 Zaynab bt. Sulaymān b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad  
 b. 'Aqil b. Abī Tālib, 171,  
 Zaynab bt. 'Umar b. Abī Salama al-Makhzūmī,

90,  
 Zaynab bt. al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 68 n.  
 303,  
 Zettersteen, 5 n. 12, 156 n. 837,  
 Ziriklī, Khayr al-Dīn, 92 n. 451, 97 n. 488,  
 Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Yazid, 119, 119 n.  
 637,  
 Ziyād b. Abīhi (adopted brother of  
 Mu'āwiya), 10 n. 26, 112, 143, see also  
 Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān  
 governorship of, 101,  
 Ziyād b. 'Ubaydallāh, 63 n. 274,  
 al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muttalib,  
 a sister of, 187 n. 998,  
 al-Zubayr b. Khubayb b. Thābit, 122,  
 Zubayrī (-s) (of or relating to al-Zubayr b.  
 al-'Awwām), 44,  
 al-Zubayrī, Muḥ'ab b. 'Abdallāh, 46 n. 166,  
 46 n. 169, 46 n. 172, 55 n. 214, 55 n.  
 215, 60 n. 248, 62 n. 264, 64 n. 280, 65  
 n. 281, 68 n. 303, 68 n. 307, 69 n. 314,  
 70 n. 318, 76 n. 356, 77 n. 359, 87 n.  
 416, 88 n. 418, 90 n. 431, 90 n. 438, 91  
 n. 440, 94 n. 462, 94 n. 467, 95 n. 468,  
 95 n. 471, 100 n. 509, 101 n. 514, 102  
 n. 516, 102 n. 517, 109 n. 557, 110 n.  
 560, 113 n. 585, 115 n. 610, 116 n.  
 610, 116 n. 614, 116 n. 615, 117 n.  
 620, 117 n. 622, 118 n. 629, 121 n.  
 654, 123 n. 674, 124 n. 682, 127 n.  
 690, 127 n. 692, 138 n. 744, 141 n.  
 756, 146 n. 788, 148 n. 796, 152 n.  
 813, 153 n. 819, 153 n. 823, 153 n.  
 824, 154 n. 825, 154 n. 826, 161 n.  
 860, 162 n. 868, 163 n. 874, 164 n.  
 878, 167 n. 890, 168 n. 892, 168 n.  
 896, 170 n. 908, 170 n. 910, 171 n.  
 912, 176 n. 942, 189 n. 1015,  
 Zubayrid(-s) (of or relating to al-Zubayr b.  
 al-'Awwām), 15, 17, 18, 32 n. 102, 38  
 n. 134, 57 n. 230, 58, 64 n. 280, 65, 66,  
 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93 n. 457, 95, 97 n.  
 488, 98, 102, 108, 112, 113, 116 n.  
 615, 121, 121 n. 654, 122, 124, 124 n.  
 682, 125, 126, 130, 130 n. 711, 132 n.  
 716, 134, 134 n. 729, 139, 147, 150,  
 151, 152, 152 n. 813, 154 n. 828, 158,

159, 160 n. 858, 164 n. 880, 166, 167, 172,  
 196, 199, 200,  
 Zubayrid families (w.r.t. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr),  
 44,  
 Zubayrid-'Uthmānid link, 112,  
 al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, 68, 106 n. 541,  
 al-Zubayr b. 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, 85,  
 Zubayr b. 'Abdallāh b. Jud'an b. 'Amr b. Ka'b b.  
 Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy, 67  
 n. 299,  
 Zubayr b. Muḥarris b. Manẓūr, 86,  
 Zuhra b. Kilāb, 30 n. 86, 82,  
 al-Zuhri, 57,  
 Zuhri-'Alid complex, 29,  
 Zumbil, 36,  
 Zurāra b. Muḥ'ab b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (grandchild  
 of 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf), see 'Abd al-  
 Rahmān b. 'Awf



This book charts the sociopolitical trajectories of five of the leading religious elite families of the Hijaz for the Umayyad and early 'Abbasid periods (ca. 40-218 AH) as a preliminary excursion into the history of this hitherto unstudied, yet highly important province. Bringing together the mass of details on matters such as kinship ties, political appointments, and participation in revolutionary movements that are scattered throughout the Islamic sources—and especially genealogies—this work contributes to uncovering salient patterns of local politics, the logic of kinship ties, and the nature of Arabo-Islamic genealogical literature.

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